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INTERSTATE MIGRATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 63 and H. Res. 491

RESOLUTIONS TO INQUIRE INTO THE INTERSTATE
MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS, TO STUDY,
SURVEY AND INVESTIGATE THE SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC NEEDS AND THE MOVEMENT OF
INDIGENT PERSONS ACROSS STATE LINES

PART 3

CHICAGO HEARINGS

AUGUST 19, 20, AND 21, 1940

Printed for the use of the Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens



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SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION
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INTERSTATE MIGRATION

MONDAY, AUGUST 19, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m. in the Federal Court Building, Chicago, Ill., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman) presiding:

Present: Representatives John H. Tolan (chairman), Claude V. Parsons, John J. Sparkman, Carl T. Curtis, and Frank C. Osmer, Jr.

Also present: Dr. Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; James S. Owens, chief field investigator; A. Kramer, field investigator; John W. Abbott, field investigator; Ariel E. V. Dunn, field investigator; Joseph N. Dotson, field investigator; Robert H. Eagan, field secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order. Let the record show the presence of Congressman Parsons, of Illinois; Congressman Sparkman, of Alabama, and Congressman Curtis, of Nebraska. Congressman Osmer, of New Jersey, will be here late this afternoon.

Mayor Kelly, you may take this seat, if you will, please. I want to say on behalf of the committee, Mr. Mayor, that we feel honored in having you as our first witness here. We started out in New York with your friend, I know, Mayor LaGuardia. We very much appreciate your attendance here today. You may proceed in any way you see fit.

TESTIMONY OF HON. EDWARD J. KELLY, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO

Mayor KELLY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am glad to be here. We appreciate that you are giving up a lot of valuable time, and we of Chicago appreciate it very much. Chicago welcomes the activities of this committee, which is investigating the interstate migration of destitute people.

As a large industrial city that is quickly affected by business setbacks and seasonal slumps in unemployment, there is this fairly unified conviction about the problem of relief:

First, that the morale of the jobless is best conserved by a work and wages program, under Federal aid and control.

Secondly, the drastic requirements relating to the sponsored contributions to be made by cities have frequently prevented their participation in many worth-while projects.

I realize that you are investigating the plight of destitute citizens and not the problem of financing local relief projects—but there are

certain collateral issues affecting the migratory workers which should be high-lighted by your investigation.

MIGRATION PROBLEM IN CHICAGO

Chicago is so located, as the economic and social hub of the West, that many people from the South, the East, and the West, who have lost their work opportunities—who have been tracted off the land—or who have been unable to maintain a decent standard in their own communities—have drifted naturally toward a big city like Chicago.

Many families, made hopeful by misinformation, have journeyed to Chicago, believing that it's a mecca of opportunity.

And Chicago has felt the same shocks and had to provide the same cushions for unemployment as other large industrial areas.

Because Chicago is a transportation center it has become a stopping place for many thousands of jobless who had been displaced in other cities. Our relief facilities have been taxed greatly.

Recent amendments which were made by the State legislature to the pauper laws of Illinois set up a 3-year residence law. This provision made it mandatory in the administration of relief to give assistance only to those needy persons who had resided in Illinois for 3 years preceding their application for help.

Chicago cannot and does not ignore the privations that many of these people suffer—and private charitable organizations have faced a staggering burden in trying to cope with this emergency.

Without support from Federal agencies, the relief program of our public and private agencies would have been so seriously disrupted as to be helpless in meeting the problem of caring for the needy and the jobless.

Chicago is more than anxious to remain the city of opportunity and is happy to know that business opportunities are increasing—as the latest figures on factory production and pay-roll indexes will prove.

I might say here that this up-surge of business has been felt without the additional improvement that will come from the preparedness program—and we know that Chicago will benefit from that substantially.

Chicago does not want to set up any barriers which would keep worthy people from the work opportunities which will develop in the future. Chicago does not want to be deprived of the energy and determination of men and women—skilled and unskilled—who are anxious to obtain a livelihood here and to make a contribution to the neighborhood in which they live.

We can expect a certain expansion of our industries to meet the new economy, both of national defense and new trade opportunities in the Americas. But Chicago wants to be realistic about its opportunities, both for the citizens now living here, who deserve its opportunities, and for other citizens who may come here.

However, we are not hanging up any wide open "welcome" signs for any and all individuals to come here, because they have been unable to earn a decent livelihood in other cities.

The problem of the migratory worker did not have its origin in Chicago—in the 50 wards and the 75 communities of this city we have a solid and substantial citizenry, with many thousands of small homeowners and small taxpayers who have been the backbone of the city's enterprise and growth.

Their responsibility to their community and their eagerness to build up a good life among good neighbors has been one of their highest motives in building communities in Chicago.

We can see that this problem in its basic aspects goes back to the farm lands—to the flood and Dust Bowl areas—where people have been swept off the land—and also those shifting industrial and seasonal farm conditions which may require large pools of labor at one time of the year, but not at another. Chicago is not a one-industry city.

And because of the variety of work opportunities in its manufacturing and commercial life there has been, despite world panic and economic upheavals, a better-than-average stability in our productive enterprises.

There has been a closer cooperation between municipal, business, and civic groups to strengthen Chicago's physical and spiritual assets.

There are many liabilities created by the influx of migratory workers that make this investigation of yours a pertinent, constructive duty of the Federal Government.

I understand that our relief commissioner, Leo Lyons, has prepared a break-down and a good summation on the problem as it affects Chicago. And I understand, also, that Chicago's able and competent commissioner of public works, Oscar Hewitt, will also be available for questioning on this relief problem.

RECOMMENDATIONS—MIGRATION IS FEDERAL PROBLEM

I would not like to propose today a comprehensive solution to the problems of interstate migration.

I would like the indulgence of your committee and permission to file with you at a later date a complete statement concerning the problem and its possible solution as we see it—and by "we" I mean not only myself and the relief officials of the city of Chicago, but also the mayors of the cities of the United States who are organized in the National Conference of Mayors.

All of us who belong to that organization have a definite stake in the work of this committee, and we feel that the statement which is ultimately presented to you should incorporate the views and opinions of all the mayors of the United States.

I would say in general, however, that I feel now as I felt when I testified in Washington in 1939 before the House committee investigating the Works Progress Administration, that cities cannot be perpetually expected to carry the relief burdens imposed upon them.

I feel that the problem of migration is not an issue which confronts Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, or other isolated areas on our maps, but that it is a problem which encompasses the entire United States,

and for this reason I am strongly inclined to the belief that the solution of the problem lies in some form of Federal aid and supervision.

The problems of relief have grown too complex, and the numerous local bodies who administer relief are sometimes overlapping and costly. It is my opinion that the Federal administration of work relief has been remarkably free from misuse of power or funds, and should continue to supervise such spending.

And I know that Chicago has, under the most trying circumstances, an eminently clean record in its assistance programs for the needy and the unemployed.

Chicago would do much more if it could—but already its resources have been stretched to the limit in its endeavor to keep up the morale and to prevent starvation among the unfortunate and the underprivileged. We cannot provide more relief with less money.

But surely this type of investigation should bring to light the means and methods whereby relief for the migratory worker can be on a more practical basis.

Chicago has frequently faced this problem with a good heart but an empty purse, and unless Federal moneys are available we cannot wishfully think ourselves into its solution.

We are happy to cooperate with the Federal Government in this investigation.

We trust that during your stay in Chicago you will develop some real contributions and some sound answers to the questions you have in mind.

You may count on the mayor's office for any assistance within its power to render or give. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mayor, speaking for myself, as chairman of the committee, I think that is a remarkable statement that you have presented, and a fine contribution to our record. You will be permitted to insert in the record any statement, any additional statement, you see fit.

Mayor KELLY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad to hear you say you think this investigation is worth while, Mr. Mayor. There are about 4,000,000 people annually who go from State to State, and when they get there, they are foodless, homeless, jobless, Stateless, and hopeless.

SETTLEMENT LAWS

You have a 3-year residence law, is it, now?

Mayor KELLY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Some States have a 5-year residence law, and some as low as 6 months.

Mayor KELLY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If we could get some uniformity in that type of legislation, there would be one solution; but there is not just one answer. There are several answers to this proposition.

In the first place, the 48 States have been very careful not to raise any tariff barriers on other States for the shipment of commodities,

but they are raising barriers now against human interstate commerce, are they not?

Mayor KELLY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. As you pointed out, it is a big problem. Do you not feel, Mr. Mayor, it is a national problem?

Mayor KELLY. I do. I think 3 years is too long. I know of many instances where it has been a real hardship. I can cite one case of a young colored man who came here thinking that he could get work, or get relief. Of course, he was not recognized. He became a highwayman. He shot a policeman. The policeman shot him. He got 99 years in the penitentiary. It does not seem to me as though there was anything else for that man to do. He was starving. He could not get on relief. He could not get a job. He could not get anything. He finished up with 99 years.

No doubt there are a lot of criminals created because of the fact they cannot get adequate relief.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know whether you read an article entitled "A Native at Large," by Jonathan Daniels in The Nation of August 10, 1940; but I brought it down here because I have read your statement, and so many things you said, he said.

I just want to call your attention to this:

But I am glad the migrants moved, even to brutal murder in Chicago, mass violence in California. This business back of Bigger Thomas, this business which drove the Joads, is not a migrant problem. The migrants are only the messengers, carrying both news and shame to the whole land. California did not like it, and Chicago is not entirely pleased about it. That is not hard to understand.

The reason the landlords tied up their tractors to the tenant houses and pulled them down was that not even the toughest landlords want hungry children on their places, under their eyes. What I fear now is that in California and Chicago, New York, and Detroit, the war abroad will pull all our home memories down. I am grateful to Congressmen and novelists and playwrights, to everybody who keeps these people under our eyes. The only answer will come from uninterrupted attention. They will not stop starving or moving because they are forgotten.

That is quite correct, do you not agree, Mr. Mayor?

Mayor KELLY. Yes; absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, there is the thought, since we have been investigating this matter, that they should stay in their States of origin; that they should stay at home; but there are thousands driven from the land. They are not going to sit down and die. That is the problem.

I might say to you, Mr. Mayor, that the Farm Security Administration has taken care of 800,000 families in the South. That is, they have loaned them a horse, or a mule, or a cow or seed, and 85 percent are paying the money back; but there are still 500,000 families uncared for.

We do not claim that we have found the answer, but we are certainly going to do our very best to get all the facts, and you have given us a very fine contribution this morning. On behalf of this committee, I wish to thank you, Mr. Mayor.

Mr. PARSONS. Up until recently the settlement law was for 1 year in the State?

Mayor KELLY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Was it because of so many coming in and applying for relief that the legislature raised the settlement time from 1 year to 3 years?

Mayor KELLY. Congressman Parsons, that law did not originate in Chicago, to my knowledge, or the change in the law.

Mr. PARSONS. I see.

Mayor KELLY. There was so much talk about many people coming in and taking the place of others, it was considered necessary to pass it in the legislature. I do not know how much it amounts to. I do not know how many people it keeps out, if any.

Whether it is paid for by the State or the Nation, somebody has to take care of them, when they come here. I do not know who it is, but they are taken care of one way or another. Whether they are taken care of by the fact that they take what they want, or they work cheaper, or do things that the average man would not do, I do not know.

However, if they are coming in, they are living. They are not dying from starvation. I do not know whether that change originated with the relief commission, or whether it originated within the mind of some member of the legislature. It did not originate in the city administration.

Mr. PARSONS. There have been two schools of thought along that line, as we have gone from place to place. There is one school of thought among the social-service group that advocates the abolition of all settlement laws. Then there is another school of thought which holds that we should probably have settlement laws, but they should be uniform in the various States.

Mayor KELLY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Would you advocate uniformity, or complete abolition of settlement laws?

Mayor KELLY. Perhaps I do not understand just exactly what you mean by the term "settlement laws." Will you explain what you mean by that term?

UNIFORMITY IN RESIDENCE REQUIREMENTS

Mr. PARSONS. I mean the same as the residence requirement here that the legislature has changed to 3 years. Some States have as high as 5 years. There are two or three States in which it only takes 6 months until they can apply for relief. Would you advocate the repeal of all of the settlement laws of the States, or would you advocate uniformity of all the settlement laws of the States?

Mayor KELLY. Well, I think there ought to be uniformity, and I think the kind and character of the man or person ought to guide the settlement law requirements. For instance, if a man is a professional traveler who travels all over the country and drops in here and there just to get a living, that is one thing. But if a man has a family and he is a good citizen of the United States living in "Squeedunk," Iowa, or some other place, and he has no chance to live, I think it is rather cruel to keep him from living in the city to which he wants to go.

If he cannot get work, he ought to be taken care of in some manner. I do not believe in making everybody starve just because they do not live in a certain district. I really think that those who have

come here should be taken care of some way or another. We have to pay taxes, and pay a lot of taxes, but you have to take the good and bad in every city, regardless of what might happen.

I think if it was a national law, or if it was uniform in every way, it might stop some of these people who are tramping from one State to the other, because they might have a record of them from one State to another, and you would know just what was going on.

There are professional relievers just as there are professional everything elses.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We are not concerned with them.

The CHAIRMAN. We are concerned with the good citizen who wants to move and wants his family to move.

Mayor KELLY. I think Chicago has shown that she would be glad to take care of that kind of people.

The CHAIRMAN. I do know that Chicago has done a wonderful job in taking care of destitute citizens.

Mr. PARSONS. It is the thought of some that if you abolish the settlement laws you probably encourage a lot of people to become professional travelers.

Mayor KELLY. As I say, there is a way of checking those. You can check them very easily.

Mr. PARSONS. Of course, the only matter in which the Congress has any jurisdiction is the matter of interstate migration. We cannot touch the settlement laws; but if the Federal Government gave the States grants-in-aid, then our jurisdiction would probably follow the dollar as it has in a good many other things.

It is my idea that there should be uniformity, probably not to exceed 1 year, and that, of course, would put the damper upon the professional, because he would know he could not leave Illinois and run over into Wisconsin because relief might be better there and apply for relief the next day after he arrived.

However, I think 3 years is much too long.

Mayor KELLY. You could use the other way too. You could have a national check on all relief. A man is supposed to stay on relief a certain time, or work relief a certain time, and you could have it apply in every State. If a man got to be a professional reliever, and he would not take a W. P. A. job, or any other job, he could be off relief all over the country.

If you had no checks, he could be jumping from State to State, and you would not have any record. That would be his business, that of a racketeer in relief. Those are the things I think the Government could remedy, many other things along that line.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement is a very splendid one, Mayor Kelly. I am very happy that you were able to come down here this morning.

Mayor KELLY. I am glad to be with you.

The CHAIRMAN. The city is very well represented this morning.

Mayor KELLY. Thank you.

(Whereupon, Mayor Kelly was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jacoby.

TESTIMONY OF NEIL H. JACOBY, CHAIRMAN ILLINOIS EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMISSION, CHICAGO, ILL.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your full name and official capacity for the record, please, Mr. Jacoby?

Mr. JACOBY. Neil H. Jacoby, chairman, Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Jacoby, I have read your statement. This is the third hearing we have conducted. I want to say to you that this statement of yours is one of the most illuminating that I have heard presented to the committee. Some of the other members who just arrived this morning have not had time to read it. I am going to ask you to read the first six pages. It will not take very long. I think it will be of interest to the committee and those assembled here.

Mr. JACOBY. First of all, I would like to say on behalf of Governor Henry Horner, whom I have the honor to represent, and as chairman of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, that I cordially welcome the honorable members of this committee to the State of Illinois. I hope your hearings in the city of Chicago will be productive of aid in the solution of problems of interstate migration of destitute citizens.

I might add that had Governor Horner been physically able to appear, I have a strong feeling he would have been here. I know he has a sincere personal interest in everything that concerns public welfare.

Mr. PARSONS. It is very regrettable that the Governor is unable to be here. I know if his health permitted, he would be at this hearing. I know he would welcome the opportunity to be present. I know of his very keen interest in matters of public welfare and the human equation. We regret very sincerely that he cannot be here, and I wish you would convey to him our sincere best wishes.

Mr. JACOBY. I shall do so.

Mr. PARSONS. You may read the first six and a half pages. I have gone over it, and I think it is quite illuminating.

Mr. JACOBY. (Reading:) It is a pleasure to appear before this committee and to make a statement on these most important problems. Few public issues are, in my opinion, more deserving of attention from the citizens of this country today than the plight of needy American citizens who wander from State to State, and who seem to be wanted nowhere. Careful consideration must be given to all of the ramifications of the problem, so that an intelligent approach may be made to its solution. "Snap" judgments on so difficult an issue are bound to be faulty.

The selection of Chicago and the State of Illinois for first-hand observation of migration is an indication of sound judgment on the part of this committee. The State of Illinois lies at the cross roads of the Nation. From East and West, from North and South come men, women, and children en route to seek their fortunes elsewhere. The metropolitan region of Chicago is a point of convergence of all modes

of transportation. It is one of the most highly industrialized regions in the Nation. The State of Illinois also contains a large rural population, and the conflict between urban and rural ideas of government is no less severe in this State than anywhere else in the United States.

While prophets of doom have been decrying the disappearance of the country's geographical frontier, Illinois still remains a State of opportunity. Its large and varied natural resources still await the application of human ingenuity and initiative. As one illustration, I might note that during the past 4 years a great new oil-producing area has been discovered in the central part of Illinois, and this State has moved up to fourth position in the roster of oil-producing States. All these factors have a definite bearing upon the problem of interstate migration of destitute citizens.

With your permission, I should like initially to turn the attention of the committee to some of the broader, more fundamental issues, raised by the general problem of migration.

DESIRABILITY OF MIGRATION

First of all, is migration desirable? The general answer to this question, I think, must definitely be in the affirmative. If we desire to obtain the best combination of productive resources, and to produce the greatest amount of material wealth for the people of this country, we must permit our human and physical resources freely to be transferred to places of greatest employment opportunity both rapidly and economically. In a free-enterprise economy, such as our own, free exchange in the market place and private enterprise are mainly relied upon to achieve this end. We assume that each person will seek to pursue his own best interests, and that the lure of personal advantage will bring together business ability, capital, and labor in the most economical manner.

This will be recognized as a simple statement of the doctrines first propounded by the so-called classical economic thinkers of the nineteenth century. Although this doctrine is no longer accepted with unanimity, and certainly requires modification in the light of present-day conditions, it is deserving of attention if only because it was based on the keen observation of some of the greatest thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, among whom are included founders and leading citizens of this Nation.

It is hard to deny that human experience bears out the wisdom of this doctrine in its general terms. Migration has served as the background for some of the greatest historical episodes of mankind. The journeys of our Biblical forefathers, the voyages of Columbus and of our great explorers, the hazards faced by our colonial ancestors, the movement of covered wagons across trackless prairies all attest to the fundamental nature of human migration.

Our founding fathers sought to establish mobility of labor and of commerce when they wrote into the Constitution of the United States a prohibition against obstructions to interstate trade in this greatest of all free-trade areas.

Let me add, at this point, Mr. Chairman, the thought which you touched upon a little earlier. We have had a great deal of public discussion on the growth of barriers to the interstate trade of commodities. It seems to me that one of those barriers, not in commodities, but to the movement of humanity, is actually becoming far more serious.

We have gone from a 1-year settlement law in Illinois to a 3-year settlement law. We have had disputes with the State of Indiana, I know, whereby they refused to take care of citizens of ours who have moved into Indiana unless we in turn agree to take care of their destitute citizens moving here.

Unless some stop is put to this trend, I can see us going from 5-year residence laws to 10-year residence laws and ultimately freezing our population where they are found. When that happens, it seems to me we have lost one of the great forces for progress in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if I could interrupt you just a moment, Mr. Jacoby?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Off the record.

(Discussion outside the record.)

Mr. PARSONS. I was interested in your presenting the first six pages, and the first five lines on page 7, as I have it here.

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

Mr. JACOBY. That migration does not in every case result in gain to the individual and to society was, of course, recognized by the "classical" economic thinkers. Lack of accurate knowledge by the migrant was considered to be a chief obstacle to the success of migration. A man who moves to another State merely because of rumors of well-paid employment that are baseless, is not bettering his own condition or that of society.

Even migration based on knowledge of the best available facts leaves room for risk and misfortune. But it raises the probability of advantageous migration far above aimless movement in ignorance of the relevant facts. It would appear to be a proper function of government to make all facts available regarding employment opportunities to potentially migrant people. This seems to be an element in an intelligent policy.

I might say that I have not probably thought through all the ramifications as to how the dissemination of better information and the prevention of the dissemination of untrue information can be brought about. I have a feeling that the Federal Employment Service has not functioned as effectively in this field as it might. Some means might be developed whereby the Employment Service would make available to people on relief, and especially the migrant, the facts regarding job opportunities, regarding costs of living, regarding wage rates, and so forth, in other areas.

Too much of the information that is now being disseminated seems to be misinformation.

It may be asked whether these principles apply to the utterly destitute migrant as well as those having private resources. Prob-

ably destitute migrants are governed in their movements by much the same motives as other migrants. They may be handicapped by lack of means to migrate. They may not have as full knowledge of the facts regarding employment opportunities as others, but they too may be expected to migrate when they believe it is to their best long-run interests to do so. The problem is whether there are any special inducements for destitute migration not present in the case of self-supporting citizens, that call for special limitations on the movement of the destitute.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

Migration rarely occurs for a single, clear-cut reason. Most often people decide to move for a combination of reasons, although one of these reasons may at the time predominate. One of the dominant reasons is unquestionably to accept or to seek employment. We have no data to indicate the number of persons now employed in Chicago and in Illinois who came from other States in a destitute or near-destitute condition. Undoubtedly, they number in the tens of thousands.

Even in the darkest days of the depression of 1929-1932, some people were coming from other States and cities and were obtaining employment in Illinois. Still other thousands came to Illinois to seek employment, but were disappointed. What happened to them we do not know. Some returned home or moved on to seek employment elsewhere. Others remained here to live with relatives and friends. Still others waited until their resources gave out, and applied for relief.

The paradox is that people continue to migrate to Illinois in order to obtain employment, while thousands of Illinois residents have remained unemployed and are seeking work. Some of this migration—unfortunately we have no way of estimating it—is probably due to lack of adequate knowledge. Insofar as this is the case, every effort should be made by governmental authorities to make information on employment opportunities more readily available, and to improve existing sources of information.

A considerable amount of migration occurs because positions are already waiting here, for example, for highly skilled workers not available in the State, or because employers have moved their plants into the State from other States. There are numerous reasons other than, or in addition to, the search for employment that bring destitute people to Illinois. Some individuals become stranded in the State while on their way to definite destinations. Others come to stay with relatives. Still others come for educational purposes or for medical care.

It is often stated that the majority of destitute persons migrate to Illinois chiefly to get on the relief rolls. Little tangible evidence is available on this point, and I believe it would be very difficult either to prove or disprove this claim. People will not, of course, readily admit that they came to the State simply to get on relief rolls, even if such was the case. There seems to be no way of ascertaining defi-

nately which, of all the reasons for migrating, was dominant in the mind of the migrant at the time he decided to move.

It is nevertheless difficult to deny that the availability of more generous relief elsewhere does provide one of the inducements to migration by the destitute or near-destitute, but the strength of this factor cannot be weighed. When relief grants are higher at home, this probably is a deterrent to migration. When relief grants are more generous elsewhere, it probably is an inducement to migration. Residence requirements for relief also affect migration.

If migration results in loss of settlement and ineligibility for relief at home, and also in ineligibility for relief elsewhere because of lack of residence requirements, this will form a powerful deterrent to migration, providing the destitute person is aware of these facts. If no residence requirements exist, migration may be stimulated. Thus the availability of relief, the scale of relief grants, and residence requirements, while perhaps not sufficient in themselves to induce or deter migration, may exert considerable influence on it. They may often "tip the scales" one way or another for persons considering migration. [Reading ends.]

Mr. PARSONS. That is as far as I had planned to have you read.

Mr. JACOBY. Very well.

Mr. PARSONS. That is a very illuminating statement. It gets right at the crux of this question. Do you believe, Mr. Jacoby, that any restriction should be placed on the migration of citizens, destitute, or self-supporting?

Mr. JACOBY. Congressman Parsons, as this statement indicates, I think the general answer to the question is "no"; that people ought to be free to move throughout the Nation. The minute we have some governmental agency, whether it is Federal or State, telling the people "You must go here" or "You must work there," we are losing one of the essential features of what we call a democratic government, and are coming pretty close to the Hitler type of economics. I think we ought to avoid that.

The main qualification is that people must move in an informal way. They must know why they are moving and for what reasons.

Mr. PARSONS. If our people had not been permitted to migrate, we would not have had this fine, beautiful land of ours settled up, would we?

Mr. JACOBY. I believe that.

Mr. PARSONS. As a migrant said to the chairman and myself the other day in Washington just before we left, they would not sit down and starve; they are not going to sit down and die. They are going to travel somewhere, both the self-supporting and destitute citizens.

Mr. JACOBY. That is true. You cannot blame them.

ACCURATE INFORMATION ON JOB CONDITIONS SHOULD BE DISSEMINATED

Mr. PARSONS. That is right. Do you believe that the dissemination of accurate information concerning job opportunities or the lack of job opportunities will tend to reduce migration?

Mr. JACOBY. Well, now, I would think in a time of depression such as we have experienced, if the people were more accurately informed about lack of jobs elsewhere, there probably would have been less migration. On the other hand, when business is fairly prosperous the chances are more accurate knowledge and dissemination of information might lead to some more migration. That actually occurs. In other words, it is a matter of the state of business.

Mr. PARSONS. I remember when Boulder Dam work was started. It was just getting underway about the time I was elected to Congress the first time. Of course, the depression was just beginning, and a tremendous number of migrants were starting on the tramp. There were more than 100,000 people that pulled into that little town out there near Boulder Dam. They were camped all along the banks of the river up and down wherever they could get a place to light, in the hope that they were going to be employed on that vast project.

When the T. V. A. opened in 1933 and 1934 and got underway in the Tennessee Valley, I know they had 165,000 applications for jobs. I do know that there were literally thousands that went up and down that valley, hoping that they would obtain the opportunity to work, in spite of the fact that the law itself and the newspapers carried the information and the T. V. A. authorities advertised it widely that no one would be employed unless and until they had taken an examination and had been graded.

Nevertheless, thousands of people went into the valley to seek employment.

You made mention in the beginning that you thought the employment offices probably, both Federal and State, might serve a better purpose in this picture than they probably have in the past; is that correct?

Mr. JACOBY. I am inclined to think so.

Mr. PARSONS. That is what you meant in answer to my question with respect to the fact that information concerning work opportunities or the lack of work opportunities should be more widely disseminated among the public?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that correct?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

EFFECT OF MIGRATION AND RELIEF LOAD

Mr. PARSONS. In what way do you think the prevailing level of relief itself affects migration? What has been the picture here, for instance, in Illinois with reference to the generosity of the city of Chicago and State of Illinois in connection with the relief picture, in inviting migration to Illinois?

Mr. JACOBY. Well, there have been a great many statements made that a tremendous number of people have come into Illinois because we pay around \$60 a month for a four-person family with no income, whereas the same family perhaps gets \$5 or \$10 in Mississippi, Arkansas, or some other State.

* However, our studies do not bear out that belief. In the fall of 1939 the Relief Commission made a careful survey of the resident status of about 150,000 cases in the State. We found that only 6,000 cases out of 150,000, or about 4 percent, had resided less than 3 years in the community where they were found, and less than 2,000 families, or about $1\frac{1}{3}$ percent of all of our relief load, had resided in the State less than 3 years, which to me were very surprisingly low figures.

In other words, they tend to indicate that the fraction of our case load that has come in recently is very, very small.

Mr. PARSONS. That was before the settlement time was raised to 3 years?

Mr. JACOBY. That was just at about the same time.

Mr. PARSONS. But this survey was taken upon those that had been on relief, probably, for several years, or at least for a year or more?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. That was all at that time?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. That was taken before there was any change in the settlement law?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. You do not think that more relief here than there may be in surrounding States, or in other States, has invited any appreciable amount of migrants to the State?

Mr. JACOBY. I think it has been one factor that has accounted for some cases, but I think the importance of the factor has been greatly overestimated in public opinion. Our studies seem to bear that idea out.

Mr. PARSONS. In that study, did you try to ascertain information to show to what States former residents of Illinois have migrated after having become destitute?

Mr. JACOBY. We have made an analysis of correspondence which comes to the Relief Commission from relief administrators in other States, and that is forwarded to relief administrators in other States. That correspondence has to do mainly with Illinois residents who leave the State and who are now found in Los Angeles, New York, and other centers, in destitute condition. If we can regard the volume of correspondence as being indicative of the places where Illinois residents are now found, it would seem that the majority of Illinois people who are now destitute and have gone to other States are found in California first, New York second, and in the other States bordering on Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky and Wisconsin. Most of the people appear to have gone to the larger cities in those States.

This does not mean a movement from Illinois to farms or rural areas but a movement from Illinois into larger cities, Los Angeles and New York City, notably. Of course, we do not have the other side of the picture as to just where the people come from who are now in Illinois in a destitute condition.

Mr. PARSONS. That is the point. No doubt there is an appreciable number.

Mr. JACOBY. We think so.

Mr. PARSONS. Much larger than those who have left Illinois?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

RELIEF ADMINISTRATION IN ILLINOIS

Mr. PARSONS. I think the committee here, Mr. Jacoby, might be interested in your explaining briefly how our relief problem is handled in Illinois, how it is financed, and how it is administered—the rates and things of that nature.

Mr. JACOBY. Well, we have a joint State and local method of dealing with the relief problems in this State. First, with regard to administration, the direct responsibility for administering relief is in the hands of local authorities, some 1,455 different local governmental units including the city of Chicago and the 17 counties which are under commission form of organization, and the rest of them are townships.

They have the responsibility for actually disbursing relief. They are supervised by the State commission, which, according to the law, is required to make regulations as to how relief shall be disbursed.

Unfortunately, the activities of the commission in supervision have been pretty strictly limited by the appropriation under which we operate. We get \$100,000 a year to supervise administration in all of these 1,455 units. We have done the best we can with the funds that are available. We have prescribed accounting standards. We insist that the local overseer of the poor, while he sets up his own standards on the ground, apply them uniformly.

As to financing, any local authority, either township or county, that wants to get State funds must qualify by making a 30-cent levy per \$100 of property valuation. Any local authority levying less than that amount does not qualify for aid. Out of the 1,455 units which might conceivably qualify, only 550, or 36 percent of them, actually do qualify and get aid. The others have such low case loads that they can get along without State funds. The State then grants money in proportion to the needs of these localities after they have spent their local money.

In the year 1939, just to give you some idea of the proportion, there were spent \$67,000,000 on relief in Illinois. Of that \$67,000,000 spent, about \$18,500,000, or 27 percent, came from the local governments and this 30-cent property tax. The other 73 percent came from State funds. So you see, the State foots about three-quarters of the bill.

Mr. PARSONS. The State raises its money by a sales tax?

Mr. JACOBY. That is what it boils down to, principally; principally the sales tax.

Mr. PARSONS. Substantially, where we have a 3 percent sales tax in the State, approximately 1 cent, or one-third of that levy, goes to relief, for relief purposes?

Mr. JACOBY. One-third goes directly to relief, Congressman Parsons. The rest of it goes into the general revenue fund, but the law says that there shall be appropriated money for relief out of the general revenue fund again. So you see, in practice, relief gets more than 1 cent. It just goes through a different route to get to relief.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think you are operating to best efficiency with so many local relief agencies handling the problem, or would it be more economical and more satisfactory if it was handled by a central agency, for instance, the State, your State commission?

Mr. JACOBY. Well, the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission has recommended in reports to Governor Horner and to the general assembly repeatedly that relief could be administered more effectively by fewer units. Frankly, we cannot adequately and accurately supervise 1,455 different local administrators. We might and I think we would do a much better job if we limited it to, say, 102 counties. We have 102 counties in the State. I think it would be much better if we dealt with 102 local administrators rather than 14 times that many.

Mr. PARSONS. Of course, in the counties of the State, under what we call the commission form of free county commissions, that constitutes just one unit?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. It happens that about six or seven of these counties are in my congressional district, and of course it is easily controlled and administered in the county unit. Do you see any hope that you are going to get rid of that problem in the near future?

Mr. JACOBY. Well, while there is life, there is hope. I do not think it is going to be done soon. There are some difficult problems that prevent our using the county unit. As you know, we have a State constitution that limits the county tax rate to 75 cents. A good many of the counties are at or near that limit now without having to levy anything for relief, so if you transferred the burden of the financing to the county, that tax rate limit would operate to prevent them from getting enough funds in many cases. That is an obstacle that would have to be overcome.

Mr. PARSONS. Before 1932, under Governor Emmerson's administration, relief was set up, I believe, in February 1932?

Mr. JACOBY. Under the State commission.

Mr. PARSONS. That commission has been in existence and life has been extended to it ever since that time?

Mr. JACOBY. May I interrupt, Congressman?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. JACOBY. To complete the story, up to 1932 relief in Illinois, as in most other States, was a local function wholly. The State had nothing to do with it either financially or administratively.

Mr. PARSONS. It was handled purely by the local overseers.

Mr. JACOBY. It was handled purely by the local overseer of the poor. He was the local officer who did the job. Then in 1932, with increasing unemployment, the State commission was created. It took the whole thing over, with Federal funds. The State commission actually administered relief and financed it nearly 100 percent until 1936. Then the legislature returned the function of administration back to the local authorities again and merely left the commission as a supervising agency to allocate these State funds.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you have an opportunity to make any observations just prior to February 1932 and during the 2 years following that—we know you were not connected with the commission at that

time, but did you have an opportunity to make any observations regarding the situation prior to the creation of this commission? Was there a lot of suffering in the State and in the city?

Mr. JACOBY. There was. I know that of my own knowledge. I was a resident of Chicago at the time. I think the act creating the commission in 1932 was eminently desirable and necessary.

Mr. PARSONS. Now you say you have so many different local agencies; are there varying rates of relief at various local units, townships, and counties?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. For instance, you have perhaps a dozen units in one county.

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Do they give the same amount of relief per person per capita in that county?

Mr. JACOBY. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Will you elaborate on that just a little, Mr. Jacoby?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes. There is a great divergence both as between townships within a county and as between townships in different parts of the State. I have appended to the statement I submitted some figures showing relief granted to a four-person family with no income in 22 of the largest relief units of the State.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. JACOBY. It will be noticed there that the monthly relief grant, or, to be more accurate, the value of monthly relief can vary from about \$17.50 for this family in one of the southern townships to something over \$60 in Downers Grove, DuPage County, which is right to the west of Chicago. That gives you some idea of the variation.

Mr. PARSONS. Has that tended to make migration within the State from county to county where they pay higher rates of relief? Have you made any studies on that?

Mr. JACOBY. That is very hard to say. Frankly, I do not think we can answer the question definitely, although this review of our case load that we made in the fall of 1939 that I mentioned previously indicated that less than one-half of 1 percent of the cases on relief in the fall of 1939 had resided in the locality in which they were found for less than a year. That is, a very small fraction of them had not been in the community for at least a year.

Mr. PARSONS. You have studied this problem a great deal. You know the purpose of this committee is to get the facts. We do not have the answer yet. There is not just one single answer to this problem.

Mr. JACOBY. I appreciate that.

Mr. PARSONS. It is a large problem, and perhaps requires a large number of solutions to different parts of the problem.

RECOMMENDATIONS

You have given a great deal of study and attention to it. What recommendation would you make, if the Federal Government stepped

into the picture? Have you any helpful suggestions you can offer to the committee in outlining legislation to aid and assist in this problem, and to help to cure it?

Mr. JACOBY. Well, from what I know of it, Congressman Parsons, I think that legislation along two lines would be desirable. One of them I have already mentioned. That is some program that would make the Federal Employment Agency more effective in advising people about facts concerning employment opportunities so that, for instance, if a thousand jobs picking fruit should open up in one of the Southern States, there will not be an influx of thousands of people there, each acting because he does not know other people are moving there.

I think the Social Security Board, which is now supervising the Federal Employment Service, could develop its functions and be much more effective to make migration more intelligent and better informed. That is one line.

The other program that seems to me to be desirable would be for the Federal Government to pay for relief extended to people that do not have resident status. The reason for making that suggestion is not simply to unload the State of Illinois' financial burden. We have a heavy financial burden which, I think, is best illustrated by the fact that the State has never been able to put up 100 percent of the net relief needs. We have not been able to pay that for at least 3 years, and perhaps never will be able to, to my knowledge.

We have a financial burden, and all of us would be anxious to shift it. However, I am not making the suggestion merely for that reason. It seems to me the main reason that would support that would be that if the Federal Government had paid relief to destitute people, it would cause the States to modify these unduly restrictive residence requirements that are slowly being built up as barriers to migration. I might suggest in that connection that perhaps the grant made by the Federal Government to pay for relief might be made conditional on the State revising its residence law to some desirable limit. You suggest a year. I am inclined to think you are probably right on that. Perhaps they should be made uniformly 1 year.

Mr. PARSONS. You would not abandon them altogether?

Mr. JACOBY. I think not. I think that is probably the most effective way of working toward reasonable resident requirements, uniform resident requirements.

Mr. PARSONS. That is the only way, of course, Congress could touch the matter.

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. That would be to make a condition for obtaining a grant-in-aid by the States.

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. May I ask a question right there?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Would you include, in that, some attention given to the basic underlying causes of mass exodus from a given area?

Mr. JACOBY. I am not sure I just understand your question.

MR. CURTIS. For instance, I come from a drought area, the dust bowl of Nebraska. We have lost a great many people there.

MR. JACOBY. Yes.

MR. CURTIS. Those people who have gone away have not gone away of their own free will. They would rather stay there where they have spent their lives, and where their families and friends are. When they leave, they become California's problem, or Chicago's problem, or some other city's problem. It occurs to me that rather than bigger and better migrant camps at their destination alone, we should also give some attention to what could be done to relieve the condition making their migration necessary. Do you agree with that?

MR. JACOBY. That is, to have the Federal Government pay for relief extended to those people where they are, before they have migrated?

MR. CURTIS. Not necessarily on a relief basis. What I had in mind was having the Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Reclamation and other agencies direct their attention to bettering their economic condition to make them self-sustaining where they are.

MR. JACOBY. Well, my general feeling about that, sir, would be this: That it is a bad thing to interfere too much with people's desire to move. The first step in an intelligent policy, it seems to me, is to inform them as to where they can move most expeditiously and where they are most likely to get a job. Then, I think you ought to leave them free to move, and if they cannot find self-support, make arrangements to maintain them.

A man should not be deterred from moving by fear that he will not be able to get relief in case he is unfortunate elsewhere. I am afraid that if we went too far to settle people and make their conditions satisfactory in an area which, for one reason or another cannot support a large population, you may start to freeze the population just as those residence laws are starting to freeze the population.

MR. CURTIS. I agree with you that we should not do it by compulsion, or even make financial inducements for people to stay where the economics of the territory cannot support them.

MR. JACOBY. Yes.

MR. CURTIS. Perhaps I should be a little more specific. If a certain area is losing its farm population because they cannot make a go of it and they are drifting away, and you find that with Federal assistance, say, with fertilizer over a period of 5 or 10 years, you could improve that soil so people could be self-sustaining—not requiring them to stay there, but creating a situation in which they would want to stay there—do you feel we should give some attention to that sort of thing?

MR. JACOBY. That particular phase of it, I think, is perfectly satisfactory. What you are doing in effect is not telling a man, "We are going to give you what is, in effect, a Government subsidy to stay here," but instead, telling him, "We are willing to help you far more effectively by making your tenure on this land more secure by applying better knowledge and skill to the farming of it."

MR. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. JACOBY. That particular phase is perfectly satisfactory.

Mr. CURTIS. Likewise, that same theory applies to the territory from which I come, Nebraska, where there has been extreme drought. I feel the Congress of the United States must realize that a million dollars spent in the State of Nebraska on irrigation is solving a problem by preventing for all time those people from moving to Chicago or California seeking jobs that do not exist, and eventually, perhaps, getting on relief.

Mr. JACOBY. I think that is highly possible. You would have, I think, to examine each project on its merits, and if you can economically spend a million dollars to create conditions that will keep people there, self-supporting, then it is a wise thing to do it.

Mr. CURTIS. We just returned from some hearings at Montgomery, Ala. We found that a large percentage of the homeless people who had to get out and go, within the State or interstate, were forced directly off of the soil. They were farmers. I believe you said that in 150,000 cases examined, about 4 percent, or 6,000, of those people had not come from that immediate locality?

Mr. JACOBY. They had less than 3 years' residence in the district where they were found.

Mr. CURTIS. They were on relief?

Mr. JACOBY. They were on relief.

Mr. CURTIS. Was any investigation made as to that 6,000, as to where they had come from?

Mr. JACOBY. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Were they farmers or city dwellers, unemployed wage earners, or do you have any analysis of that?

Mr. JACOBY. We do not. I am sorry, but we do not.

Mr. CURTIS. I have no further questions. I emphatically agree with the gentlemen that we should place no restraint on migration. I think it is a very, very fundamental American right that an individual of any age might go where his hopes and ambitions will carry him.

Mr. JACOBY. I am glad to hear you say that.

Mr. CURTIS. Sometimes he will fool the Government relief agencies and make good where no one else can.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jacoby, I have just a question or two, and then we will have finished.

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The figures indicate that approximately 4,000,000 people annually go from State to State; 850,000 have gone to California during the last 5 years. I take it that along with the mayor's idea, you can readily appreciate that it is a national problem.

Mr. JACOBY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. With respect to the people going into California, a check was made of them, and they were nearly all American citizens, good citizens. We are not concerned with the hobo and perennial tramp. However, there is an average of 4,000,000 people who travel that way, and after they get to the State of destination, they are homeless and Stateless. Do you not think, Mr. Jacoby, it strikes

right at the morale of our people, and do you not think, therefore, it is a national problem?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes; I think definitely that it is. You are right on that.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if 850,000 people from Ohio moved into the State of Illinois on account of an earthquake or something else of that kind, the Federal Government would convene, or I think Congress would convene, a special session to take care of that; don't you see?

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the Federal Government is not going to get along very well if California goes broke and Illinois goes broke. That is not going to help the Federal Government any.

Mr. JACOBY. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Also, along the line you indicate in there about information, the committee's attention has been attracted to that proposition. There has been misinformation given by private employment agencies who take their money and then send them into a State where there is no employment.

Mr. JACOBY. Most of the evil, it seems to me, is not lack of accurate information, but the dissemination of misinformation.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee undoubtedly will have jurisdiction over that question, and can recommend legislation to take care of private employment agencies who take their money and send them across State lines. We are in that picture all right. As has been pointed out here, there is no single answer. As you continue to study this problem, it becomes gigantic in its scope.

Mr. JACOBY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the health problem and the education problem. There are approximately 300,000 on the road every day, camping along the ditches, in misery, just living the best way they can. As you have pointed out, we have been very careful to fix statutes on every commodity that moves from one State to another, but we have not fixed any statutes yet for the human commodity.

Mr. JACOBY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is the most important.

Mr. JACOBY. That is right. It is the most important.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Jacoby, very much, for a very enlightening statement. You have made a very fine contribution to our record. The statement which you have submitted will be received and the balance of it will be printed.

Thank you very much, Mr. Jacoby.

(Whereupon, Mr. Jacoby was excused.)

STATEMENT BY NEIL H. JACOBY, CHAIRMAN, ILLINOIS EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMISSION, CHICAGO, ILL.¹

* * * * *

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS IN INTERSTATE MIGRATION

The migration of destitute citizens appears not any less desirable than migration of self-supporting citizens, providing the former are governed by the same

¹ The first 6½ pages were read into the record, see pp. 820-824.

motives as the latter and act on the best available information. Whether the reasons differ from those of independent citizens is difficult to ascertain. To the extent that the two groups have similar qualifications and opportunities for employment, it may be assumed that their dominant reason is the search for employment. To the extent that employment opportunities for the destitute are less than those of the independent migrants, other reasons will play a greater role. I am inclined to believe that such is the case.

Since the availability of higher relief grants elsewhere and the absence of residence requirements are factors which encourage migration, even if they are not preponderant causes, is it desirable to eliminate these factors? If a certain community desires to maintain high relief standards for its own residents, should it maintain them also for those who move into that community? Or should it limit relief to those of its residents who have been associated with the community for several years? The answer depends largely on what is considered to be the function of relief. If relief is regarded merely as a claim upon the community by citizens, now destitute, who have lived in that community, and have paid taxes thereto, it might seem legitimate to refuse relief to outsiders. But this attitude will easily become a boomerang. Other communities might be expected to do likewise. The inevitable result of this policy would be to deter migrants from settling in the community and to deter residents of the community from migrating elsewhere. Both types of migration might be very desirable. To prevent them from occurring might result in grave economic loss to the Nation. Thus one cannot escape the conclusion that relief has a function other than the support of residents of long standing. Highly restrictive residence laws damage the State and the Nation.

To pass to the other extreme, one may ask whether a community should stand ready to provide relief to all who come within its fold and should abolish all deterring factors such as residence requirements. So long as migration is considered desirable, this would seem to be a logical policy. Yet, here the vexing problem of variation in relief standards enters into the discussion. Not only the availability of relief, but also the level of relief grants serves as an inducement or as a deterrent to migration. One must face the further question of the desirability of equalizing relief standards throughout the country.

A great many factors enter into the determination of the appropriate standard of relief for a community. Assuming that high relief standards encourage, and that low relief standards deter, migration into a community, from a strictly economic point of view an appropriate relief standard would seem to be that which encouraged sufficient migration to provide the necessary labor supply for a community: that is, should a shortage of labor exist, relief standards might be increased to encourage migration into the community. When an oversupply of labor exists, and the relief rolls become crowded, relief standards might be lowered to encourage migration elsewhere. Communities do, in fact, partly compete for labor through relief standards, inasmuch as the relief standard is one of the services offered by the community and therefore a factor considered by the migrant.

It should again be emphasized that relative relief standards are only one of the factors affecting decisions to migrate and that other factors may well be more important. This statement has been concerned only with the relationship of relief to migration. Furthermore, I have laid emphasis on the economic aspects of relief and migration. It may very well be that other factors weigh more heavily in decisions of many migrants than do the economic aspects. People often move merely because of boredom, desire for change, to make new acquaintances, etc.

One other aspect of the migrancy problem deserves consideration, and that is the method of financing relief to destitute migrants. Under a federal government, such as our own, this presents a difficult problem. It requires a consideration of the fiscal structure of the Federal, State, and local governmental units, a subject much too broad to enter into here. I wish to point to only two of the major fiscal problems involved. In the first place, coordination of our Federal, State, and local fiscal structures is necessary, not only to provide for equitable sharing of tax burdens but also to provide sufficient funds to governmental units to carry on all their functions efficiently, including that of relief to destitute citizens. To name all of the obstacles to such coordination would, of course, require a review of the whole subject of public finance. In

the second place, the financial resources of one level of government can and should on occasion be transferred to another level of government where such policy is desirable. The two common devices to accomplish this end, as you are aware, are grants-in-aid and tax sharing.

In the light of the existing fiscal structure of Federal, State, and local governments, and the present division of responsibilities for performing governmental functions, what may be said concerning the financing of relief given to destitute migrants? Since Federal-State relations are the subject of this hearing, I shall omit reference to State-local relations. As between the Federal and State Governments it seems clear that most of the States are in no position to finance their present relief loads through equitable personal taxes. Many have been forced, through constitutional or practical limitations, to adopt sales taxes which lay a heavy burden on the poor. This is true of Illinois. The Federal Government must take the lead in providing better coordination of the national fiscal structure, and with its greater taxing powers and credit resources provide adequate funds from equitable revenue sources for the efficient performance of governmental functions.

As long as the States are hard pressed to meet their present burden of relief—and this can certainly be demonstrated for Illinois—it seems futile to expect them to abolish residence requirements, however desirable this may be on theoretical grounds. They may be expected to take a narrower view of the function of relief, and endeavor to confine it to their own citizens in an attempt to reduce the financial burden. But this obstructs desirable migration. As a first and immediate step in dealing with the problem, it, therefore, appears desirable that the Federal Government should assume the financial responsibility of extending relief to destitute migrants. By relieving the State of this financial burden the step would eliminate the hindrance to migration caused by unduly restrictive State residence requirements. With the Federal Government bearing the burden of relief to destitute migrants, the States might be more willing to eliminate or modify residence requirements, since this action would result in no added cost to them.

One precaution may be noted in the assumption of the burden of relief to migrants by the Federal Government. The Federal Government should not attempt to establish special standards of relief for migrants, but should generally require that these standards be identical with those for local citizens receiving relief. This would eliminate the possibility of a dual set of standards existing in the State,¹ and influence on the part of the Federal Government in the establishment of local relief standards. The latter should not be attempted directly, in my opinion. Final determination of relief standards should be a local responsibility.

Variations in relief standards would, then, serve as the only aspect of relief encouraging or deterring migration. This may not appear to be a satisfactory condition, but I am unable to suggest any change that would not be worse.

III. SOME FACTS CONCERNING INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS PERTAINING TO ILLINOIS

So far I have endeavored to state some fundamental considerations in the relationship between relief and migration, only because these aspects of the problem are often disregarded. I now wish to lay before this committee certain facts pertaining to this subject and relating to our experience in Illinois. First, I wish to review briefly the pertinent provisions of Illinois relief laws, and then present some factual material contained in studies of this subject in Illinois.

(i) *Illinois laws pertaining to destitute migrants.*—Prior to 1932, Illinois statutes provided that any person having residence in the State could receive relief from any local relief unit, but the relief thus granted was to be charged to the local governmental unit in which that person had residence one year prior to his application. Residence was defined in the law, as "the actual residence of the party, or the place where he was employed, or in case he was in

¹ The State of Massachusetts appears to have had some very unsatisfactory experience with a dual set of standards of this nature. Cf. Commonwealth of Massachusetts. House Doc. No. 1702 (January 24, 1938), p. 140.

no employment, then it shall be considered and held to be the place where he made it his home."² This definition was in the laws of Illinois since 1841 and was interpreted by the supreme court of the State in numerous decisions. In some local units these provisions were misunderstood by local overseers of the poor, or they were not adhered to for other reasons, but they provided a fairly definite method of dealing with nonresidents.

In February of 1932 the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission was created and took over from local governments the task of administering aid to the increasing unemployment-relief load. From August 1933 until September 1935 nonresidents and interstate transients in Illinois were cared for by a Federal transient program operated by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission under the Federal Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of May 1933. Biennial reports of the commission contain adequate descriptions of the activities of this unit.³ Federal grants for transients were terminated in November 1935 and the Illinois Service Bureau for Transients was then closed. The Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, however, authorized the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission to extend relief to transients under its regular program out of remaining balances of Federal funds.

When the W. P. A. got under way in 1935, most of the transient camps that had been organized by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission were transferred to the W. P. A. and were operated as work projects. A number of transients were transferred to regular W. P. A. projects. During the spring of 1937 most of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission transient camps were closed, and the W. P. A. discontinued the transient camps and transferred the transients to other W. P. A. projects.

On July 1, 1936, the responsibility for the administration of relief was transferred by the General Assembly of Illinois from the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission to 1,454 (now 1,455) townships and counties. The Illinois Emergency Relief Commission retained the responsibility of allocating State relief funds, of certifying persons for Federal services, and of supervising local relief administration. Nonresident recipients of unemployment relief once more came under the residence provisions of the Illinois pauper law mentioned above.

In July 1939 the Illinois pauper law was amended, and the provisions with respect to nonresidents were materially changed. Thereafter, relief was to be denied any person who did not reside in the local unit where application was made "for a period of 3 years immediately preceding" his application for relief. If the applicant did reside in some other local unit in the State for this 3-year period, the latter unit in which the applicant did have residence was required to remove the applicant and to pay for relief extended. The definition of "residence" was changed to mean the unit "in which a person has made his permanent home for a continuous period of 3 years, preceding his becoming chargeable as a pauper." Local governments were specifically permitted to use relief funds to pay the expense of transporting paupers to the place of their residence in other States.

The attorney general of Illinois has rendered an opinion in which he recognized that this amendatory act was a wide departure from the previous "policy of the State of Illinois to diminish as much as possible the number of unsettled paupers and to assign to as many as possible a legal settlement, because to do so is conducive to the good order of society."⁴ He held that "no one has a legal settlement liable for his support as a pauper except he who has resided continuously in one unit for 3 years or more, the only exception being one who, after having resided in such unit continuously for 3 years or more, removes to another unit and thereupon immediately makes application for relief under the pauper act." He also held, however, that this amendatory act is not retroactive and does not affect those who were already on relief at the time the act went into effect on July 26, 1939.

(ii) *Residence status of persons on Illinois relief rolls in 1939.*—While there are no accurate data available on the number of persons in the State who have been

² Smith Hurd Revised Statutes of Illinois, ch. 107, sec. 17.

³ See Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, First Annual Report for the Year Ending February 5, 1933; Second Annual Report Covering the Period February 6, 1933, Through June 30, 1934; Biennial Report, Covering the Period July 1, 1934, Through June 30, 1936.

⁴ Opinion of the Attorney General of Illinois to the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, August 15, 1939.

affected by the recent Illinois residence law, studies conducted by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission do indicate the residence status of those who were on the relief rolls at about the time this law went into effect.

A review of all the cases on relief in Illinois in the fall of 1939 revealed that almost 6,000 families and individuals, or about 4 percent of all those on the relief rolls at the time, had continuous residence for less than 3 years in the local unit in which they received relief. About 20 percent of these, or about 1,000 cases, were Negroes. Cook County had only 35 percent of the cases with less than 3 years' residence in the local unit in which they were receiving relief, and almost 80 percent in this Cook County group were Negroes. One-third of the cases with less than 3 years' continuous residence in the local unit in which they were receiving relief, or about 2,000 families and individuals, had less than 3 years' continuous residence in the State. These 2,000 families and individuals would definitely not be eligible for relief in Illinois had they applied after the new act went into effect. The remaining 4,000 cases, lacking 3 years of continuous residence in the local units in which they were receiving relief, would also be ineligible for relief under the new law if they applied after the act went into effect, unless they could show that they had resided continuously in some other local unit for 3 years immediately preceding their application for relief. Table 1 summarizes the facts.

It is difficult to determine statistically what has been or will be the effect of the recent Illinois 3-year residence law. It can certainly be said that many cases eligible under the former law would no longer be eligible under the present law. It is a reasonable assumption that the new law is resulting in the migration of some persons to other States without full knowledge of the economic desirability of such migration; that it is preventing many persons who are truly in need from receiving public relief; and that it is taxing the resources of private charities. That the new residence law is unsatisfactory cannot be denied. In my opinion, the test of eligibility for relief which it sets up is arbitrary and much too restrictive. It even deprives persons who have resided in Illinois for many years of the benefits of public aid.

(iii) *Analysis of interrelief agency correspondence forwarded by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission.*—One source of information in the volume of migration of destitute citizens is correspondence among public agencies concerning nonresidence. The Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act, or the transportation agreement, as it is commonly known, initiated by the American Public Welfare Association in 1931, aimed to achieve uniformity of treatment of destitute migrants. Other witnesses will, no doubt, discuss this agreement at length. The States signatory to this agreement bound themselves to make a reasonable effort, before transporting a migrant out of a State, to secure accurate and trustworthy evidence that he would benefit by a transfer and that he would be able to maintain himself or would be properly chargeable to a relief agency because of legal residence. The Illinois Emergency Relief Commission has functioned as the agency through which much correspondence has been forwarded from other States to local Illinois administrators. The correspondence of local Illinois administrators concerning destitute migrants from other States and now in Illinois does not pass through the hands of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, so that it is unfortunately impossible to compare the data on destitute migrants from other States into Illinois with that on destitute Illinois migrants who have gone to other States. Also, this correspondence fails to include inquiries which went directly to other public agencies eligible to serve as correspondents.

A study of this interagency correspondence forwarded by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission during 1938 does reveal some pertinent facts. During the year 1938 almost 2,800 inquiries were received. Table 2 accompanying shows the cities and States from which the major number of inquiries were received. More than three-fourths of these inquiries came from outside the State of Illinois. More inquiries came from California than from any other State, and the city of Los Angeles agencies made half of the California inquiries. New York ranked second to California, and most of the New York State inquiries came from New York City. Most of the other inquiries came from States bordering upon Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Indiana.

The purposes of inquiry are listed in table 3. While a majority of these inquiries did not concern requests for authorization to return to Illinois, the

other purposes of inquiry may subsequently have led to requests for such authorization. In any case, requests for authorization to return destitute persons to Illinois comprised more than one-third of all requests. California made the largest number of requests for authorization to return. The number of inquiries made by each State and the purposes of these inquiries are listed in table 4.

These data indicate that destitute Illinois citizens are found in large numbers in California, New York, and the States bordering on Illinois, and that most of them have migrated to the largest cities in these States. Unfortunately, this information in movement out of Illinois cannot be matched by data showing the status of destitute migrants from other States who have come into Illinois. Some information on the latter subject will be presented before this committee by representatives of the city of Chicago.

(iv) *Financial arrangements governing relief in Illinois.*—Arrangements for financing general relief in Illinois have a bearing upon the problem of migration by destitute citizens. Relief is jointly financed by the State and local governmental units in Illinois. Local units administering relief are required to make a 30-cent levy per \$100 of assessed valuation of property for relief purposes in order to establish eligibility to receive State relief funds. This 30-cent levy is the legal maximum which the local units can raise for relief purposes. All other funds are derived from State grants. During the calendar year 1939 a total of \$67,022,222 of obligations were incurred against public funds for relief in Illinois. Of this amount, \$18,589,572, or 27.4 percent, was committed against local funds, and nearly all of the remaining \$48,388,592, or 72.2 percent, against State funds. In the case of the city of Chicago the fraction of total obligations incurred out of State funds was even greater than for the State at large. Total obligations amounted to \$37,498,647, of which State funds supplied \$32,717,353, or 87.2 percent, and city funds supplied \$4,781,294, or 12.8 percent. Only about 36 percent of the 1,455 local relief-administering units in Illinois actually qualified to receive State relief funds, the majority having small case loads. The financial burden of relief granted to residents as well as nonresidents therefore falls mainly on the State governments.

It has sometimes been claimed that local officials have an inducement to be lenient with nonresidents and to give them relief, since costs would be paid mainly out of the State appropriation for relief. There is little or no evidence to substantiate this claim. In the review of the relief cases in Illinois, referred to above, only 724 families and individuals, or only one-half of 1 percent of a total of almost 150,000 cases, had less than 1 year of continuous residence in the local unit in which they received relief. To what extent the presence of this number of nonresidents indicated leniency and to what extent oversight or merely error in reporting is hard to determine. In any event the figures do not reveal any tendency toward leniency on the part of local relief officials, even if an inducement can be said to exist.

(v). *Illinois Emergency Relief Commission study in Alexander County, Ill.*—A recent study conducted by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission in Alexander County, at the southern extremity of Illinois, is of interest. Owing to a disruption of the relief administration of that county, State funds were withheld from it, and relief therein was virtually discontinued from February 1940 until April 1940. It was reported by certain observers that from 30 to 50 percent of those who had previously been on Alexander County relief roll emigrated from the county upon the discontinuation of relief, principally to the neighboring States of Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri. In May 1940 the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission made a careful investigation of relief needs in the county. Between January 1940 and May 1940 the number of families and individuals receiving relief in Alexander County was reduced from 762 to 548, or by almost 30 percent. More than a third of the remaining cases were found by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission to be ineligible for relief, so that only 353, or 46 percent of those who were on the rolls when relief was terminated, remained eligible for relief. The State-wide review of relief rolls (referred to previously) indicated that only 5 cases out of a total of 790 had less than 1 year of residence in Alexander County and only 28 cases had less than 3 years of continuous residence.

While the rumors of large emigration of relief recipients to other counties or States could not be verified, nevertheless it is difficult to account for the many relief cases which apparently disappeared from Alexander County rolls when

relief was discontinued. Assuming that some relief cases did migrate out of the county, presumably they moved with the hope of bettering their economic status. Employment opportunities elsewhere, real or fictitious, undoubtedly attracted some of them. The discontinuance of relief in Alexander County provided a further inducement.

Some indication of the level of monthly relief allowances in Alexander County in comparison with allowances in other Illinois localities is given in table 5. This table shows the monthly value of relief authorized for a 4-person family with no outside income during May 1940 in 22 selected Illinois townships and counties.⁵

The range of monthly allowances in May 1940 for the same family unit was from \$17.51 in Scott County to \$60.09 in Downers Grove, Du Page County. These figures are presented graphically on a map of Illinois, and show that allowances generally increase as one moves from the southern to the northern part of the State. The Alexander County allowance was second to the lowest in the group. Did the existence of higher allowances elsewhere provide an inducement to migration? If relief persons were aware of the recent 3-year residence law, and knew that they would not be eligible to receive relief elsewhere in the State, the higher relief standards in other areas could not have provided such an inducement. But they may not have been aware of the new law, or they may have expected lenient treatment from relief administrators elsewhere. All these are possibilities.

The level of relief allowances in neighboring States is also pertinent, but unfortunately data on a basis similar to that presented for Illinois are not available to us.

(vi) *Policies adopted by Federal relief agencies toward nonresidents.*—It is well to compare the policies adopted by Federal relief agencies in dealing with nonresidents with those of the State of Illinois. Generally, it may be said that the major Federal relief agencies in Illinois—the W. P. A., the C. C. C., the N. Y. A., and the Surplus Marketing Administration (formerly the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation)—have in general welcomed the nonresident in need of assistance on the same basis as the resident. All of these organizations have attempted to insure against discriminatory treatment of nonresidents by special provisions.

The W. P. A. employs persons certified by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission as in need and otherwise eligible. In the agreement between these organizations as to certification the following statement is found: "Persons otherwise eligible shall not be refused certification because legal settlement or residence has not been established within the State or a political subdivision thereof; the certifying agency shall be responsible for the certification of such persons. However, persons who move into the State or political subdivision thereof for the purpose of obtaining employment on W. P. A. projects shall not be eligible for certification."⁶

Thus persons who are not eligible for relief because they cannot meet the residence requirements of the State law are still eligible for W. P. A. employment. Nonresidents employed by the W. P. A. can gain residence by relief by being employed on a local unit for 3 years. Furthermore, the fact that W. P. A. wage rates are higher in most cases than relief allowances for similar families means that nonresidents assigned to the W. P. A. receive better treatment than residents who remain on the relief rolls.

Similar provisions are made by other Federal relief programs. Nonresidents otherwise eligible are certified for C. C. C., N. Y. A., and to receive commodities distributed by the Surplus Marketing Administration. The C. C. C. has provided for the assignment of nonresident young men to camps located in the States of their residence, but in practice this has been difficult to adhere to strictly, and nonresidents have been assigned on the same basis as residents.

⁵ It is necessary to point out that these allowances are provided regularly. They do not include additional amounts provided for particular purposes as needed, such as medical and dental care, hospitalization, special diets, medical appliances, clothing (other than articles from sewing projects), household supplies, nursing care, clinic or school transportation, burial, moving expenses, ice, and adjustments in rental allowances in special circumstances. Not all of these items were available in all the 22 units, since they varied in the items provided.

⁶ Joint agreement between the W. P. A. of Illinois and the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, signed July 15, 1940.

Federal relief agencies have certainly adopted an attitude toward the non-resident wholly different than have State relief agencies.

(vii) *Summary and conclusions.*—In order to draw together the major points that appear to emerge from the foregoing discussion, I present for the consideration of this committee the following conclusions:

1. Interstate migration of destitute as well as self-supporting families and individuals is desirable, so long as the migrant acts on full knowledge of relative employment opportunities.

2. Every effort should be made by governmental authorities to make knowledge of employment opportunities more readily available, to improve existing sources of information, and to prevent the dissemination of untrue or inaccurate information.

3. Although the availability of relief and the level of relief allowances to migrants acts as a force in encouraging or discouraging migration, it is impossible to say what weight it carries in the decisions of persons to migrate.

4. It is recommended that, as a first and immediate step, the Federal Government should assume the financial responsibility of relief to destitute migrants. By relieving the States and localities of this burden, the Federal Government will encourage the States to eliminate or modify residence requirements that unduly restrict migration.

5. A study of length of residence of families and individuals on relief in Illinois in the fall of 1939 indicated that 6,000 cases, or only about 4 percent of those on relief, had resided less than 3 years in the locality in which they were receiving relief. About one-third of these families had resided less than 3 years in the State of Illinois. This is a surprisingly small figure.

6. A study of correspondence passing through the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission from relief administrators outside Illinois to Illinois relief administrators indicates that destitute former residents of Illinois are now found chiefly in California, New York, and the States bordering on Illinois. Apparently, most of these emigrants have gone to the largest cities of these States.

7. While the State government provides about three-quarters of the funds spent on relief in Illinois, there is no evidence of leniency on the part of local relief administrators toward nonresident cases.

8. Monthly relief allowances vary greatly as between local governments in Illinois, but it is impossible to determine whether this has actually operated as a stimulus to migration within the State. Data on relative relief allowances in neighboring States on a comparable basis are not available.

9. Public assistance agencies of the Federal Government do not discriminate against the nonresident in Illinois, unlike the State and local agencies.

TABLE 1.—*Number of cases on relief in Illinois with less than 3 years' residence in local units in which they received relief by race, by less than 3 years' residence in county, and by less than 3 years' residence in State, fall, 1939*

County and local unit	Less than 3 years' residence in local governmental unit								
	Total cases	White and other	Negro	Less than 3 years' residence in county			Less than 3 years' residence in State		
				Total	White and other	Negro	Total	White and other	Negro
Total State.....	5, 771	4, 625	1, 146	3, 333	2, 306	1, 027	1, 926	991	935
Total Cook County.....	2, 015	1, 069	946	1, 431	563	868	1, 263	429	834
Down State.....	3, 756	3, 556	200	1, 902	1, 743	159	663	562	101
Adams County: Quincy.....	69	66	3	42	41	1	27	26	1
Alexander.....	28	12	16	22	8	14	12	1	11
Bond.....	13	13	-----	4	4	-----	-----	-----	-----
Shoal Creek.....	4	4	-----	3	3	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	9	9	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
Boone: Belvidere.....	6	6	-----	6	6	-----	2	2	-----
Brown.....	12	12	-----	6	6	-----	1	1	-----
Bureau.....	11	11	-----	4	4	-----	1	1	-----
Hall.....	5	5	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	6	6	-----	3	3	-----	1	1	-----

TABLE 1.—Number of cases on relief in Illinois with less than 3 years' residence in local units in which they received relief by race, by less than 3 years' residence in county, and by less than 3 years' residence in State, fall, 1939—Continued

County and local unit	Less than 3 years' residence in local governmental unit								
	Total cases	White and other	Negro	Less than 3 years' residence in county			Less than 3 years' residence in State		
				Total	White and other	Negro	Total	White and other	Negro
Carroll.....	3	3		2	2				
Savanna.....	1	1		1	1				
All other units.....	2	2		1	1				
Cass.....	47	47		28	28		7	7	
Beardstown.....	28	28		22	22		5	5	
All other units.....	19	19		6	6		2	2	
Champaign.....	26	23	3	13	11	2	4	2	2
Champaign City.....	4	4		1	1				
Cunningham.....	10	7	3	6	4	2	3	1	2
All other units.....	12	12		6	6		1	1	
Christian.....	59	59		24	24		8	8	
Pana.....	5	5		3	3		2	2	
South Fork.....	12	12		10	10		3	3	
Taylorville.....	21	21		4	4		2	2	
All other units.....	21	21		7	7		1	1	
Clark.....	25	25		9	9		2	2	
Marshall.....	6	6		4	4		1	1	
All other units.....	19	19		5	5		1	1	
Clay.....	7	7		3	3		2	2	
Harter.....	3	3		2	2		2	2	
All other units.....	4	4		1	1				
Clinton.....	8	8		6	6		3	3	
Breese.....	2	2		2	2		2	2	
All other units.....	6	6		4	4		1	1	
Coles.....	48	48		19	19		4	4	
Charleston.....	11	11		5	5				
Mattoon.....	15	15		10	10		4	4	
All other units.....	22	22		4	4				
Cook County.....	2,015	1,069	946	1,431	563	868	1,263	429	834
Chicago.....	1,556	672	884	1,348	503	845	1,212	399	813
Excluding Chicago.....	459	397	62	83	60	23	51	30	21
Outside Chicago:									
Berwyn.....	22	22		2	2		1	1	
Bloom.....	10	10		4	4		3	3	
Bremen.....	74	33	41	10	1	9	9	1	8
Calumet.....	15	15		2	2		1	1	
Cicero.....	15	15		3	3		2	2	
Evanston.....	15	6	9	11	4	7	9	3	6
Leyden.....	62	62		5	5		3	3	
Lyons.....	26	23	3	5	4	1	2	1	1
Oak Park.....	43	43		7	7		5	5	
Proviso.....	43	38	5	12	8	4	7	3	4
Stickney.....	31	31		1	1				
Thornton.....	13	12	1	4	3	1	3	2	1
Wheeling.....	7	7							
Worth.....	50	47	3	9	8	1	6	5	1
All other units.....	33	33		8	8				
Crawford.....	36	36		5	5		2	2	
Robinson.....	7	7		1	1		1	1	
All other units.....	29	29		4	4		1	1	

TABLE 1.—Number of cases on relief in Illinois with less than 3 years' residence in local units in which they received relief by race, by less than 3 years' residence in county, and by less than 3 years' residence in State, fall, 1939—Continued

County and local unit	Less than 3 years' residence in local governmental unit								
	Total cases	White and other	Negro	Less than 3 years' residence in county			Less than 3 years' residence in State		
				Total	White and other	Negro	Total	White and other	Negro
Cumberland.....	10	10	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----
De Kalb.....	15	15	-----	10	10	-----	3	3	-----
De Kalb.....	8	8	-----	6	6	-----	2	2	-----
Sycamore.....	4	4	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	3	3	-----	3	3	-----	1	1	-----
De Witt.....	37	36	1	19	18	1	1	-----	1
Clintonia.....	27	26	1	17	16	1	1	-----	1
All other units.....	10	10	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----
Douglas.....	26	26	-----	17	17	-----	2	2	-----
Arcola.....	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	25	25	-----	16	16	-----	2	2	-----
Du Page.....	66	66	-----	43	43	-----	9	9	-----
Downers Grove.....	22	22	-----	15	15	-----	5	5	-----
Lisle.....	8	8	-----	6	6	-----	-----	-----	-----
York.....	14	14	-----	8	8	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	22	22	-----	14	14	-----	3	3	-----
Edgar.....	18	18	-----	12	12	-----	4	4	-----
Paris.....	7	7	-----	6	6	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	11	11	-----	6	6	-----	3	3	-----
Edwards.....	3	3	-----	3	3	-----	1	1	-----
Effingham.....	3	3	-----	3	3	-----	-----	-----	-----
Douglas.....	2	2	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
Fayette.....	14	14	-----	8	8	-----	2	2	-----
Vandalia.....	8	8	-----	4	4	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	6	6	-----	4	4	-----	2	2	-----
Ford.....	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----
Franklin.....	181	181	-----	73	73	-----	20	20	-----
Benton.....	32	32	-----	18	18	-----	6	6	-----
Browning.....	26	26	-----	6	6	-----	3	3	-----
Denning.....	9	9	-----	4	4	-----	1	1	-----
Frankfort.....	30	30	-----	13	13	-----	-----	-----	-----
Goode.....	12	12	-----	4	4	-----	1	1	-----
Six Mile.....	15	15	-----	9	9	-----	5	5	-----
Tyrone.....	42	42	-----	15	15	-----	3	3	-----
All other units.....	15	15	-----	4	4	-----	1	1	-----
Fulton.....	82	82	-----	29	29	-----	5	5	-----
Canton.....	16	16	-----	9	9	-----	2	2	-----
Farmington.....	13	13	-----	7	7	-----	-----	-----	-----
Lewistown.....	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	52	52	-----	13	13	-----	3	3	-----
Gallatin.....	64	64	-----	36	36	-----	27	27	-----
Equality.....	8	8	-----	5	5	-----	1	1	-----
Shawnee.....	10	10	-----	3	3	-----	2	2	-----
All other units.....	46	46	-----	28	28	-----	24	24	-----

TABLE 1.—Number of cases on relief in Illinois with less than 3 years' residence in local units in which they received relief by race, by less than 3 years' residence in county, and by less than 3 years' residence in State, fall, 1939—Continued

County and local unit	Less than 3 years' residence in local governmental unit								
	Total cases	White and other	Negro	Less than 3 years' residence in county			Less than 3 years' residence in State		
				Total	White and other	Negro	Total	White and other	Negro
Greene.....	57	57	-----	16	16	-----	3	3	-----
Roodhouse.....	9	9	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
White Hall.....	10	10	-----	5	5	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	38	38	-----	10	10	-----	2	2	-----
Grundy.....	9	9	-----	6	6	-----	-----	-----	-----
Morris.....	6	6	-----	4	4	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	3	3	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----
Hamilton.....	20	20	-----	11	11	-----	1	1	-----
McLeansboro.....	11	11	-----	5	5	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	9	9	-----	6	6	-----	-----	-----	-----
Hancock.....	13	13	-----	3	3	-----	2	2	-----
Dallas City.....	5	5	-----	2	2	-----	2	2	-----
All other units.....	8	8	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
Hardin.....	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----
Henderson.....	5	5	-----	4	4	-----	3	3	-----
Oquawka.....	4	4	-----	4	4	-----	3	3	-----
All other units.....	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Henry.....	18	17	1	12	11	1	7	6	1
Galva.....	5	5	-----	3	3	-----	2	2	-----
Kewanee.....	5	4	1	3	2	1	2	1	1
All other units.....	8	8	-----	6	6	-----	3	3	-----
Iroquois.....	11	11	-----	4	4	-----	2	2	-----
Milford.....	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	1	10	-----	3	3	-----	2	2	-----
Jackson.....	49	36	13	31	20	11	13	7	6
Carbondale.....	12	7	5	7	3	4	2	1	1
Murphysboro.....	11	6	5	9	4	5	5	1	4
All other units.....	26	23	3	15	13	2	6	5	1
Jasper.....	8	8	-----	3	3	-----	2	2	-----
Jefferson.....	42	38	4	19	15	4	6	5	1
Mount Vernon.....	26	22	4	14	10	4	6	5	1
All other units.....	16	16	-----	5	5	-----	-----	-----	-----
Jersey.....	6	6	-----	4	4	-----	-----	-----	-----
Jersey.....	5	5	-----	3	3	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
Jo Daviess.....	3	3	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----
West Galena.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	3	3	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----
Johnson.....	5	4	1	5	4	1	2	1	1
Kane.....	45	42	3	30	27	3	8	8	-----
Aurora.....	26	23	3	21	18	3	5	5	-----
Dundee.....	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----
Elgin.....	2	2	-----	2	2	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	16	16	-----	6	6	-----	1	1	-----

TABLE 1.—Number of cases on relief in Illinois with less than 3 years' residence in local units in which they received relief by race, by less than 3 years' residence in county, and by less than 3 years' residence in State, fall, 1939—Continued

County and local unit	Less than 3 years' residence in local governmental unit								
	Total cases	White and other	Negro	Less than 3 years' residence in county			Less than 3 years' residence in State		
				Total	White and other	Negro	Total	White and other	Negro
Kankakee.....	44	38	6	18	14	4	3	2	1
Bourbonnais.....	7	7	—	4	4	—	—	—	—
Kankakee.....	13	9	4	7	4	3	1	—	1
All other units.....	24	22	2	7	6	1	2	2	—
Kendall.....	7	7	—	3	3	—	—	—	—
Knox.....	50	43	2	30	29	1	10	9	1
Galesburg City.....	24	22	2	16	15	1	7	6	1
Knox.....	12	12	—	9	9	—	2	2	—
All other units.....	14	14	—	5	5	—	1	1	—
Lake.....	148	140	8	50	43	7	26	21	5
Deerfield.....	4	4	—	3	3	—	1	1	—
Libertyville.....	21	21	—	2	2	—	1	1	—
Shields.....	9	7	2	2	—	2	1	—	1
Waukegan.....	32	27	5	18	14	4	12	9	3
Zion.....	22	21	1	10	9	1	7	6	1
All other units.....	60	60	—	15	15	—	4	4	—
La Salle.....	90	87	3	23	22	1	5	5	—
Bruce.....	15	15	—	—	—	—	3	3	—
La Salle.....	9	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Manlius.....	3	3	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Ottawa.....	20	19	1	12	12	—	1	1	—
Peru.....	9	9	—	3	3	—	1	1	—
All other units.....	34	32	2	7	6	1	—	—	—
Lawrence.....	43	43	—	21	21	—	6	6	—
Denison.....	5	5	—	3	3	—	1	1	—
Lawrence.....	19	19	—	11	11	—	4	4	—
All other units.....	19	19	—	7	7	—	1	1	—
Livingston.....	17	17	—	9	9	—	2	2	—
Indian Grove.....	4	4	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
Pontiac.....	6	6	—	2	2	—	1	1	—
All other units.....	7	7	—	5	5	—	1	1	—
Logan.....	51	50	1	9	8	1	2	2	—
East Lincoln.....	20	19	1	4	3	1	—	—	—
West Lincoln.....	20	20	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
All other units.....	11	11	—	4	4	—	2	2	—
McDonough.....	37	37	—	15	15	—	4	4	—
Bushnell.....	10	10	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
Macomb City.....	20	20	—	9	9	—	4	4	—
All other units.....	7	7	—	4	4	—	—	—	—
McHenry.....	11	11	—	5	5	—	2	2	—
Dorr.....	7	7	—	3	3	—	1	1	—
All other units.....	4	4	—	2	2	—	1	1	—
McLean.....	138	134	4	33	31	2	10	10	—
Bloomington City.....	49	45	4	20	18	2	7	7	—
Empire.....	6	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Normal.....	19	19	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
All other units.....	64	64	—	11	11	—	3	3	—

TABLE 1.—Number of cases on relief in Illinois with less than 3 years' residence in local units in which they received relief by race, by less than 3 years' residence in county, and by less than 3 years' residence in State, fall, 1939—Continued

County and local unit	Less than 3 years' residence in local governmental unit								
	Total cases	White and other	Negro	Less than 3 years' residence in county			Less than 3 years' residence in State		
				Total	White and other	Negro	Total	White and other	Negro
Macon.....	64	61	3	26	23	3	8	6	2
Decatur.....	32	29	3	22	19	3	7	5	2
All other units.....	32	32	-----	4	4	-----	1	1	-----
Macoupin.....	90	90	-----	35	35	-----	11	11	-----
Cahokia.....	3	3	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----
Carlinville.....	8	8	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----
Gillespie.....	6	6	-----	4	4	-----	-----	-----	-----
Girard.....	12	12	-----	5	5	-----	1	1	-----
Mount Olive.....	5	5	-----	2	2	-----	2	2	-----
Stamton.....	8	8	-----	2	2	-----	1	1	-----
Virden.....	17	17	-----	4	4	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	31	31	-----	15	15	-----	5	5	-----
Madison.....	139	128	11	64	54	10	35	27	8
Alton.....	16	11	5	14	9	5	8	3	5
Collinsville.....	6	5	1	6	5	1	6	5	1
Edwardsville.....	4	4	-----	3	3	-----	1	1	-----
Granite City.....	9	9	-----	4	4	-----	2	2	-----
Nameoki.....	18	18	-----	4	4	-----	2	2	-----
Venice.....	31	26	5	16	12	4	11	9	2
Wood River.....	35	35	-----	9	9	-----	3	3	-----
All other units.....	20	20	-----	8	8	-----	2	2	-----
Marion.....	33	29	4	25	21	4	8	5	3
Centralia.....	11	7	4	10	6	4	3	-----	3
Salem.....	10	10	-----	8	8	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	12	12	-----	7	7	-----	4	4	-----
Marshall.....	9	9	-----	7	7	-----	1	1	-----
Bennington.....	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	7	7	-----	7	7	-----	-----	-----	-----
Mason.....	14	14	-----	6	6	-----	2	2	-----
Massac.....	12	12	-----	12	12	-----	4	4	-----
Menard.....	43	43	-----	21	21	-----	4	4	-----
Mercer.....	23	23	-----	8	8	-----	1	1	-----
New Boston.....	9	9	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	14	14	-----	6	6	-----	1	1	-----
Montgomery.....	56	56	-----	35	35	-----	7	7	-----
Hillsboro.....	6	6	-----	4	4	-----	-----	-----	-----
Nokomis.....	4	4	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
North Litchfield.....	5	5	-----	3	3	-----	3	3	-----
All other units.....	41	41	-----	27	27	-----	4	4	-----
Morgan.....	38	34	4	34	31	3	8	6	2
Moultrie.....	15	15	-----	11	11	-----	3	3	-----
Sullivan.....	5	5	-----	4	4	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	10	10	-----	7	7	-----	2	2	-----
Ogle.....	11	11	-----	6	6	-----	2	2	-----
Flagg.....	8	8	-----	5	5	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	3	3	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----

TABLE 1.—*Number of cases on relief in Illinois with less than 3 years' residence in local units in which they received relief by race, by less than 3 years' residence in county, and by less than 3 years' residence in State, fall, 1939—*
Continued

County and local unit	Less than 3 years' residence in local governmental unit								
	Total cases	White and other	Negro	Less than 3 years' residence in county			Less than 3 years' residence in State		
				Total	White and other	Negro	Total	White and other	Negr
Peoria.....	111	101	10	73	63	10	24	17	7
Peoria City.....	65	56	9	51	42	9	17	11	6
All other units.....	46	45	1	22	21	1	7	6	1
Perry.....	15	14	1	13	12	1	2	1	1
Piatt.....	8	8		4	4		3	3	
Pike.....	53	53		29	29		11	11	
Barry.....	9	9		6	6		3	3	
Pearl.....	9	9		6	6		2	2	
All other units.....	35	35		17	17		6	6	
Pope.....	12	11	1	12	11	1	5	4	1
Pulaski.....	19	9	10	18	8	10	10	4	6
Putnam.....	6	6		6	6				
Granville.....	4	4		4	4				
All other units.....	2	2		2	2				
Randolph.....	85	82	3	62	59	3	20	18	2
Rock Island.....	26	25	1	15	14	1	12	12	
Hampton.....	10	10		5	5		5	5	
Rock Island.....	7	6	1	5	4	1	3	3	
All other units.....	9	9		5	5		4	4	
St. Clair.....	156	110	46	81	52	29	53	32	21
Belleville.....	11	11		7	7		4	4	
Canteen.....	18	18		8	8		10	10	
Centerville.....	36	18	18	12	6	6	5	1	4
East St. Louis.....	48	30	18	34	19	15	22	12	10
Stites.....	9		9	8		8	7		7
All other units.....	34	33	1	12	12		5	5	
Saline.....	141	133	8	52	47	5	12	11	1
Carrier Mills.....	24	20	4	8	5	3	2	2	
East Eldorado.....	24	24		13	13		1	1	
Harrisburg.....	37	34	3	11	9	2	5	4	1
Independence.....	9	9		2	2				
Raleigh.....	26	25	1	6	6		1	1	
All other units.....	21	21		12	12		3	3	
Sangamon.....	116	113	3	48	46	2	20	18	2
Auburn.....	5	5		2	2				
Capital.....	33	30	3	17	15	2	8	6	2
Clear Lake.....	1	1							
Mechanicsburg.....	14	14		2	2		1	1	
Springfield.....	12	12		6	6		5	5	
Woodside.....	12	12		5	5		1	1	
All other units.....	39	39		16	16		5	5	
Schuyler.....	26	26		10	10		1	1	
Rushville.....	8	8		4	4		1	1	
All other units.....	18	18		6	6				
Scott.....	6	6		4	4		1	1	
Shelby.....	30	30		15	15		5	5	
Shelbyville.....	6	6		1	1		1	1	
All other units.....	24	24		14	14		4	4	

TABLE 1.—Number of cases on relief in Illinois with less than 3 years' residence in local units in which they received relief by race, by less than 3 years' residence in county, and by less than 3 years' residence in State, fall, 1939—Continued

Continued

County and local unit	Less than 3 years' residence in local governmental unit								
	Total cases	White and other	Negro	Less than 3 years' residence in county			Less than 3 years' residence in State		
				Total	White and other	Negro	Total	White and other	Negro
Stephenson.....	9	8	1	3	2	1	-----	-----	-----
Freeport.....	5	5	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	4	3	1	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----
Tazewell.....	90	90	-----	63	63	-----	9	9	-----
Fondulac.....	43	43	-----	40	40	-----	4	4	-----
Groveland.....	14	14	-----	9	9	-----	1	1	-----
Pekin.....	24	24	-----	12	12	-----	4	4	-----
All other units.....	9	9	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----
Union.....	36	36	-----	14	14	-----	4	4	-----
Vermillion.....	104	97	7	49	43	6	22	17	5
Danville.....	33	27	6	23	17	6	14	9	5
Elwood.....	6	6	-----	3	3	-----	1	1	-----
Georgetown.....	13	13	-----	6	6	-----	3	3	-----
Grant.....	11	11	-----	9	9	-----	3	3	-----
Oakwood.....	4	4	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	37	36	1	7	7	-----	1	1	-----
Wabash.....	7	7	-----	7	7	-----	5	5	-----
Warren.....	19	18	1	13	12	1	2	2	-----
Monmouth.....	14	13	1	9	8	1	2	2	-----
All other units.....	5	5	-----	4	4	-----	-----	-----	-----
Washington.....	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----
Wayne.....	28	28	-----	8	8	-----	2	2	-----
Four Mile.....	4	4	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----
Orel.....	5	5	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	19	19	-----	4	4	-----	2	2	-----
White.....	26	25	1	15	15	-----	5	5	-----
Indian Creek.....	5	5	-----	4	4	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	21	20	1	11	11	-----	5	5	-----
Whiteside.....	11	11	-----	7	7	-----	4	4	-----
Fulton.....	3	3	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----
All other units.....	8	8	-----	6	6	-----	3	3	-----
Will.....	64	59	5	38	34	4	7	4	3
Joliet.....	36	32	4	24	20	4	7	4	3
Lockport.....	4	3	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
All other units.....	24	24	-----	14	14	-----	-----	-----	-----
Williamson.....	71	66	5	69	64	5	18	17	1
Winnebago.....	84	78	6	67	61	6	39	34	5
Rockford.....	61	56	5	55	50	5	31	27	4
All other units.....	23	22	1	12	11	1	8	7	1
Woodford.....	3	3	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----

TABLE 2.—*Sources of interagency inquiries received by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission in 1938*

(Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, division of certification and service, July 13, 1939)

Point of origin	Number of inquiries	Point of origin	Number of inquiries
California.....	818	Missouri.....	123
Los Angeles.....	408	St. Louis.....	73
Oakland.....	46	Scattered cities.....	50
San Diego.....	41	New York.....	200
San Francisco.....	52	New York City.....	123
Scattered cities.....	271	Scattered cities.....	77
Illinois.....	628	Ohio.....	74
Chicago.....	586	Cleveland.....	27
Scattered cities.....	42	Toledo.....	26
Indiana.....	71	Scattered cities.....	21
Indianapolis.....	45	Oregon.....	68
Scattered cities.....	26	Portland.....	30
Iowa.....	141	Scattered cities.....	38
Des Moines.....	41	Washington.....	86
Davenport.....	24	Seattle.....	24
Scattered cities.....	76	Scattered cities.....	62
Michigan.....	162	Wisconsin.....	99
Detroit.....	60	Milwaukee.....	63
Lansing.....	25	Scattered cities.....	36
Scattered cities.....	77	Other States.....	253
Minnesota.....	69		
Minneapolis.....	25		
St. Paul.....	36		
Scattered cities.....	6		

TABLE 3.—*Purposes of interagency inquiries received by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission in 1938*

(Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, division of certification and service, July 13, 1939)

Rank	Purposes of inquiry	Volume	Percentage
1	Authorization to return.....	¹ 1,008	¹ 36.1
2	Support from relatives.....	638	22.8
3	Social investigation.....	478	17.1
4	Verification of residence.....	¹ 274	¹ 9.8
5	Unknown.....	237	8.4
6	Other.....	111	3.9
7	Vital statistics.....	46	1.6
	Total.....	2,792	100.0

¹ The total number pertaining to residence is 1,282, or 45.9 percent of the total number of letters received.

TABLE 4.—*Number and purpose of interagency inquiries received by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission in 1938*

[Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, division of certification and service, July 13, 1939]

State (a)	Number of inquiries (b)	Purpose of inquiry						
		Authori- zation to return (c)	Verifica- tion of residence (d)	Social in- vestiga- tion (e)	Support from relative (f)	Vital statistics (g)	Other (h)	Un- known (i)
United States total.....	2,792	1,008	274	478	638	46	111	237
Percent.....	100.0	36.1	9.8	17.1	22.8	1.6	3.9	8.4
Alabama.....	10	1	—	3	5	—	—	1
Arizona.....	8	3	—	1	2	—	1	1
Arkansas.....	4	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
California.....	818	324	50	91	234	10	37	72
Colorado.....	4	1	—	1	1	—	—	1
Connecticut.....	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Delaware.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Florida.....	5	1	—	1	2	—	—	1
Georgia.....	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	1
Idaho.....	3	—	1	1	—	—	—	1
Illinois.....	628	315	87	110	68	1	22	25
Indiana.....	71	14	4	28	4	—	5	14
Iowa.....	141	39	13	25	36	2	7	19
Kansas.....	23	2	1	5	10	2	—	3
Kentucky.....	3	1	—	1	1	—	—	—
Louisiana.....	21	3	—	3	15	—	—	—
Maine.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maryland.....	7	3	—	—	3	—	—	1
Massachusetts.....	4	2	—	—	—	—	2	—
Michigan.....	162	80	37	15	16	3	3	8
Minnesota.....	69	26	5	13	10	4	3	8
Mississippi.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Missouri.....	123	15	6	33	52	6	4	7
Montana.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nebraska.....	23	2	1	5	11	—	2	2
Nevada.....	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Hampshire.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Jersey.....	3	1	—	1	1	—	—	—
New Mexico.....	4	—	—	1	3	—	—	—
New York.....	200	46	40	38	49	3	1	23
North Carolina.....	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
North Dakota.....	14	1	1	4	5	1	—	2
Ohio.....	74	25	3	16	16	2	6	6
Oklahoma.....	10	1	—	2	4	1	1	1
Oregon.....	68	25	4	6	23	—	4	6
Pennsylvania.....	51	16	2	10	11	1	3	8
Rhode Island.....	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
South Carolina.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Dakota.....	3	—	—	2	1	—	—	—
Tennessee.....	11	—	—	3	6	—	1	1
Texas.....	6	—	—	4	1	—	—	—
Utah.....	11	—	1	3	7	—	—	—
Vermont.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia.....	4	1	—	1	1	—	—	1
Washington.....	86	24	5	21	19	4	5	8
Washington, D. C.....	4	—	—	3	—	—	—	1
West Virginia.....	10	2	—	1	4	2	—	1
Wisconsin.....	99	32	12	24	13	2	4	12
Wyoming.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 5.—Amount of relief authorized¹ for a family of 4² with no outside income in selected³ relief units in Illinois, May 1940

[Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, division of certification and service, Aug. 8, 1940]

<i>Relief unit</i>	<i>Relief authorized May 1940⁴</i>
Downers Grove (Du Page County)-----	\$60.09
City of Chicago (Cook County)-----	59.84
Wheeling (Cook County)-----	49.94
Rock Island (Rock Island County)-----	48.86
Springfield (Sangamon County)-----	46.72
Capitol (Sangamon County)-----	45.51
City of Peoria (Peoria County)-----	42.71
South Rock Island (Rock Island County)-----	42.64
Perry County (commission)-----	42.31
East St. Louis (St. Clair County)-----	41.42
Massac County (commission county)-----	35.97
City of Rockford (Winnebago County)-----	35.76
Williamson County (commission)-----	34.97
Sycamore (De Kalb County)-----	33.89
Taylorville (Christian County)-----	32.06
Carrier Mills (Saline County)-----	31.63
Mall (Bureau County)-----	30.57
Hillsboro (Montgomery County)-----	30.06
Arcola (Douglas County)-----	26.83
Pulaski County (commission)-----	22.41
Alexander County (commission)-----	19.75
Scott County (commission)-----	17.51

¹ Items authorized for issue only in special case circumstances have been excluded. Such items are special diets, transportation for school or clinic, medical care, and hospitalization.² Man, woman, boy 13, girl 8.³ Selected to give coverage of State in terms of geographical location, 1930 population, size of case load, and types of economic activity predominating in various sections of the State.⁴ Preliminary figures subject to revision.

TESTIMONY OF MR. AND MRS. GEORGE HANKE

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. and Mrs. Hanke. Congressman Sparkman will question you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will you state your name for the record, please.

Mr. HANKE. George Hanke.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old are you, Mr. Hanke?

Mr. HANKE. Thirty-seven.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. HANKE. Chicago.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have lived in Chicago all of your life?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What education did you have?

Mr. HANKE. Grammar-school graduate.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have a trade?

Mr. HANKE. I do.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is it?

Mr. HANKE. My dad taught me wood-working machines.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Wood-working machines?

Mr. HANKE. Wood-working machines, sawing and wood working.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that your family?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. One baby?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old is the baby?

Mr. HANKE. Four months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you ever been on relief?

Mr. HANKE. I was part time, and then on private employment, and then back on relief again.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When was that?

Mr. HANKE. From 1935 to 1939.

RELIEF AND RESIDENCE STATUS

Mr. SPARKMAN. How did you happen to get off relief in 1939?

Mr. HANKE. I accepted private employment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where?

Mr. HANKE. In Chicago and up in Minneapolis.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When you went to Minneapolis, did you move up there?

Mr. HANKE. I went up there, and naturally I would have to make my—I would have to live up there for the time being while the work was being done up there. I couldn't travel back and forth.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, when you went, you went simply to stay there while you were working?

Mr. HANKE. While I was working; yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. While you had work?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then it was your intention to return to Chicago?

Mr. HANKE. It was my intention to return to Chicago, because I was born here and raised here, and this was my home here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You were on relief in Chicago?

Mr. HANKE. I was on relief in Chicago; yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You went to Minneapolis to accept private employment?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you discuss with the Chicago relief people before you left what you were going to do?

Mr. HANKE. I did, over at the Wicker Park station.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you state to them you were going to Minneapolis to accept a private position?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you work in Minneapolis?

Mr. HANKE. Four and a half months at the Mitchell Battery Corporation. Then I was on a farm, working on farms threshing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You had total employment there of how much? Was it about 6 months?

Mr. HANKE. Possibly about 6 months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you go on relief there?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. After your employment was up?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When was that?

Mr. HANKE. From about December 1939 until the 7th of March 1940.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you work at the battery place until the job ran out?

Mr. HANKE. Yes; I was laid off there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then you got a job harvesting?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You stayed with that until the season was over?

Mr. HANKE. Yes; until that was through.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then you went on relief and stayed until March?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What happened in March?

Mr. HANKE. I was due for another ticket. I had to call at the relief office there and I was posted—when I came at 8 o'clock in the morning. I was posted to come back at 1, 1 o'clock in the afternoon, not stating what was to be done. When I came back at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, I was told that they were sending me back to Chicago on the 4 o'clock train that very day. They drove me home and bought a ticket.

My wife was carrying the baby at the time. She was over at the prenatal clinic. The case worker called up the prenatal clinic and asked the doctor if she was able to travel by train. He said "Yes," even in spite of her condition, and they sent us down.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When was the baby born?

Mr. HANKE. March 31, 1940.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This was about 3 weeks before the baby was born?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When you applied for relief at Minneapolis, did you have any difficulty getting it?

Mr. HANKE. Well, I had to—I didn't have much difficulty.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Here is what I am getting at, Mr. Hanke: Did Minneapolis accept you as a resident there, or were you considered as a resident of Chicago?

Mr. HANKE. I was taken in there on relief as a transient.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As a transient?

Mr. HANKE. Yes; they have a transient bureau there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you give them your Chicago connection?

Mr. HANKE. Right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you know whether or not they got in touch with Chicago relief?

Mr. HANKE. They got in touch with Chicago relief.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did Chicago ask for you to be sent back?

Mr. HANKE. No; not according to Chicago. Chicago stated that Minneapolis sent me back.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You got that word after you got back down here?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did Minneapolis tell you they had contacted Chicago?

Mr. HANKE. They stated they contacted Chicago and when I arrived here all I had to do was go down to the relief office here, and I would be taken care of.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They furnished you a ticket from Minneapolis?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did they give you any expense money or anything?

Mr. HANKE. They gave us a few dollars expense money for food.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What time did you get to Chicago?

Mr. HANKE. About midnight.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you do then?

Mr. HANKE. We slept in the railroad depot.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You and your wife, Mrs. Hanke?

Mr. HANKE. We slept in the railroad depot; yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you go down to the relief office the next day?

Mr. HANKE. The following morning; yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What happened?

Mr. HANKE. I went to the Chicago relief office at Wicker Park. They stated I would have to report to Harrison and Halsted, to the transient bureau. I went down and they gave me an application, listened to my case and gave me an application and I filled it out. I had that okayed and notarized, and then they gave me a card stating that I was supposed to be back there at 9:30, the 13th of March.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This was about the 8th of March?

Mr. HANKE. This was the 8th of March. They gave me a card, and I was supposed to report back on the 13th.

Mr. SPARKMAN. On the 13th?

Mr. HANKE. Yes. I came down there, my wife and I. We sat there on the nice soft benches they have there from 9:30 in the morning until 4:30 in the afternoon, without a bite to eat or anything. We came back and a young lady come out and said "I am awfully sorry, but I can't do anything for you. You are listed as a non-resident. I spoke to our legal department, and they are not going to carry you unless you are here 3 years."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, you had been here all of your life?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And had gone away and stayed away about 6 months?

Mr. HANKE. Nine months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Nine months?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What was the settlement period in Minneapolis, do you know? Did they tell you?

Mr. HANKE. Two years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Two years?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You would have had to be there 2 years before you would have been entitled to relief as a resident of that State?

Mr. HANKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. But although you had been gone only 9 months, you had lost your residence here?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you go away with any intention of staying away, or moving your home away?

Mr. HANKE. No, sir; I explained that to the man at the relief office, the period of work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You explained to him you were moving away simply for the purpose of finding private employment?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. For that period only?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And that you intended to retain your home in Chicago?

Mr. HANKE. Yes; as soon as there would be a chance for work in Chicago, I would be back.

Mr. SPARKMAN. So now you are neither a resident of Chicago nor of Minneapolis?

Mr. HANKE. Neither one. I don't know where I belong now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you getting any relief?

Mr. HANKE. I am being taken care of by the Salvation Army at present.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are not getting any public relief?

Mr. HANKE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is a private agency?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you getting any work?

Mr. HANKE. I am out every day looking.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you find any?

Mr. HANKE. I have had several prospects, "Will call," just as soon as the weather changes and business picks up a little, along that line.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you done any work at all since returning here in March?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What?

Mr. HANKE. Dishwashing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. For whom?

Mr. HANKE. Salvation Army.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Salvation Army is taking care of you?

Mr. HANKE. One of their hotels. It is like—the same as a hotel.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. HANKE. They have people working there. I was working there during vacation period.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have not had any independent job of your own?

Mr. HANKE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You still regard yourself as a citizen of Chicago?

Mr. HANKE. Right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you vote here, Mr. Hanke?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you always voted here?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are still a voting citizen?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. But not a resident?

Mr. HANKE. That is what they tell me.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Hanke, do you have anything to add to what Mr. Hanke has said?

Mrs. HANKE. No; I don't think so.

Mr. HANKE. What I want, is not relief. I am physically able to go out and work and take care of my wife. That is what I want to do. I'm not seeking relief if I can possibly help it. All I want is to try to get something to tide over until private work could be had.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you registered with the employment agencies?

Mr. HANKE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are able-bodied?

Mr. HANKE. I am.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have not had any employment at all since 1935 other than a job in Minneapolis that only lasted for a short time?

Mr. HANKE. I had about 10 months of work at a bicycle place here in Chicago.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Hanke, during the time you have had to seek relief, have you taken a job every time you got a chance to take a job in private employment?

Mr. HANKE. Every job that was available I accepted.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, the thing you are looking for is work so that you can sustain yourself and your family?

Mr. HANKE. Right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions, gentlemen? (No response.) You are excused, Mr. and Mrs. Hanke. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon Mr. and Mrs. Hanke were excused.)

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT LEWIS HILER

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hiler. Congressman Parsons will question you, Mr. Hiler.

Mr. PARSONS. State your name and address to the reporter.

Mr. HILER. Albert Lewis Hiler, 811 West Lawrence.

Mr. PARSONS. Chicago?

Mr. HILER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Where were you born, Mr. Hiler?

Mr. HILER. Richmond, N. J.

Mr. PARSONS. When?

Mr. HILER. October 10, 1915.

Mr. PARSONS. You have spent most of your life in New Jersey?

Mr. HILER. No; New York State.

Mr. PARSONS. When did you go to New York State?

Mr. HILER. I do not remember the exact date, but very shortly after I was born. I imagine within 1 or 2 years.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you go to school in New Jersey?

Mr. HILER. No. I never attended school in New Jersey.

Mr. PARSONS. What educational opportunities have you had, and how far did you go?

Mr. HILER. I graduated from Staunton Military Academy, and took a 1-year postgraduate course in a school in New York State.

Mr. PARSONS. How old were you when you finished school?

Mr. HILER. 19.

Mr. PARSONS. What did you do in New York?

Mr. HILER. I entered a business that had been my hobby ever since I was 8 years old. I went into the postage-stamp business. I was employed by a wholesale stamp firm for a short time in 1935, and then I went into the business on my own. In a short time I made sufficient capital to establish myself fairly well in business.

Mr. PARSONS. Just how successful were you? What was your revenue per year, approximately?

Mr. HILER. I was rather successful in my business, and during 1936 I would say my gross revenue was about \$10,000 and in 1937 it was about double that.

Mr. PARSONS. I understand from your statement here that you had offices not only in New York but also in London and Berlin; is that true?

Mr. HILER. Yes. I was considered as a resident of England for 3 years—1936, 1937, and 1938.

Mr. PARSONS. You were considered as a resident of England?

Mr. HILER. Yes. I always retained my American citizenship, but when I reentered the United States, I reentered as a nonresident of this country.

Mr. PARSONS. You were out of the States for more than 2 years?

Mr. HILER. I was never out of the United States for a period longer than 6 months.

Mr. PARSONS. What happened——

Mr. HILER. Nine months, rather.

Mr. PARSONS. Nine months?

Mr. HILER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. If you are out more than 2 years without revisiting, you have to reenter again.

Mr. HILER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. You were considered as being a resident of England?

Mr. HILER. No; a citizen of the United States, but a nonresident. In other words, I had nonresident status coming in, as far as customs regulations were concerned. In other words, taking up a permanent residence in England enabled me—or rather, made it easier for me to enter the United States in relation to customs duties and regulations.

Mr. PARSONS. What happened that your business collapsed?

Mr. HILER. Well, various things. I embarked in 1937 on an enterprise in partnership with another gentleman, an Englishman, which took me around the world, especially to the South Sea Islands to procure large quantities of coronation stamps, buying them unused in the South Sea Islands and posting them back to England, to supply unused stamps for collectors. Even though we figured the enterprise could not be a failure, because we purchased the stamps at face value, something that previously had never happened in the postage-stamp business on any great scale occurred in the latter part of 1937 when in England they had a rather severe stock-market re-

cession owing to new taxation on corporations that was announced, and rearmament plans.

In 1935 there was an issue of stamps for the entire British Empire commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the coronation of King George. That issue of stamps inside of one year quadrupled its value. So in 1937 when a similar issue of stamps commemorating the coronation of King George VI came out, speculators, not in the stamp business but in stocks, bought large quantities of these coronation stamps, hoping a repetition would occur. When this stock market recession occurred, these men who had gone into stamps as a side line, being that stocks were their primary interest, sold or unloaded them, you might say; they unloaded their supplies of stamps to release the cash represented.

In the stamp business when a large quantity of stamps is offered for sale at any one time and pushed onto the market it causes a general decline in the selling price of the stamps, and that is what occurred. These stamps that were selling at that time for from 10 to 50 percent over their face value dropped to one-third below face value. To this day coronation stamps are still selling around face value.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the highest price you ever received for a stamp?

Mr. HILER. I could not say. I would not recall definitely. I do not deal in rare stamps, if you mean to bring that out. I dealt in large quantities, wholesale quantities of medium-priced stamps.

Mr. PARSONS. You say you took a trip to the South Sea Islands.

Mr. HILER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. How much capital did it take to set you up for that kind of business?

Mr. HILER. That trip represented a total investment of about \$30,000, partially put up by myself and my partner, and also another wholesale stamp dealer in England, but the trip was not a success owing to the crash that occurred.

Mr. PARSONS. You were back in London when this crash came in the stamp business?

Mr. HILER. No. The crash occurred while I was in the South Sea Islands. At the same time, in Germany, there was a crash in the stamp business of another sort. There were issued a series of stamps called miniature sheets which were stamps issued, instead of sheets of many stamps, just 4 stamps or 1 stamp or 10 stamps in a small sheet, issued for the particular purpose of commemorating some historical event.

These sheets grew enormously in popularity in the last few years. There was an actual boom in them.

In 1937, also, it occurred that various countries in Europe which issued sets of these miniature sheets in restricted quantities secretly reprinted very large quantities after the value had gone way above the face value, as high as 1,000 percent above face value in a short time, because the quantities issued were strictly limited. They had not destroyed the plates. They reissued the stamps secretly and sold them to unscrupulous stamp dealers, you might say.

When this fact became generally known, there was a collapse in the market for those stamps. Also, the catalog makers, who list in their catalogs—such as Scott Stamp & Coin, and others—all the stamps ever issued in the world, refused to recognize these issues on account of the fact I just mentioned, because they took the view that they were not regular postage stamps. So, they refused to recognize them, and when that happened the market for those stamps completely collapsed. I lost, in New York, several thousand dollars on account of the collapse, and in Germany 50,000 marks.

Mr. PARSONS. You say you were still in the South Sea Islands at the time the crash came?

Mr. HILER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. How did you get back to the States?

Mr. HILER. I did not return to the States from the South Sea Islands. I went back to England through the States. I arrived in England in April 1938 and continued in business in spite of the severe setbacks.

Mr. PARSONS. Until when?

Mr. HILER. Until November or October 1938. Then I had further set-backs. Just before I took this trip to the South Sea Islands, my English manager died. Upon my return I hired a new manager who turned out to be dishonest. He absconded with the rest of the capital and the stock of stamps that were left in England. I had previously, on return from this trip, closed my New York office. I arrived there in April 1938 and then went to England, arriving in England in June 1938.

I had, when this occurred, closed my English office. That left me just in control of my German office. The final straw, as we might say, occurred in September of 1938 when the German authorities confiscated my business there. That left me without any funds at all. I had to, with the little funds I had left, return to America, arriving in New York on November 2, 1938. I have not left this country since then.

Mr. PARSONS. You say that the German authorities confiscated your business?

Mr. HILER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. What did they do, tax it out of existence, or just take it over?

Mr. HILER. They took it over, because they had issued a regulation which prevented me from—I had better go back a little bit earlier. When I first started doing business in Germany, I did not enter into any difficulties until I did it on a large scale. Then I was approached by representatives of the Government. It was brought out that I could not transfer any of my profits from the country whatsoever. I could do business there, but I could not transfer any funds out of the country.

As you probably know, large firms like the Ford Motor Car Co., Standard Oil, and so on, cannot do so, either.

I was going to close up the business there, but the German manager told me that it would be rather a hard load for him. He was married and had a baby. He felt that he had a very good idea. He

agreed to the transference of my business interests to him. As he was a German citizen, he would operate it as his own business. He agreed to transfer the profits to me, to my bank. That was his idea; and although I had no control over the business, actually it was still my business, but in his name.

Mr. PARSONS. He was going to transfer the funds to the Bank of England?

Mr. HILER. He was going to transfer the funds to me, in the Bank of England. He did so for several years, or for 2 years. Then the authorities—you might say it occurred this way: He left the country in September 1938, on a trip to England. His passport had been taken by the military authorities because he was eligible for military service. I was in Paris at the time. He wanted to go to England to put over a large deal. He happened to walk into the Paris office, because he had heard of the sailing of a vessel that was making trips from Hamburg to England with no passports required.

As you probably know, there were numerous vessels making such trips. He took a plane down to Hamburg, got on that vessel and went to England. When he returned, the military authorities arrested him. As you are aware, when the authorities in Germany do anything, they do a very thorough job of it. When a person commits an act which they view with suspicion, they make a very thorough investigation to see if there is any ulterior motive, or anything else behind the surface. They discovered he was a postage-stamp dealer, so they investigated his activities and when they discovered he was transferring funds out of the country, they confiscated his business. Of course, that was equivalent to confiscating my business.

Mr. PARSONS. They really confiscated your business?

Mr. HILER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. How much revenue were you getting during those 2 years he was having the profits transferred to England?

Mr. HILER. A fairly large revenue, because in Germany, owing to currency restrictions, there was a great demand for the purchase of postage stamps. There was a great demand in Germany for stamps and very high prices were paid, for various reasons. One primary reason was that various people in Germany who wished to leave the country, such as persecuted races and other people who did not believe in Nazi government views, because of regulations preventing them from taking any funds out when they left the country, purchased postage stamps, and were able to get them out of the country in various ways.

Some of them purchased stamps from the stamp dealers, who mailed them out to other countries, and when they arrived in those countries they sold them. Others made arrangements with stamp dealers whereby stamp dealers would arrange for a transfer. A particular individual in Germany would transfer 100,000 marks of their money to a stamp dealer, who would see to it that they would get so much English money for it, for the 100,000 marks, in England, when they arrived there. In that way they overcame the restrictions which took all of their money away if they left the country. A great number of

German stamp dealers entered that business. My office never did any of that business. It never entered into that type of business. These stamp dealers have all been arrested, and a large proportion of them are no longer living.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you married?

Mr. HILER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. You say you came back to the United States in 1938?

Mr. HILER. November 2.

Mr. PARSONS. What have you been doing since?

Mr. HILER. During November and December I was living with my parents, in New Jersey, and was attempting to find someone to refinance me in the stamp business. Owing to unsettled world conditions, no matter who I approached, they felt at that time, stamps being a rather speculative business, as it was even in the best times, and war seeming imminent, they felt they could not invest any money in anything concerning foreign countries. I was unable to find further capital.

In January I moved to New York City, and endeavored to find employment there. I endeavored to find employment in New York City, but I was unsuccessful. I will not say I could not have found employment there. At this time I was attempting to build up with the small capital and stock of stamps I had left in my business a little mail-order business in the United States. I started that in New York City. I moved to Florida in the middle of January because my wife, being an Australian, had never experienced any cold climate. It does not snow in Australia. Their winter is similar to Florida winter. So we went to Florida on account of her—not exactly on account of her health, but on account of the climate.

Mr. PARSONS. You expected to carry on your stamp business down there?

Mr. HILER. Yes. Unfortunately, just the second month we were down there—I do not remember what month we arrived there, but we went in the middle of January, as I recall it, 1939. A short time after I was there—I do not remember the exact date—owing to a mistake of the Post Office Department, my mail-order business was completely disorganized. We moved our address and put in change-of-address cards. Then we did not move to that place. I put in a second set of change-of-address cards, nullifying the previous set. One set was put in the post box and the other set was given to the postman. He carried it for 3 days. The second set arrived at the post office before the first. When the first set arrived, the mail was sent to that address, this address, at which I never stayed, instead of the post office looking up to see what was wrong. They had my previous address registered at the post office, and they sent all mail back to the senders.

For a full month I did not receive any returns on my stamps that had been sent out on approval. I sent stamps out on approval. They would purchase whatever stamps they wanted, and return the remainder of the stamps.

At this time I was employed. When that happened, I got very disgusted with everything. As I said, it disorganized it. There-

fore I abandoned it, completely, and concentrated on my work with the company by which I was employed.

Mr. PARSONS. What have you been doing since December 1939?

Mr. HILER. From March 1 to December 1939 I worked for the Fuller Brush Co. I started in as a salesman. In 2 months I was promoted to the position of field manager, which I held for 8 months.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you quit that company?

Mr. HILER. I left that company for three reasons. One reason was I felt there was no chance of adequate advancement. The second reason was I did not like the work. The third reason was I discovered I had made a mistake in coming to Florida, because my wife had contracted a malaria in the South Sea Islands. I had no idea of the extent of the prevalence of malaria in the Southern States. I felt and my wife felt that the sooner we got out of Florida the better it would be.

I also discovered that opportunities in Florida are strictly limited. I was lucky to get the position I did get.

Mr. PARSONS. What position did you get when you left there?

Mr. HILER. I am sorry. I should have stated that I also left the Fuller Brush Co. because I had an offer from another company, the Standard Coffee Co., which I thought was going to be an excellent position. It was a position which in a short time should have made me branch manager of the company for the whole State of Florida. The plans, and so forth, the profit to be made, and what my earnings would be did not turn out at all. The plan that the company was putting into operation was a failure because there was a 2-week interval between the taking of the orders and the filling of those orders. Very many of the orders were canceled, and the plan did not work.

During the 6 weeks I was with them, during the latter part of December and January, I made only about \$12 a week, so I left there in disgust.

At that time, when I was looking for other work, my parents came down to Florida for a visit.

Mr. PARSONS. Let me interrupt you right there.

Mr. HILER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. I notice from the record here your father was at one time a very highly paid man.

Mr. HILER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. In what work was he engaged?

Mr. HILER. For 25 years, or 20 years, he was in the silk business in New York City. He started as a silk salesman for H. R. Mallinson Co. in New York. While he was a salesman for them, he studied and learned everything about the textile-designing end of the silk business. After being with them 10 years he brought out a series of designs called Arabian Nights, designs for women's print silk and cotton dresses.

That series made him quite well known. He received an offer from another firm to become their stylist. Actually, he suggested that particular position. No other silk firm previously had had a

man who supervised designs. He became the stylist for that company at a very high salary, and remained with them for some time. He left them and went with another firm, and then he finally accepted employment with a company with which you are no doubt all familiar, the Susquehanna Silk Mills Co., and received a very good contract, a 5-year contract. At that time he was earning \$50,000 a year salary plus \$25,000 in percentage, which contract ran for 5 years.

The depression came, and the Susquehanna Silk Mills Co. went into receivership. The receivers called the contract void and his salary was reduced to \$10,000 a year within a very short time. So he left the Susquehanna Silk Mills and entered the designing business on his own, formed his own designing studios, Hiler Studios, Inc., 1441 Broadway. He had to abandon that business in 1937 and since then he has not done any work whatsoever.

Mr. PARSONS. Does he have any savings, sufficient to take care of the family and to take care of you?

Mr. HILER. He at the present time has no means of aiding me at all. He has just enough funds to take him until the end of this year. His health has been none too good. He hopes to find some position in the silk business again this fall. He is recuperating his health.

Mr. PARSONS. What have you been doing the past year?

Mr. HILER. When he came to Florida in January of this year he suggested that since I wanted to leave Florida and the opportunities were so limited there, I try an enterprise he had successfully done 25 years ago. He was a professional magician for a time 25 years ago. He had magic as a hobby as I had stamps as a hobby. He worked his way through college, the latter part of his education—he was a graduate of Cornell—by giving performances, providing entertainment and performing tricks of magic for the college students.

He traveled all over the United States and was very successful at it. When he married and when I came along, he abandoned that for a steady position in one spot instead of traveling.

In January of this year I started out with my wife and baby who was born on September 7, to do that same work. I covered a large part of the country. I covered 11,000 miles in 5 months. I might say that I was not a failure, but the work just earned me enough to pay for expenses, because traveling great distances and having to live in tourist cabins was expensive. My expenses were so high, my earnings did not take care of much else.

I attributed the fact that I was not able to make the sum he indicated I would make to the fact that 25 years ago the average college student was a rich man's son, whereas now it is not the case. The college students have very many things to use their money on, such as cars and so forth, and do not have the amount of money the college students used to have; whereas my father was able to get never less than \$5 a performance, and would sometimes get as high as \$15, I was only able to get \$1, and sometimes as high as \$5.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Hiler, how long did it take you to learn magic?

Mr. HILER. I had also had magic as a hobby, as a side line to my stamps.

Mr. PARSONS. You learned that from your father earlier?

Mr. HILER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. What are you doing now?

Mr. HILER. I reached Chicago because of the fact that I was traveling from Denver, Colo., where I did three performances, through Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and Wisconsin, and then came down to Northwestern University here in Evanston. That was the last college I could make this half of this year, because in June naturally they have their examinations and everything. So, I finished out to the end, and kept at this type of work.

Mr. PARSONS. You covered all of the States clear to the Rocky Mountains?

Mr. HILER. Yes. I covered some of the Eastern States, the Southern States, some Middle Western States, but I did not go further west than the Rockies. I thought when I arrived here in Chicago that I would have no difficulty in finding a position here.

Mr. PARSONS. That is what thousands of them think.

Mr. HILER. That is right. I thought the same thing. I thought that it being a great big city, in a prosperous section of the country, I would have no difficulty. I probably would have been able to get quite a number of positions. I would not say there are no positions here. I would rather say there are lots of positions if you happen to be the man for the job.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES, STATE AND PRIVATE

I turned down about 20 positions, not necessarily because of earnings, but for several reasons. First, the good positions in the majority of cases can only be secured through an employment agency. The employment agencies here in Chicago require large fees, ranging from \$40 for a position that pays \$100 a month, up to \$75 for that same position.

Mr. PARSONS. That is a private employment agency you are referring to now?

Mr. HILER. A private employment agency; yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you apply to the State agency?

Mr. HILER. I applied to the State agency; yes. May I bring this out: As far as these State employment agencies are concerned—I do not know whether my opinion is anywhere near true—but as far as unskilled men are concerned, I feel as though they do not try to find the men work. Rather, they arrange for their obtaining relief.

I applied, when I went to Florida, to the State relief employment agency. I registered, gave them all the information, and went back several times, but was not able to secure any position through them whatsoever. In Chicago here I applied for work and also to see if I was eligible for employment insurance. I was not eligible for it because my work in Florida had been mainly on commissions, commissions on which no employment insurance had to be paid.

Mr. PARSONS. You did not receive any social security number at all?

Mr. HILER. Oh, yes. I had, in my position as field manager with the company, received an average of \$60 a month, and the rest of my earnings were commissions on which no insurance was paid. As in one-quarter of the year I made a fairly high figure on the basis they compute eligibility for employment insurance, I was not eligible for it. I received a report back in Florida listing my earnings on the aggregate toward employment insurance. I was not able to afford it.

I also did not receive any interviews or calls for work through the State employment agency, and with respect to the private employment agencies, I did not have any means of paying the \$40 to \$75 they asked for a job paying \$100 a month. There were only 2 private employment agencies—I went to about 15—there were only 2 which offered a plan of time payments. One of them asked for one-third of the amount down and the rest to be paid in 6 weeks. Only at 1 would they allow me to pay after I got settled, by the week, and they stretched it out to around 6 weeks.

Mr. PARSONS. What are you doing now?

Mr. HILER. Just last week I secured a temporary position as salesman for the Blue Star Auto Stores. I do not know whether it will be permanent or not. I have never done any of that type of work in a store. The type of work they want me to do is not only as a salesman but also as a stock taker, inventory work, and so forth.

Mr. PARSONS. What is that supposed to pay you?

Mr. HILER. That pays \$18 a week. I work from 8 in the morning until 8 at night, and 9 o'clock at night on Thursday and Saturday nights, and I work on Sunday, too.

Mr. PARSONS. Where is your wife? Is she with you?

Mr. HILER. She is up at 811 West Lawrence Street. May I add something?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. HILER. I was unable to take various positions because I had my car. I left Florida with a 1938 Oldsmobile sedan which I purchased from a finance company while employed by the Fuller Brush Co. That car was an asset while I was employed by the Fuller Brush Co., in fact, a necessity, and it was also a necessity while I was traveling, attempting to earn an income with my magic. When I arrived here it became a liability. I had \$35 a month to pay on it every month. It cost me about \$10 a week to have it and run it, and naturally I would have had to secure a position that would pay me at least \$30 a week.

I was unable to secure any position that would pay me that figure. I also would have had to pay an employment agency. In other words, if I had accepted any position that would have paid me \$20, \$25, or \$30, where I had to pay an employment agency fee besides, before I could have caught up and paid those fees I would have lost my car, because I would have fallen behind too far in the payments.

Two weeks ago I took the car back to Florida, returning it to the finance company. That was week before last. I returned to Chicago last week. I immediately secured a position, because then I no longer had to secure a position which would have paid me the rate of earn-

ings which would have been necessitated by my retaining the car and continuing to make the payments on it.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you ever applied for any relief or W. P. A. work of any type or character?

RESIDENCE STATUS

Mr. HILER. No; I have not. As I say, when I went to Florida I applied with the State employment agency, not for relief but for work, but received none. When I came to Chicago, I applied at the State employment agency for unemployment compensation and work, and received neither.

The way we have been able to live since we have been in Chicago is that when I went to the British consulate general in Chicago here in regard to the fact that my wife has to leave this country by November 2 of this year in order to reenter on an immigration visa—she entered on a visitor's visa—and I went to the British consulate general to see if there was any way by which we could either get the visitor's visa extended or arrange some way for her to remain in the country, but I found no way by which she can remain in this country and become a citizen. She has to leave.

Mr. PARSONS. That is right. Where is she planning to go?

Mr. HILER. Windsor, Ontario, being the closest place. The British consulate inquired into our financial position and so forth. When we told him we were nearly out of money, that we had no prospects of a position, and we were practically out of funds, he referred me to the United Charities of Chicago. They have been splendid in assisting me in every way. They have advanced \$15 a week ever since I have been in Chicago and have seen me every week and given me helpful information.

They also contacted Florida to see if I was a resident of that State. Naturally not being a resident of Illinois, they wanted to see if I was a resident of Florida. I lived there over a year, so I considered myself a resident of Florida, but the Public Relations Commission—I am not sure whether that is the correct name—wrote back saying they could not verify my residence there because certain landlords I had rented apartments from were not available; they had moved, and they could not locate them. They suggested that as I had been in business in New York State and lived most of my life in New York State, I should return there, and they would not authorize my return to Florida. Therefore I am also a person without a permanent residence anywhere.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you see many migrants on the road when you were out traveling over the States?

Mr. HILER. I cannot say that I did. I traveled in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and Illinois. In those States I definitely do not remember at any time seeing any people migrating along the roads, you might say, in wagons or anything of that sort or old cars. I did not notice any at any time. That does not mean they do not migrate. I just did not see them.

Mr. PARSONS. You are a great believer in the American citizen having the right to migrate or to go anywhere he wants to seek work?

Mr. HILER. I certainly am.

Mr. PARSONS. You would not want to stop migration entirely?

Mr. HILER. No. I certainly would not.

Mr. PARSONS. I think that is all. Do you have any questions, Congressman Curtis?

Mr. CURTIS. No.

Mr. PARSONS. Congressman Sparkman?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have a question. In order for your wife to come into this country on a regular immigration visa, would it be necessary for you to show that you are capable of supporting her?

Mr. HILER. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that true even though she is the wife of an American citizen?

Mr. HILER. Yes. That is what I am strongly worried about, because it states in the regulations—I have filed a petition for her to become a citizen, in the first place. There I must assert whether I have ever had any relief at all, or ever been on State or public relief, or private relief, and also I must show that I am in a position where I can properly take care of her. I am wondering whether at that time I will have a permanent position and earnings sufficient, and funds sufficient to cover that. I certainly hope so.

Mr. PARSONS. You have given us quite a picture of what has been, up to comparatively recently, a self-supporting migrant.

Mr. HILER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. There are thousands of that kind of cases.

Mr. HILER. Yes. I know that.

Mr. PARSONS. We had a case up in New York where a man made, for several years, from \$5,000 to \$10,000 annually, maintaining two homes, one in New England and one down in New York. Suddenly he woke up one morning and found himself a broken man. He never has been able to get rehabilitated since.

Mr. HILER. I know there are cases of that kind.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Would it be possible to have your wife's visitor's visa extended again?

Mr. HILER. No. They have written, the last extension, that that would be the last extension they could make. When she first entered—that is, the last time she entered the United States on November 2, 1938, she was allowed to stay 6 months. It was extended for another period of 6 months, and so on and so forth until this last extension until November 2. The reason for these various extensions was always that my wife was naturally going to have a baby, and she could not leave the country while the baby was so small. Now there is no reason why she should not leave the country. They have said that the extension they have just given in June of this year, which covers a period until November 2, will be the final one.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions? (No response.) You are excused, Mr. Hiler. Thank you very much. We appreciate the contribution you have made to our record.

Mr. HILER. Thank you.

(Whereupon Mr. Hiler was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF LEO M. LYONS, COMMISSIONER OF RELIEF, CHICAGO
RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, CHICAGO, ILL.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. Leo M. Lyons.

Mr. PARSONS. Will you state your full name for the record, please, Mr. Lyons?

Mr. LYONS. Leo M. Lyons.

Mr. PARSONS. You are executive secretary of the Illinois State Relief Commission?

Mr. LYONS. I am appearing here as commissioner of relief for the city of Chicago, relative to the Chicago situation.

Mr. PARSONS. You are also still secretary of the Illinois State Relief Commission?

Mr. LYONS. That is right. Mr. Jacoby submitted a report for the commission.

(The report is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY LEO M. LYONS, COMMISSIONER OF RELIEF, CHICAGO RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, CHICAGO, ILL.

This statement of the problem confronting the Chicago Relief Administration as a result of interstate migration of destitute citizens has been prepared at the invitation of the representatives of the Congressional Committee on Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens.

The city of Chicago, because of its size and geographic situation, is confronted by a question as to the handling of the social and economic problems presented by migratory workers and their dependents. The Chicago Relief Administration has met this problem by maintaining a specialized service (called Transportation Service) to handle the cases of migratory persons and families.

Under the former poor law of Illinois, prior to July 26, 1939, the local overseer of the poor was charged with the duty of relieving needy persons and families in their jurisdiction, regardless of their legal residence. This humane objective of the poor law was embodied in the policies of the Chicago Relief Administration in handling cases of nonresident persons and families. Care was extended to nonresident young persons, women, and families upon the same basis as that extended to residents. Care to nonresident unattached men over 25 years of age was extended on the same basis as that to resident men until September 1, 1937, when care to the nonresident unattached man was limited to 7 days as a general policy. However, in handling the individual case, Transportation Service was allowed to use discretion in further extension of necessary care. Provision was made for extension of care to the sick and aged, to those who had secured employment, and to seamen.

While carrying the case for relief, it was the policy for Transportation Service to assist nonresident persons in utilizing the community resources and various public services to further their social adjustment in this community. Employable nonresident persons were referred to Illinois State Employment Service for registration for work and for possible unemployment-compensation benefits. The Chicago public schools accepted the children on the same basis as resident children. Medical care, either free or at the expense of the Chicago Relief Administration, was available if needed. The younger persons were referred to National Youth Administration or Civilian Conservation Corps, according to the individual situation. In the meantime, Transportation Service carried on correspondence with the place of origin to determine whether or not the nonresident person or family retained legal residence in the other community and whether or not it was feasible to return them there. If the nonresident person or family continued dependent, and if an authorization to return them to legal residence was received, the social advisability of returning them to their legal residence was considered. If it was determined that they

should return, transportation to legal residence was offered and further relief denied. If it was determined that it was socially advisable for them to remain in Chicago, the employable member of the family was referred to Work Projects Administration for certification and the case accepted for such extended care as was needed.

With the passage of the 3-year residence law by the Illinois Legislature, on July 26, 1939, the duty of the overseer of the poor to relieve needy persons was so qualified that only needy persons who resided in some one of the 1,455 governmental units of Illinois for 3 years immediately preceding application could be given assistance. The Chicago Relief Administration issued its Official Bulletin No. 1123 on November 1, 1939, providing instructions to its offices as to eligibility requirements under this law. These instructions were based upon the opinion of the attorney general of Illinois as to the meaning of the law. It was his opinion that the continued eligibility on the basis of residence of persons in a pauper state on July 26, 1939, was not to be questioned. Applications subsequent to July 26, 1939, were reviewed for eligibility under the 3-year residence law, cases of questionable eligibility were referred to Transportation Service. The official memorandum of January 2, 1940, supplementing Official Bulletin No. 1123, provided instructions to Transportation Service as to policy and procedure under the 3-year residence law.

Pending determination of eligibility under the 3-year residence law, the following functions were among those assigned to Transportation Service by this bulletin:

"To receive and act upon applications from persons living in Chicago whose legal residence has not been determined. * * *

"To assist nonresident applicants so far as possible to obtain needed assistance and services from other agencies and local community resources."

The private agencies in the community immediately felt the impact of the need of persons found ineligible under these instructions as to residence requirements for relief eligibility under the 3-year law. It was necessary for them, through the council of social agencies, to seek an additional allocation from the community fund, as the existing need was far greater than the available funds. The private agencies and Transportation Service have cooperated wholeheartedly in handling this difficult problem, with relatively small resources as compared to the magnitude of the problem. Transportation Service has made the initial determination of eligibility for public relief in questionable residence cases and has given referral service to the appropriate community agency for the persons ineligible for relief under the law. Employable unattached women are referred directly to central placement office of the Illinois State Employment Service. The qualified youth are referred to National Youth Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps to make direct application for these benefits. Unattached persons who are ill are referred to Oak Forest Service (the county infirmary) for necessary care, and Transportation Service carries on the residence investigation. If the illness seems acute, the police convey the person to Cook County Hospital. Private shelters are used for special cases. Family cases in which the need is emergent and which the relatives are unable to carry are referred to the appropriate private family agency for aid. Through these cooperative efforts, the community agencies have sought to lessen the hardships falling to the lot of the migratory persons and families living in Chicago.

The following classification of some case situations arising under the present interpretation of the Illinois 3-year residence law reflects the harshness of the operation of the law not only in its treatment of newcomers to Illinois but also to Illinois residents who have moved across local governmental unit boundary lines:

1. "IMMEDIATE" CASES

A. Applications of persons who have lived a considerable time in Chicago (at least in excess of 3 years) and have established a residence in another governmental unit for only a brief period, so that they are now ineligible for assistance both in Chicago and the governmental unit wherein they are presently residing.

B. Applications of persons who have resided for a considerable period in some other governmental unit in Illinois (at least in excess of 3 years) and who have

established residence in Chicago for only a short period, so that they are ineligible for assistance both in Chicago and also the previous governmental unit wherein they formerly resided.

C. Persons who have lived in Chicago for a considerable time (at least in excess of 3 years) and who have established themselves for a brief period in some locality outside the State and whose return cannot be presently authorized under the 3-year residence law.

2. BRIEF "BREAKS" IN RESIDENCE WITHIN THE PAST 3 YEARS

A. Persons who have had residence in a single governmental unit for a considerable period of time (at least in excess of 3 years) but have lived for a brief period outside of this unit, so that they are ineligible on a present application under the 3-year residence law.

B. Persons whose return has been authorized from other States within the past 3 years, but who are now ineligible under the present 3-year residence law.

3. PERSONS WHO WOULD HAVE BEEN ELIGIBLE FOR DIRECT RELIEF ACCORDING TO THE OLD LAW ON JULY 26, 1939, BUT WHO WERE NOT RECEIVING RELIEF AT THAT TIME

A. Persons whose relief would have been chargeable to another governmental unit.

B. Persons whose relief would have been chargeable to Chicago, but whose residence does not extend for a period of 3 years.

Notwithstanding the admirable and united efforts of both the public and private agencies to meet the emergent need, it has been our experience that their total resources available for this purpose are inadequate to provide needed care to migrants. Only the more serious emergencies can be met. On the basis of our experience, we believe that migration is a national problem which must be solved by action initiated by the Federal Government, in collaboration with State and local authorities.

As for the social characteristics of the migrants coming to the attention of the Chicago Relief Administration, unfortunately no formal study has been made of the family cases. It is our impression, however, that they represent a young and employable group. There is a history of a high turn-over of cases at Transportation Service, which might lead to the conclusion that migrants do not lack aggressiveness in their endeavor to plan for themselves.

In the study which was made of the nonresident unattached man over 25 years of age applying for relief from the Chicago Relief Administration from September 1 to December 21, 1938, the average case studied was characterized as follows:

"He is an unskilled, apparently healthy, 32-year-old native white laborer from the Middle West looking for a job. He had had a job in 1938, but had lost it after the work was completed. He had been without work about 26 out of the past 60 months.

"He is unmarried, has a grammar-school education, is not an active church member, and has had no military experience. He is not a transient in the popular sense of the word, as he has had less than 1 year experience on the road. He has relatives and friends as resources."

The following tables are self-explanatory and may serve as indications of the extent of the recognized need of migratory persons and families under the former residence law of Illinois and under the current 3-year residence law. In considering the tables it will be noted that the reduction in numbers of persons eligible occurred soon after November 1, 1939, following release of instructions as to the interpretation of the 3-year residence law. The statistical count of "no applications" from November 1939 through January 1940 is misleading as to the extent of the problem in those months, inasmuch as the office capacity was greatly exceeded with the institution of the Chicago Relief Administration policy under the 3-year residence law. Hundreds of unattached persons were turned away at the door with no official count of their numbers.

It should also be pointed out that cases of persons and families found in need but ineligible for relief upon the basis of residence were accepted by Transportation Service for issuance of Federal surplus foods from December

1939 to July 1, 1940. (On July 1, 1940, intake was closed for applications for surplus commodities only because of the promulgation of the food-stamp plan in which a requirement for participation is eligibility for food relief.) These cases were carried at Transportation Service until June 1940 when Surplus Commodity Only cases were transferred to Work Service of the Chicago Relief Administration.

The following three sets of tables give statistical information under major headings of—

A. Relief applications—Transportation Service (covering calendar years 1937, 1938, 1939, and 1940 to date).

B. Number of home-relief cases active at Transportation Service from January 1937 through June 1940, with commitments.

C. Return transportation statistics for the calendar years 1938, 1939, and 1940 to date.

Table 1: Number of cases and persons returned to Legal Settlement and Enumeration of Expenditures Involved.

Table 2: Number of persons returned to their legal settlement, in the order of their home States and countries.

Table 3: Number of persons returned to legal settlement by States and countries in order of frequency.

Relief applications—Transportation Service

1940

Month	Number of applications	Received or referred in	Rejected, withdrawn, or referred out	Granted relief or surplus commodities only	Net number of cases open during month	Total cases receiving home relief ¹
January.....	245	838	380	189	561	508
February.....	203	936	462	225	696	574
March.....	275	778	610	374	830	652
April.....	324	586	640	435	1,134	723
May.....	408	447	412	213	1,129	645
June.....	358	324	223	141	930	544
July.....	554	196	174	109	614	491
Total, 7 months.....	2,367	4,105	2,936	1,687	6,007	4,137
SHELTER						
January.....		40		40	90	
February.....		21		21	57	
March.....		14		14	40	
April.....		5		5	32	
May.....		5		5	25	
June.....		6		6	21	
July.....		1		1	17	
Total, 7 months.....		92		92	232	

¹Including those who received shelter care before home relief during month.

Relief applications—Transportation Service—Continued

1939

Month	Number of applications	Received or referred in	Rejected, withdrawn, or referred out	Granted relief or surplus commodities only	Net number of cases open during month	Total cases receiving home relief
January	268	272	87	151	678	625
February	249	228	61	137	763	691
March	356	256	146	158	816	742
April	224	253	82	143	807	715
May	328	294	105	195	992	907
June	281	356	121	206	976	875
July	215	272	134	199	907	826
August	243	244	108	171	883	779
September	175	155	100	76	741	677
October	147	208	74	132	714	660
November	209	535	178	52	624	573
December	164	580	235	92	512	437
Total, 12 months	2,859	3,653	1,431	1,712	9,413	8,507
SHELTER						
January	659	600		600	1,211	
February	548	599		599	1,172	
March	723	733		733	1,347	
April	725	933		933	1,619	
May	735	898		898	1,497	
June	631	784		784	1,339	
July	558	792		792	1,264	
August	389	632		632	1,110	
September	356	521		521	839	
October	332	505		505	785	
November	11	42		42	388	
December		55		55	142	
Total, 12 months	5,667	7,094		7,094	12,713	

1938

January		406	142	239	641	762
February		372	187	210	887	809
March		309	194	196	898	830
April		221	87	127	762	654
May		136	50	76	668	571
June		210	141	103	679	558
July		237	85	193	700	617
August		257	86	136	640	554
September		255	108	175	604	534
October		242	79	111	564	495
November		220	100	116	556	475
December		235	124	133	528	458
Total, 12 months		2,890	1,242	1,712	7,448	6,759
SHELTER						
January		784		784	1,258	
February		654		654	1,160	
March		955		955	1,331	
April	1,312			1,312	1,955	
May	657			657	1,316	
June	481			481	943	
July	619			619	979	
August	698			698	1,003	
September	496			496	966	
October	462			462	847	
November	586			586	1,013	
December	620			620	1,240	
Total, 12 months		8,324		8,324	14,011	

Relief applications—Transportation Service—Continued

1937

Month	Number of applications	Received or referred in	Rejected, withdrawn, or referred out	Granted relief or surplus commodities only	Net number of cases open during month	Total cases receiving home relief
January		250	134	147	842	788
February		258	127	146	1,006	918
March		335	103	203	1,082	985
April		289	106	181	1,123	976
May		291	202	153	906	768
June		348	103	175	865	708
July		255	72	162	800	668
August		306	215	138	743	619
September		152	56	120	683	564
October		212	98	116	674	539
November		340	96	173	633	524
December		407	111	244	708	650
Total, 12 months		3,443	1,423	1,958	10,065	8,707
SHELTER						
January		948		521	992	
February		562		341	1,143	
March		831		555	1,128	
April		756		321	1,198	
May		716		559	866	
June		601		601	1,167	
July		420		420	895	
August		274		274	638	
September		292		292	570	
October		526		526	764	
November		840		840	1,053	
December		975		975	1,354	
Total, 12 months		7,741		6,225	11,768	

Number of home relief cases active at Transportation Service from January 1937 through June 1940, with commitments

Month	Cases	Commitments	Month	Cases	Commitments
1937			1937		
January	788	\$23,775.96	December:		
February	918	28,170.69	Interstate	436	
March	985	29,766.15	Intrastate	148	
April	976	24,302.17	Chicago residents	66	
May:				650	\$15,117.53
Interstate	646		1938		
Intrastate	34		January:		
Chicago residents	88		Interstate	500	
June:	768	22,051.65	Intrastate	190	
Interstate	576		Chicago residents	72	
Chicago residents	132			762	21,949.85
July:	708	16,819.60	February:		
Interstate	531		Interstate	527	
Intrastate	60		Intrastate	213	
Chicago residents	77		Chicago residents	68	
August:	668	18,680.87		809	23,366.39
Interstate	462		March:		
Chicago residents	157		Interstate	527	
September:	619	16,367.20	Intrastate	216	
Interstate	412		Chicago residents	87	
Intrastate	107			830	24,598.10
Chicago residents	45		April:		
October:	564	12,625.13	Interstate	399	
Interstate	381		Intrastate	178	
Intrastate	113		Chicago residents	77	
Chicago residents	45			654	17,903.55
November:	539	10,449.47	May:		
Interstate	383		Interstate	337	
Intrastate	114		Intrastate	166	
Chicago residents	47		Chicago residents	68	
December:	544	13,390.04		571	14,589.44
Interstate			June:		
Intrastate			Interstate	336	
Chicago residents			Intrastate	160	
			Chicago residents	62	
				558	13,521.19

Number of home relief cases active at Transportation Service from January 1937 through June 1940, with commitments—Continued

Month	Cases	Commitments	Month	Cases	Commitments
1938—Continued			1939—Continued		
July:			February.....	691	\$18,675.23
Interstate.....	395		March.....	742	19,279.56
Intrastate.....	148		April:		
Chicago residents.....	74		Interstate.....	335	
	617	\$14,026.13	Intrastate.....	270	
August:			Chicago residents.....	110	
Interstate.....	348			715	18,844.72
Intrastate.....	151		May.....	733	17,203.09
Chicago residents.....	55		June.....	699	16,620.38
	554	16,132.13	July:		
September:			Intrastate.....	336	
Interstate.....	328		Intrastate.....	294	
Intrastate.....	156		Chicago residents.....	37	
Chicago residents.....	50			667	12,638.44
	534	13,731.05	August.....	608	13,722.81
October:			September.....	559	11,584.41
Interstate.....	287		October.....	548	12,155.41
Intrastate.....	147		November.....	442	11,140.61
Chicago residents.....	61		December.....	322	7,624.13
	495	12,334.57			
November:			1940		
Interstate.....	274		January.....	398	11,027.19
Intrastate.....	136		February.....	455	13,836.58
Chicago residents.....	65		March.....	534	16,138.65
	475	13,036.08	April.....	614	18,111.28
December:			May.....	535	16,206.89
Interstate.....	266		June.....	431	12,703.98
Intrastate.....	149				
Chicago residents.....	43				
	458	12,378.53			
1939					
January:					
Interstate.....	286				
Intrastate.....	272				
Chicago residents.....	67				
	625	13,748.45			

Number of shelter and parkway lodge cases active at Transportation Service from January 1937 through October 1939

1937	Cases	1937—Continued	Cases
January.....	992	August:	
February.....	1,143	Interstate.....	519
March.....	1,228	Chicago residents.....	119
April.....	1,198		638
May:			
Interstate.....	742	September:	
Intrastate.....	7	Interstate.....	455
Chicago residents.....	117	Intrastate.....	10
	866	Chicago residents.....	105
			570
June:			
Interstate.....	1,046	October:	
Chicago residents.....	121	Interstate.....	639
	1,167	Intrastate.....	14
		Chicago residents.....	111
July:			764
Interstate.....	758	November.....	1,053
Intrastate.....	5	December.....	1,354
Chicago residents.....	132		
	895		

*Number of shelter and parkway lodge cases active at Transportation Service
from January 1937 through October 1939—Continued*

1938	Cases	1938—Continued	Cases
January -----	1,258	November :	
February -----	1,160	Interstate -----	865
March -----	1,331	Intrastate -----	10
April -----	1,955	Chicago residents -----	138
May -----	1,316		<u>1,013</u>
June -----	943		
		December -----	1,240
July :			
Interstate -----	844	1939	
Intrastate -----	1	January :	
Chicago residents -----	133	Interstate -----	1,065
	<u>978</u>	Intrastate -----	3
		Chicago residents -----	143
			<u>1,211</u>
August :		February -----	1,172
Interstate -----	862	March -----	1,347
Intrastate -----	4		
Chicago residents -----	137	April :	
	<u>1,003</u>	Intrastate -----	14
		Interstate -----	1,456
September -----	966	Chicago residents -----	149
			<u>1,619</u>
October :		May -----	1,671
Interstate -----	713	June -----	1,515
Intrastate -----	1	July -----	1,423
Chicago residents -----	133	August -----	1,281
	<u>847</u>	September -----	957
		October -----	897

TABLE I.—Number of cases and persons returned to legal settlement during 1940 and enumeration of expenditures involved—Chicago Relief Administration—Transportation Service

	Average cost per case	Months					
		Total	January	February	March	April	May
Cases -----		5	1	2		1	1
Persons -----		9	2	5		1	1
Total -----	\$20.47	\$102.34					
Train fare -----		93.84	\$14.70	\$47.88		\$15.65	\$15.61
Food allowance -----		5.50	2.00	2.50			1.00
Baggage -----		3.00	2.00			1.00	

TABLE II.—Number of persons returned in 1940 to their legal settlements in the order of their home States and countries—Chicago Relief Administration—Transportation Service

State :	Total persons	State :	Total persons
Alabama -----	3	Mississippi -----	2
Arkansas -----	1	Mexico -----	3

TABLE III.—Number of persons returned to their legal settlement by States and countries in order of frequency

State:	Number of persons	State:	Number of persons
Alabama	3	Arkansas	1
Mississippi	2	Mexico	3

TABLE I.—Number of cases and persons returned to legal settlement during 1939 and enumeration of expenditures involved—Chicago Relief Administration—Transportation Service

	Average cost per case	Months					
		Total	January	February	March	April	May
Cases		355	46	32	34	24	40
Persons		584	81	54	54	49	52
Total	\$22.32	\$7,924.69					
Train fare		7,354.89	\$1,189.07	\$751.39	\$617.76	\$536.65	\$824.38
Additional bus fare		52.20	4.40	1.00	.75	.50	16.15
Food allowance		386.60	59.60	38.25	39.75	33.25	31.60
Baggage		63.50	6.00	8.00	3.00	6.00	5.50
Moving		68.00					

	Months—Continued					
	June	July	August	September	October	November
Cases	40	25	47	35	27	5
Persons	76	39	74	41	58	6
Train fare	\$823.72	\$397.59	\$867.76	\$533.21	\$710.63	\$102.73
Additional bus fare		2.00	26.65		.50	.25
Food allowance	46.25	18.50	57.40	31.50	26.35	4.25
Baggage	5.00	6.00	11.00	3.00	10.00	
Moving	33.00	8.00	20.00	7.00		

TABLE II.—Number of persons returned in 1939 to their legal settlements in the order of their home States and countries—Chicago Relief Administration—Transportation Service

State:	Total persons	State—Continued.	Total persons
Alabama	23	New Jersey	15
Arizona	0	New Mexico	0
Arkansas	19	New York	36
California	24	Nevada	0
Colorado	3	North Carolina	7
Connecticut	4	North Dakota	0
Delaware	0	Ohio	28
District of Columbia	5	Oklahoma	4
Florida	7	Oregon	2
Georgia	16	Pennsylvania	31
Illinois	33	Rhode Island	0
Indiana	15	South Carolina	2
Iowa	11	South Dakota	0
Idaho	0	Tennessee	30
Kansas	9	Texas	29
Kentucky	22	Utah	1
Louisiana	38	Vermont	0
Maine	0	Virginia	4
Maryland	3	Washington	7
Massachusetts	6	West Virginia	9
Michigan	19	Wisconsin	9
Minnesota	7	Wyoming	0
Mississippi	52	Country:	
Missouri	41	Germany	4
Montana	2	Scotland	5
Nebraska	1	Canada	1
New Hampshire	0	Mexico	0

TABLE III.—Number of persons returned in 1939 to their legal settlement by States and countries in order of frequency—Chicago Relief Administration, Transportation Service

State:	Number of persons	State—Continued.	Number of persons
Mississippi.....	52	Florida.....	7
Missouri.....	41	Minnesota.....	7
Louisiana.....	38	North Carolina.....	7
New York.....	36	Washington.....	7
Illinois.....	33	Massachusetts.....	6
Pennsylvania.....	31	District of Columbia.....	5
Tennessee.....	30	Connecticut.....	4
Texas.....	29	Oklahoma.....	4
Ohio.....	28	Virginia.....	4
California.....	24	Colorado.....	3
Alabama.....	23	Maryland.....	3
Kentucky.....	22	Montana.....	2
Arkansas.....	19	Oregon.....	2
Michigan.....	19	South Carolina.....	2
Georgia.....	16	Nebraska.....	1
Indiana.....	15	Utah.....	1
New Jersey.....	15	Country:	
West Virginia.....	9	Scotland.....	5
Wisconsin.....	9	Germany.....	4
Kansas.....	9	Mexico.....	3
		Canada.....	1

TABLE I.—Number of cases and persons returned to legal settlement during 1938 and enumeration of expenditures involved—Chicago Relief Administration, Transportation Service

	Average cost per case	Months					
		Total	January	February	March	April	May
Cases.....		529	49	51	72	38	24
Persons.....		970	93	114	162	82	45
Total.....	\$24.66	\$13,046.10					
Train fare.....		12,278.00	\$1,257.16	\$1,336.55	\$1,684.73	\$741.79	\$500.71
Additional bus fare.....		14.30	2.00		2.50	.60	2.90
Food allowance.....		644.55	62.25	79.80	90.15	37.15	28.00
Baggage.....		109.25	18.50	10.00	6.00	7.00	5.00

	Months						
	June	July	August	Septem- ber	October	Novem- ber	Decem- ber
Cases.....	27	42	49	53	49	41	34
Persons.....	52	74	91	70	71	64	52
Train fare.....	\$566.20	\$803.69	\$1,421.70	\$904.55	\$1,357.86	\$895.93	\$807.13
Additional bus fare.....	2.00	1.50	.75	1.50			.55
Food allowance.....	39.75	40.25	85.00	59.25	43.75	46.25	32.95
Baggage.....	15.75	9.00	16.00	5.00	6.00	3.00	8.00

TABLE II.—*Number of persons returned in 1938 to their legal settlements in the order of their home States and countries—Chicago Relief Administration—Transportation Service*

State:	Total persons	State—Continued.	Total persons
Alabama.....	48	New Jersey.....	15
Arizona.....	5	New Mexico.....	1
Arkansas.....	20	New York.....	47
California.....	49	Nevada.....	0
Colorado.....	18	Nebraska.....	14
Connecticut.....	4	North Carolina.....	6
Delaware.....	0	North Dakota.....	4
District of Columbia.....	2	Ohio.....	36
Florida.....	16	Oklahoma.....	12
Georgia.....	10	Oregon.....	4
Illinois.....	59	Pennsylvania.....	33
Indiana.....	27	Rhode Island.....	4
Iowa.....	9	South Carolina.....	0
Idaho.....	7	South Dakota.....	2
Kansas.....	24	Tennessee.....	41
Kentucky.....	16	Texas.....	92
Louisiana.....	29	Utah.....	4
Maine.....	0	Vermont.....	1
Maryland.....	3	Virginia.....	8
Massachusetts.....	1	Washington.....	28
Michigan.....	47	West Virginia.....	6
Minnesota.....	25	Wisconsin.....	30
Mississippi.....	73	Wyoming.....	0
Missouri.....	50	Country:	
Montana.....	10	Germany.....	3
New Hampshire.....	1	Scotland.....	6

TABLE III.—*Number of persons returned in 1938 to their legal settlement by States and countries in order of frequency—Chicago Relief Administration—Transportation Service*

State:	Number of persons	State:	Number of persons
Texas.....	92	Oklahoma.....	12
Mississippi.....	73	Georgia.....	10
Illinois.....	59	Montana.....	10
Pennsylvania.....	53	Iowa.....	9
Missouri.....	50	Virginia.....	8
California.....	49	Idaho.....	7
Alabama.....	48	North Carolina.....	6
Michigan.....	47	West Virginia.....	6
New York.....	47	Arizona.....	5
Tennessee.....	41	Connecticut.....	4
Ohio.....	36	North Dakota.....	4
Wisconsin.....	30	Oregon.....	4
Louisiana.....	29	Rhode Island.....	4
Washington.....	28	Utah.....	4
Indiana.....	27	Maryland.....	3
Minnesota.....	25	District of Columbia.....	2
Kansas.....	24	South Dakota.....	2
Arkansas.....	20	Massachusetts.....	1
Colorado.....	18	New Hampshire.....	1
Florida.....	16	Vermont.....	1
Kentucky.....	16	New Mexico.....	1
New Jersey.....	15	Country:	
Nebraska.....	14	Scotland.....	6
		Germany.....	3

In comparing the figures on total cases receiving home relief, included in the table for relief applications with the figures showing home relief cases with commitments, the discrepancy in number is caused by the difference in interpretation of the status of the Parkway Lodge cases.

Beginning in May 1939 the Parkway Lodge cases were considered to be receiving home relief. Previous to this they were included in the shelter count.

Since no Parkway Lodge commitments are charged to Transportation Service they are eliminated in the table of home relief cases with commitments.

TESTIMONY OF LEO M. LYONS—Resumed

Mr. PARSONS. Yes. I have known Mr. Lyons for a good many years, and I know he has given a lot of thought and study to this problem. Congressman Curtis, I believe you have Mr. Lyons' case assigned to you.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Lyons, we have gone over your statement that has been submitted for the record. This being a Nation-wide investigation conducted while Congress is in session, we will have to rely upon the written record, but there are a few questions I would like to ask you.

RELIEF IN CHICAGO PRIOR TO POOR LAW OF JULY 1939

What was the policy of the administration of relief in Chicago with regard to migratory persons and families prior to this poor law passed by the legislature in July 1939?

Mr. LYONS. The general policy was to treat migrants as other applicants were treated, or as residents were treated, making provision, so far as possible, for the return of persons to their place of legal residence. Possible exceptions to that were the single unattached employable individuals.

For some time we restricted that period to approximately 7 days. Where it was evident that persons were coming in primarily for the purpose of seeking employment, we felt that opportunity certainly ought to be granted. However, at the same time, we felt we ought not to develop a program which would cause an accumulation of large numbers of employable persons, and thereby further flood the labor market.

Mr. CURTIS. Under those policies, what was the extent of the non-resident problem as indicated by the number of persons applying at your intake department, and the number of cases extended relief during the average month?

Mr. LYONS. That is covered, I believe, in the report. For example, in 1937 the records show that 3,443 family cases were received and 7,741 shelter cases, or single individuals. In 1938 the records show 2,890 family cases received and 8,324 shelter cases. In 1939 there were 3,653 family cases and 7,094 shelter cases, or an average, approximately, of 800 to 900 cases per month.

Mr. CURTIS. From the standpoint of migration, what is the significance of your statistics regarding nonresidents returned to their legal residence prior to July 1939?

Mr. LYONS. I think the significant thing, as is pointed out in the report, is that of some 970 cases which were returned to their place of legal residence, 59 of those returned to places of legal residence in the State which indicates that the problem is one of interstate rather than intrastate migration.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have much trouble getting these people to return to other States?

Mr. LYONS. No. I think in general we have had a very cooperative working relationship in returning these people.

NEED FOR UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mr. CURTIS. Is there need for further uniformity among States in their requirements?

Mr. LYONS. Well, it seems that there should be a uniform settlement law and uniform method of meeting the needs of persons in these various categories. I am convinced that people do not migrate because of relief. People go to better their conditions, because of their unemployment. Therefore it would seem, as was pointed out in earlier discussion here, that some plan should be developed, and I think through employment and employment opportunities, to provide for the needs of the persons where they are, and not force them to leave their localities in order to seek, perhaps, better opportunities—in their opinion, at least—for employment.

I think employment is the factor that causes people to migrate, not because people want to move, and not because they want better relief from some other community. I am convinced that employment is the greatest factor that causes people to migrate.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have any figures with respect to the nonresident relief clients you have taken care of, as to where they came from, whether they were unemployed city or town dwellers, or whether they were people forced off the soil?

Mr. LYONS. I do not believe our figures would indicate that. At least there is nothing readily at hand indicating the sources from which they came.

Mr. CURTIS. Perhaps both factors would enter into it?

Mr. LYONS. I think in all likelihood, both factors. I think our migratory laborer will be that type of person who works with a construction gang on the railroad, or who perhaps works in the harvest fields, traveling to and fro.

ILLINOIS POOR LAW OF JULY 1939

Mr. CURTIS. We have said something about the Illinois poor law, or the amendment to it passed by the legislature in July 1939.

Mr. LYONS. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. It has been mentioned by several of the witnesses.

Mr. LYONS. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What were the significant points to that law?

Mr. LYONS. Well, the part that is causing the most difficulty, and has been the most difficult of interpretation is the one providing that an applicant for relief must have been residing three years in the municipality immediately preceding his application for relief.

Mr. CURTIS. What brought about the enactment of that, Mr. Lyons? What was in back of it?

Mr. LYONS. In my opinion, it was a desire on the part of some local overseers of the poor in the State of Illinois to restrict the movement of people into the State, or into localities, and therefore this legislation was drafted. I think it was not for the purpose of affecting the State resident as the law now does, but rather to affect those persons coming in from other States.

Mr. PARSONS. Did the relief commission recommend such a law?

Mr. LYONS. The relief commission did not. It had nothing to do with the drafting of the legislation.

Mr. CURTIS. From your experience, how adequate are the resources of public and private agencies in the community in meeting the needs of migratory destitute persons?

Mr. LYONS. There are two problems to be considered there: One is the adequacy of relief funds, both State and local, to meet the normal relief problem, and they are not adequate; two, the adequacy of private resources to pick up this load of the migratory persons which, back in the earlier days prior to the passage of this law, cost the public agencies approximately \$15,000 per month.

You can readily see that this legislation, having shifted that load to the private agencies supported to a large extent by community funds and from other public subscription, the private agencies could not adequately carry that load. There should be available approximately \$15,000 per month, in my opinion, to meet this normal problem.

Mr. CURTIS. \$15,000 a month for what territory, just Chicago?

Mr. LYONS. Just Chicago, I have reference to now.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the situation with regard to the tax load of both Chicago and the State of Illinois?

Mr. LYONS. I do not quite understand your question, and your reference to the term "tax load." You mean, the ability of Chicago to raise funds for relief?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. LYONS. That is prescribed by law. It provides that the local governmental unit shall make a 3-mill property tax levy, a 3-mill levy against the assessed valuation. Therefore, under the law, the local governmental unit cannot go beyond that in raising resources.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. CURTIS. What suggestions do you have to offer to this committee either for State governments or the Federal Government to cope with the problem of interstate migration of destitute persons?

Mr. LYONS. Let me say first that I think the committee is making a very intelligent approach to this problem by trying to find out the needs of people. I think perhaps in meeting the problem, too great emphasis has been placed on the relief phase of it. I think the needs of people in areas or in communities ought to be studied. I think provision ought to be made to meet those needs in those areas. That would be the first step.

Mr. CURTIS. May I interrupt you right there, Mr. Lyons?

Mr. LYONS. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Will you explain the first step a little more? Will you elaborate on it to a greater extent?

Mr. LYONS. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Will you describe what you mean by meeting the needs in the places where the people are?

Mr. LYONS. I mean this: The only way you can get at that problem is to get, as you have gotten, a statement from the people who are affected. I think that is a very sound approach. In that way you are able to ascertain what the problem of that individual is. Therefore, knowing what that problem is, whether it be a problem of someone on the land, whether it be a problem such as we have in the city of Chicago, of housing, or whether it be a problem of industrial activity, then some steps should be taken to provide through employment, insofar as possible, care for those people wherever they might be. Therefore, if the problem in the South was met in the South, it certainly would relieve the problem in the Northern States.

Then, some provision should be made from Federal sources—I say from Federal sources, because the communities cannot carry this load, in my opinion—some provision should be made from Federal sources to meet the need where the need exists and to the extent that it exists. That does not mean a flat grant to every locality or every State. It means paying the bill where the bill should be paid. That is where the people are. There should be, in my opinion, some uniform settlement law. That would mean that a person coming into any locality would know, or at least should know, what he is confronted with before he is determined eligible. It would seem then to go to the problem of the migrant.

We are always going to have them, and I think we should, perhaps, but it seems to me there should be, perhaps under the Social Security Board—I think that would be the logical place to house this responsibility—provision for Federal support and supervision of that program. That should either be done under the Security Board, or by direct grants to the States to provide care on an acceptable basis for those persons who happen to be in need in the States. That should take the form of aid to the States, but not in the form of flat grants on a per capita basis.

Mr. CURTIS. I think that that is all I have. Are there any other questions?

Mr. PARSONS. You have been studying these problems a good many years, have you not, Mr. Lyons?

Mr. LYONS. I have for quite some time; yes.

NEGRO MIGRATION TO CHICAGO

Mr. PARSONS. Can you tell the committee something about the migration of the colored people out of the South to the city of Chicago which began back following the World War?

Mr. LYONS. I cannot tell you much about the definite effect, other than the effect of increased industrial activity, naturally. It draws people, whether they be colored or otherwise, into any locality. I

am inclined to believe too much stress has been placed upon the effect of the colored person coming into the city of Chicago.

The colored problem, of course, is an acute problem here, due to restrictive covenants and other factors whereby they are restricted in their place of abode and their method of living, which naturally creates a very serious relief problem. I am of the opinion that not only the problem of the colored person should be studied, but the problem of all racial groups coming into any large metropolitan area.

Mr. PARSONS. What reason do you give for so many of the colored people coming to Chicago in 1923, 1924, 1925, and 1926? We found out at the hearings in Alabama that there was quite an exodus out of the South among colored people to four or five States north of the Ohio, and especially to the city of Chicago. Can you give any reason for it?

Mr. LYONS. Nothing, other than the employment opportunities which may have occurred at that time in the large metropolitan areas.

Mr. PARSONS. After a few came, they still had relatives in the South. They wrote back and forth and occasionally went back to visit and brought recruits with them, is that what happened?

Mr. LYONS. I think it is only natural for any group that has existed on a very low standard, that finds opportunities for employment which gives them a much more adequate subsistence, certainly to want to spread that to their relatives or friends. The thing that I am getting at is this: I think if the problem of the needs of the persons had been met in the locality, that situation would not have occurred.

Mr. PARSONS. And probably the labor market would have been supplied here from other places?

Mr. LYONS. Other places, or persons who were in the locality. I do not know to what extent the migration of persons into an area displaces people in that area. I know that it just depends on how many people go from here to some place else.

Mr. PARSONS. That is true. The southern Illinois territory which I represent, of course, has a large population in the city of Chicago. Their movement has been an intrastate movement. They have here in the city of Chicago a Southern Illinois Club, and I understand they have an attendance as high as 5,000 or 6,000 at their annual outing every year, somewhere either here in the city of Chicago or nearby.

Of course, the southern part of the State was the first part of the State of Illinois to be settled, and as Chicago has grown, of course, it has taken up a lot of our people from the South. It has likewise taken people from Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, and perhaps Michigan and other States.

Mr. LYONS. I think that is true.

FEDERAL AID TO STATES

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any concrete suggestions as to how the Federal Government should apportion aid to the States if we decide to do that?

Mr. LYONS. No; except that it should be on a need basis.

Mr. PARSONS. You would not put it on a uniform basis?

Mr. LYONS. I do not think that is practical. The resources are not uniform. The problems are not uniform. I think you have to meet the needs on the basis of the needs.

Mr. PARSONS. Of course, in certain localities the expense is greater in caring for a person with the same standard than it is in other parts of the country.

Mr. LYONS. The expense may be different, but you have as a practical matter the problem of actually meeting the need, whatever it is. You were speaking of southern Illinois. There are many counties in the southern part of the State where the ability to collect taxes is so extremely low that no matter what standard you set up there, they could not meet that standard. The resources just are not there, in that locality.

Mr. PARSONS. Would you expect the Federal Government to give grants-in-aid to the States to take care of their own people, or just to take care of the migrant destitute people?

Mr. LYONS. I think the big problem right now is to take care of the migrant. That is the problem you are discussing. I have always felt there should be Federal participation in the care of persons on direct relief as well as Federal participation in those other categories. Because of the fact that an individual is employable, but does not fall within the categories and cannot get a job, that does not mean that his family cannot be just as hungry, just as naked, and just as cold as someone else's family who happens to fall in one of the categories.

Mr. PARSONS. You mentioned awhile ago about keeping the people where they are, with Government aid. Out in the Dust Bowl area, somewhat removed from us here in the Middle West, the soil was no longer productive. It would be a very difficult matter to keep those people there. There is nothing for them to produce, and hence they have no income. They must go somewhere. In a lot of instances it is very true that the Government might do something to rehabilitate them in their own locality.

Do you have any suggestions to make as to what the Government might do in that respect, in this area here?

Mr. LYONS. I just raise the question as to whether or not it would be more difficult to keep the land where it is than it would be to keep the people there. I think if the land were kept there, you would have no difficulty with the people. I would say, therefore, that some long-time plan should be evolved, in an attempt to settle these people, or at least partially meet the problem. Any expenditure of funds to make the immediate surroundings more attractive to these people where they are living under more normal conditions should be undertaken, rather than trying to meet them after they move.

Mr. PARSONS. Of course, in the Dust Bowl area, the only way we can keep the land there is to keep it covered with some kind of vegetation, grass, and so forth. However, up in the Northwest, in the Dakotas and through that region, the water level fell. They could not even keep grasses and vegetation there. That happened to be the work of nature. That is beyond the control of man.

I understand, however, it is coming back, to some extent, and that the northwest water level is being restored. Of course, it would involve an enormous expenditure of money by the Federal Government to undertake to do those things in every State at one time. However, it might be money well invested in the future. It might be a good investment for the future.

Sometimes it is a good investment to give relief, or to give W. P. A. employment, because you do keep up the morale of the citizen. You prevent him from becoming a "red" or a radical or a Communist.

Mr. LYONS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. You prevent riots and bloodshed which would undoubtedly follow if the Federal Government did not step into the picture.

Mr. LYONS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any other suggestions to make?

Mr. LYONS. I think I have covered this problem of migration about as thoroughly as I am able. I do not think I have any further comment to make on it.

Mr. PARSONS. You have presented a very fine picture. I wish the committee had time to have these papers read at length. Of course, the committee members will go through these statements very thoroughly, not only now, but again before the report is made. You have made a great contribution, I think, to the cause.

Mr. LYONS. I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before you. If we can be of any further help, do not hesitate to call on us.

Mr. PARSONS. Thank you very much. Are there any other questions?

HANKE CASE ON LOSS OF RESIDENCE

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have one more question. I was very much interested in the plight of Mr. and Mrs. Hanke.

Mr. LYONS. Yes. I am having that record brought to my desk, so I can get the facts in the case.

(The following case record was later submitted by Mr. Lyons in regard to the case of Mr. and Mrs. George Hanke:)

MEMORANDUM

AUGUST 22, 1940.

To: Mr. Leo M. Lyons, commissioner of relief, Chicago Relief Administration.

From: Mr. Thomas Lavin, administrator, Transportation Service.

Subject: Hanke, George (6-16-03), Hanke, Lillian (10-4-13), Hanke, Jeanine (3-31-40), 12 South Loomis Street.

In accordance with your request, we are submitting the facts presented in the record of Hanke, George-Lillian, victim witnesses at the public hearing on August 19, 1940, of the Congressional Committee Investigating Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens.

The Hanke family received direct relief from the public agency in Chicago intermittently from December 29, 1934, to August 1939. The case was closed in August 1939, because the family moved and their present address was unknown. The worker had visited on July 3, 1939, and had learned that Mrs. Hanke had gone to Minneapolis with her brother-in-law. The household goods had been moved to Mr. Hanke's brother's home in Bensonville, Ill.

On November 24, 1939, Transportation Service received an intercity inquiry from the division of public relief, department of public welfare, Minneapolis, Minn., in which authorization to return the family to Chicago was requested. In answer to our request for information concerning the Hanke's intention to establish a domicile in Minneapolis, we learned that Mrs. Lillian Hanke left Chicago on May 31, 1939, with Norman Aydt, the widowed husband of her sister, and that she had gone with him to St. Louis Park, Minn., to take care of his children. This had been with the knowledge and consent of Mr. Hanke. Mr. Aydt and Mrs. Hanke wrote Mr. Hanke to come to Minnesota for a prospective job. This employment did not materialize, but in September 1939 Mr. Hanke secured work in Minneapolis, which lasted until November 1939.

When the agency questioned Mr. Hanke about where he intended to establish a domicile, he replied, "Wherever I can find a job." The family expressed a desire to return to Chicago.

In our letter of February 16, 1940, we advised the agency that in reviewing the case we found that according to the present interpretation of the Illinois residence law Mr. Hanke had lost his Chicago residence, since he had moved to Minneapolis and secured employment there, and had regarded that locality as his home. From his own statement he apparently intended to make his home wherever he was working. Consequently, Chicago could not authorize his return.

On March 7, 1940, we received a telegram from the Minneapolis agency informing us that the Hanke family was arriving in Chicago on that date and that provision for overnight care had been made.

Mr. Hanke applied for relief at Transportation Service the following day. His application was accepted for surplus commodities only. He was subsequently referred to Salvation Army and received aid from them. On April 19, 1940, Salvation Army advised that Mr. Hanke had obtained private employment, and our case was closed.

THOMAS LAVIN,
Transportation Administrator.

RN: mk

cc: Mrs. Clara Paul Paige.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It does seem to me that is a terrible condition to exist as among the various States, where a person loses settlement in one place long before he can possibly take it up in another place. It is a very serious situation.

Mr. LYONS. Yes. It is a very serious situation and one that we have been much concerned about. Whether there was ever any evidence of intent to return to Chicago, or whether the case was closed because of securing employment in some locality, I do not know. We have maintained a staff of persons in our legal department to analyze those cases in the light of opinions from the attorney general.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In this State, does it depend upon intention to establish residence?

Mr. LYONS. There is no mention of intent at all in any of the legislation. It merely says that they must have resided 3 years immediately preceding the application for relief. However, as a usual procedure we can find, either through the retaining of a room, the storage of baggage, or something of that nature, an intent to return, and we have tried to be just as fair as we could and have tried to go as far as we could go in the long run.

WORK RELIEF

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, I know that one great discouragement to seeking private employment by W. P. A. employees used to be the fact that if they were once off the roll, they had a very difficult time

getting back. Congress, of course, has sought to remedy that. It seems to me that in administering relief, W. P. A. or any of these works which are supposed to help take care of the needy, encouragement ought to be given toward seeking private employment, even for a short time.

Mr. LYONS. We do that. It has been our policy for a number of years, both on W. P. A. and relief, to reinstate immediately upon reapplication upon loss of employment, should it prove to be temporary. We then investigate the case as to need, after the case has been reinstated.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Thank you.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have many employables on direct relief in the city of Chicago?

Mr. LYONS. We have now, as I recall the figures, as of last Thursday, about 24,000 employables certified and unassigned to W. P. A. projects. Those are persons who cannot be strictly classed as—well, we will put it this way: Those are persons who are acceptable for employment. We are trying to get away from the terminology or designation of anybody as “unemployable.” That is a matter of degree. That is the terminology we are now using, “acceptable for employment.”

We are endeavoring to get everyone we possibly can into private employment. We have no opportunity to place them on W. P. A., but, as Mayor Kelly pointed out this morning, through the very fine cooperation of the State relief commission and the city of Chicago and other groups, we have developed a plan for the use of relief funds to transfer these employable people over into jobs. I am very definitely of the opinion that a person in any kind of a job is much more likely to secure private employment and stick than he is if he goes right from direct relief and long-continued unemployment into a job. I think there is a period of adjustment there in going through this period of transition from relief into private employment.

Mr. PARSONS. So far as the number that are employables is concerned, have you ever considered a city project of some kind to have them work out their relief money?

Mr. LYONS. We have two programs; in fact, we have three programs operating in the city of Chicago. One is a work-relief program whereby there are certain minor functions of relief administration to which we can assign people.

Then in the community we have a law which is on the books of the State of Illinois, sometimes referred to as the Johnson law, which requires that the overseer of the poor shall refer able-bodied people to the superintendent of highways, road commissioner, and so forth, and that he may put them to work. We developed a plan whereby able-bodied persons on relief in the city of Chicago are referred to the commissioner of public works. They are then assigned to work at the going rate of pay for common labor, 50 cents an hour. They work out a portion of what they receive. They do not work it out completely, because we have endeavored to spread that work opportunity as far as possible. They are reimbursed for the day at 50 cents an hour, and that reimbursement is considered as any other income, com-

ing into the department, as against their relief, and that then supplements it. This has been particularly effective because, as you know, under the W. P. A. ruling, aliens cannot be employed on W. P. A.

Mr. PARSONS. That is right.

Mr. LYONS. A check reveals that there were in the neighborhood of 8,000 to 10,000 aliens during a given period of time.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have a considerable number of aliens, a considerable alien population on relief here now, on direct relief?

Mr. LYONS. We are making a check. As of February, I believe, in considering some 86,000 or 87,000 employables for transfer to W. P. A., and for processing, there were about that number of aliens that showed up on our rolls, about 8,000 to 10,000.

Mr. PARSONS. Have they been on relief for a considerable period of time?

Mr. LYONS. Some have, and some have not. Our relief rolls have a very rapid turn-over.

Mr. PARSONS. Are a lot of those aliens newcomers to America?

Mr. LYONS. No. I think comparatively few. We are making a study of the situation, so we will have the facts on it.

Mr. PARSONS. Of course, you have practically every race under the sun represented here in rather substantial numbers.

Mr. LYONS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you agree with me that it is better for the morale and responsibility of the individual to be made to work out part of his relief money?

Mr. LYONS. I do not think "to be made" is proper terminology. I think they ought to be given the opportunity. I think that is the intent of what you said.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. LYONS. I think every dollar of any kind of money we spend in providing employment is a much more justifiable expenditure than any dollar we spend on direct relief. We have purely dependent cases which have to be provided for, where there are no employable people.

I am sure that at least 95 percent, if not 99 percent of the able-bodied people on relief would much rather work for what they get than take it without working.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions, gentlemen?

(No response.)

The statement which you have submitted, Mr. Lyons, entitled "A Statement on Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens," has been received as part of the record.

Mr. PARSONS. The committee wishes to thank you very much, Mr. Lyons. You have been very helpful to us.

Mr. LYONS. I am glad to have had the opportunity to appear before you.

(Whereupon, Mr. Lyons was excused.)

Mr. PARSONS. The next witness will be Mr. Shils.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD SHILS, OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Mr. PARSONS. Will you state your name and address to the reporter for the record, please, Mr. Shils.

Mr. SHILS. Edward Shils, University of Chicago.

Mr. PARSONS. I understand that you have a paper to present which was prepared by Dr. Wirth.

Mr. SHILS. Yes.

(The paper referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY LOUIS WIRTH, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
CHICAGO, ILL.

(Presented by Edward Shils)

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF URBAN MIGRATION IN THE MIDWEST

The problem of interstate migration did not loom large in American history as long as we had a vast unexplored and open frontier and as long as much of our territory was not organized in the form of sovereign States. Once the major portion of the land area was claimed by individual owners, and that part of it which remained in the public domain—either Federal or State—was no longer freely granted to homesteaders and settlers and the railroads, the problem of interstate migration emerged.

The problem today is less, or only to a very minor degree, a problem of the search for land than it is a problem of the search for jobs. Indeed, the search for land and a place of settlement is only rarely nowadays the object of migration. As in the case of the mass migrations from the Southwest to the Pacific coast, which have been dramatized in recent years, the relative exhaustion of natural resources in one area and their relative abundance in the other no longer has as a consequence the transfer of ownership of land but is largely a matter of the search for agricultural labor jobs. In this sense, the migration of a population from one agricultural area to another is fundamentally no different from the migration of agricultural people to industrial centers or the movement from one city to another. Inequalities between localities and regions in economic opportunity, rather than the quest for land or the search for adventure, are the basic elements in modern interstate migration in the United States.

The rapid growth of the population and the phenomenal accumulation of wealth in the United States could not have been accomplished without the almost unlimited freedom to move from one area to another, which the settlers in this country enjoyed until recently. Freedom to move is perhaps the most basic of human liberties. It is the very antithesis of bondage or slavery. For the perpetuation of our institutions, therefore, it is essential that this freedom be preserved. Without it, our national union could not long survive. If the States and localities should be allowed to undermine this freedom by the erection of barriers, the unhappy prospect of the crystallization of separate civic bodies hostile to and jealous of one another is not an unlikely one in this country.

The streams of migration in American history and their effect upon the development of this country have been analyzed by a number of students. The most recent of these is the Study on Migration and Economic Opportunity, edited by Prof. Carter Goodrich. Our own studies have been confined to migrations as they have affected the development of cities (see *Our Cities, Their Role in the National Economy*, a report to the National Resources Committee; and *Population Statistics, Urban Data*, also by the National Resources Committee) and the studies concerning the development of the metropolitan area of Chicago.

The central fact that emerges from these studies is that, with the virtual cutting off of European immigration since shortly after the World War, our cities have continued to grow by absorbing the surplus population of the American country—

side. Thus, during the decade 1860-70, foreign-born persons made up 48 percent of the population increase in Chicago; the foreign-born constituted 41 percent of the total increase from 1900 to 1910, while of the total increases from 1910 to 1930 they made up only 5 percent. This makes it obvious indeed that the growth of Chicago is due to movements from within the United States. From 1880 to 1890, 31 percent of Chicago's increase was due to the movement into the city of persons born elsewhere in the United States. In the decade 1920-30, 60 percent of the increase was due to movements from elsewhere in the United States into Chicago (cf. tables I and II). From 1890 to 1930 the number of native whites in Chicago who were born in Indiana and Wisconsin increased just as much as did those born in Illinois (less than 300 percent), while those Chicagoans from Michigan, Missouri, Iowa, and Kentucky increased by 400 percent, which shows that Chicago was drawing increasingly on these last four States to build up its population—and its prosperity (cf. table IV).

The development of great metropolitan cities and of the industries which they harbor, like the building of the railroads in an earlier epoch and the original settlement of the land, is intimately bound up with the continued free movement of people from areas of lesser to greater opportunity. If we examine the three important industrial States right in this part of the country—Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin—we find that, as industry grew in these States, their populations came to an increasing extent to be made up of people—native Americans—from other States. Thus, in the decade 1900-1910 only 2 percent of the native Americans in these States were born in other States; in the next decade the percentage grew to 13 percent; and in the last decade only a little less than one-third of the whole native population of these States came from somewhere else in this country (cf. table III, columns 5 and 6). As educational opportunities, cultural opportunities, and economic security have been diffused more uniformly over the whole country, some of the incentives for migration in an earlier period are disappearing. There remains, however, the incentive of the search for greater economic opportunity. There is no prospect that this will be equally distributed throughout the country considering the inequality of the resources and the condition of our markets. There will, therefore, be continued migration provided the barriers to it are not made insuperable.

There has been another trend of migration—from the central cities outward to the periphery of the cities, often crossing State lines, as is the case especially with the great metropolitan centers. This movement has resulted not so much in the dispersion of the urban population over the countryside as it has resulted in the redistribution of a portion of the urban population along the periphery of the metropolitan centers but close enough to them to be an integral part of metropolitan life.

In the earliest period of American history the migrant was the frontiersman, the homesteader, and the settler. In a subsequent period he was the hobo and migratory worker. But, as Nels Anderson has shown in his volume about to be published (*Men on the Move*), the hobo is no more. This implies not so much that migration has ceased but that it is taking a new form. The automobile and hard roads have changed the technique of migration. The depression, which has been Nation-wide in character and from which we have not wholly recovered, has called forth governmental means to mitigate the problems incident to aimless wandering of youth, adults, and families. It is important that these means be expanded and brought into congruence with a farsighted policy which, while it recognizes special local and regional problems, is formulated in the interests of the national welfare. Nothing would contribute more to a rational policy designed to minimize hardships, frictions between communities, and violent outbursts in localities calculated to offer resistance to invasion than an adequate national information service on employment opportunities and the further expansion of our employment services to bring work seekers and job opportunities into a more effective relationship with one another. The maintenance, and perhaps the extension in certain directions, of social-security measures will stabilize population to some extent. Meanwhile, it is important in the interests of the maintenance of a free-labor market, the prevention of the emergence of a caste order in American society, and the preservation of our institutions, that both official and unofficial measures to prevent the free movement of Americans within the confines of the United States be inhibited by effective legislation.

TABLE I.—*Percentage of total increase of Chicago population coming from each source, 1860–1930*¹

Decade	Total increase in population	Increase in—			
		Foreign-born population	Colored population	White population from United States	Births over deaths
1860 to 1870.....	100	47.8	-----	33.4	15.9
1870 to 1880.....	100	29.4	-----	46.3	24.4
1880 to 1890.....	100	49.3	1.6	29.0	20.1
1890 to 1900.....	100	23.4	2.7	45.0	28.9
1900 to 1910.....	100	41.4	3.0	10.4	24.2
1910 to 1920.....	100	4.6	12.4	45.0	38.0
1920 to 1930.....	100	5.4	21.7	38.4	34.5

¹ Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*, University of Chicago Press, 1933.TABLE II.—*Sources of increase of Chicago population, 1830–1930*¹

Decade	Total increase in population	Increase in—			
		Foreign-born population	Colored population	White population from other parts of United States	Births over deaths
1830 to 1840.....	4,429	(2)	(2)	-----	400
1840 to 1850.....	25,484	(2)	(2)	-----	2,000
1850 to 1860.....	79,243	(2)	(2)	-----	10,000
1860 to 1870.....	188,717	90,133	-----	63,000	30,000
1870 to 1880.....	205,108	60,302	-----	95,000	50,000
1880 to 1890.....	496,665	244,769	7,791	144,106	100,000
1890 to 1900.....	588,725	137,584	15,879	265,262	170,000
1900 to 1910.....	468,708	194,105	13,953	48,650	212,000
1910 to 1920.....	525,422	24,165	65,000	236,257	200,000
1920 to 1930.....	674,733	36,575	146,000	259,158	233,000

¹ Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*, University of Chicago Press, 1933.² Before 1860 no accurate data are available for increase in foreign-born population. Increase in colored population in this period was negligible.TABLE III.—*Residence status of native population of Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin, 1890–1930*

Year	Total population		Net deficit for 3 States	Decennial change		
	Born in 3 States	Residing in 3 States		Decade	Percent of increase of population	
					Residing in 3 States, born in other States	Born in 3 States, residing in other States
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1890.....	6, 448, 437	6, 197, 884	250, 553			
1900.....	8, 123, 760	7, 782, 215	341, 545	1890-1900	14. 0	17. 8
1910.....	9, 598, 101	8, 795, 485	802, 616	1900-1910	1. 8	27. 6
1920.....	11, 127, 187	10, 225, 340	901, 847	1910-20	13. 2	12. 9
1930.....	12, 667, 549	12, 034, 418	633, 131	1920-30	29. 2	8. 3

TABLE IV.—*Percentage distribution and decennial change of native-born population, by State of birth and foreign-born in the city of Chicago, 1890-1930*

Year	Total population	Foreign-born population	Total native population	State of birth of native population				
				Illinois	Indiana and Wisconsin	Michigan, Missouri, Iowa, and Kentucky	New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio	All other States
1890.....	100.00	40.98	59.02	39.68	3.12	3.01	7.67	5.54
1900.....	100.00	34.57	65.43	45.32	3.83	4.24	7.15	4.89
1910.....	100.00	35.85	64.15	46.56	3.52	3.96	5.45	4.66
1920.....	100.00	29.93	70.07	51.41	3.55	4.14	4.68	6.29
1930.....	100.00	25.45	74.55	51.49	3.97	4.97	4.18	9.94
Increase or decrease:								
1890 to 1900.....	54.4	30.3	71.2	76.4	89.3	117.8	44.1	36.1
1900 to 1910.....	28.7	33.4	26.1	32.2	18.2	20.0	-1.9	22.6
1910 to 1920.....	23.6	3.2	35.0	36.5	24.8	29.4	6.0	66.9
1920 to 1930.....	25.0	6.3	33.0	25.2	39.7	50.0	11.7	97.5
1890 to 1930.....	207.0	90.7	287.7	298.3	290.0	407.4	67.3	450.4

Mr. PARSONS. Do you care to make any comment in connection with it?

Mr. SHILS. No additional comment, unless you have some specific questions.

Mr. PARSONS. You are connected with the department of sociology?

Mr. SHILS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Under Dr. Wirth?

Mr. SHILS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. You have heard the testimony here this morning, have you not, Mr. Shils?

Mr. SHILS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any suggestions to make that might aid the committee in this problem of migration?

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. SHILS. Well, no. I can only reiterate the suggestions and recommendations which have already been made, namely, the necessity for a greater coordination of employment information and the more adequate diffusion of the employment information to the unemployed in the various parts of the country.

At the present time it is true that there is, through various State employment agencies, information available at such agencies, but most persons who are unemployed do not know about the existence of the agency, in my experience.

Mr. PARSONS. How would you disseminate this information; through the public press?

Mr. SHILS. Through the public press, or through the radio. I think the radio would be more valuable, because more persons in the lower income groups listen to the radio than read the newspapers, I think.

Mr. PARSONS. I think that is true.

Mr. SHILS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. We are glad to have had you appear here. Are there any questions?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I would like to ask one question. I notice from the statement of Dr. Wirth, four specific recommendations are made: First, adequate national information service on employment opportunities; second, a further expansion of our employment services in order to bring the workers and the job opportunities together; third, the extension of our social security measures; and fourth, effective legislation to prevent measures inhibiting the free movement of Americans. Those do state pretty well the conclusions of his paper as I understand it?

Mr. SHILS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

Mr. CURTIS. May I ask this question: Do you have here in Chicago the problem of private employment agencies or travel bureaus inducing people to come to this area for work, when there is no work?

Mr. SHILS. I do not think that is the case in recent years.

Mr. CURTIS. You do not think that is the case in recent years?

Mr. SHILS. No. That was the case in the early twenties, particularly with the Negroes in the Southern States, but I do not think it has been the case in Chicago in recent years.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. PARSONS. The statement prepared by Dr. Wirth headed "A Statement Concerning Historical Aspects of Urban Migration in the Midwest" has been received as part of the record. We wish to express our appreciation to Dr. Wirth for his contribution. That is all, Mr. Shils.

(Whereupon Mr. Shils was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was reconvened at 2 p. m.)

TESTIMONY OF HARRY C. NAIL, JR., RESEARCH CONSULTANT, ATTORNEYS GENERAL SECTION, COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order. The next witness will be Mr. Nail. Mr. Nail will be interrogated by Congressman Parsons.

Mr. PARSONS. State your name and address for the benefit of the record.

Mr. NAIL. Harry C. Nail, Jr., research consultant, attorneys general section, Council of State Governments.

Mr. PARSONS. You are with the Council of State Governments?

Mr. NAIL. Yes; I am with the Council of State Governments.

Mr. PARSONS. You have no direct connection with the attorney general's office of Illinois?

Mr. NAIL. No, sir; except that he is a member of the National Association of Attorneys General, and we serve as the secretariat of that Association.

(Statement presented is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY HARRY C. NAIL, JR., RESEARCH CONSULTANT, ATTORNEYS GENERAL SECTION, COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

INTERSTATE AGREEMENTS FOR THE TRANSFER OF DEPENDENT MIGRANTS

The administration of public relief to dependent persons is controlled in most States by statutory provisions which determine eligibility on the basis of time spent within the community. These provisions, technically known as settlement laws, have as their foundation the seventeenth century poor laws of England which were passed to deal with the dependency attendant upon the break-up of the feudal system and the consequent growth of towns and cities.¹

Today our population mobility again brings the settlement law into the foreground and raises the question as to whether the theory of strict local responsibility for the relief of dependents is adequate.

Settlement laws have a twofold purpose: First, that of setting up qualifications or conditions of eligibility for public assistance; and, second, the fixing of responsibility for such public assistance upon the locality wherein there has been a compliance with the qualifications. The qualifications in the various States take the form of residence requirements of from 6 months to 5 years, and in addition generally provide that such residence be acquired without the receipt of public or private assistance.² The settlement statutes also generally provide that the status entitling one to public aid may be lost by absence from the State or by the acquisition of a new settlement in another State.

Aside from the stated methods providing for the loss of the settlement status there is also the possibility that the State legislature may take away the right which it created. In other words, the settlement status is not a vested right but rather a matter of grace dependent upon the pure whim of the legislators.

The tendency today is for the legislatures to revise upward the residence time requirement increasing the difficulty of acquiring a legal settlement. At the same time, however, such increases have generally been interpreted as not affecting those who have already acquired a settlement status, that is, they are not retroactive.

As a result of this tendency a more liberal interpretation of the laws has taken place and attorneys general in many instances have attempted to reduce the harsh effects through their power of construction.³

¹Hirsh, Harry M., *Our Settlement Laws*, New York State Department of Social Welfare, p. 6.

²Settlement—Acquisition—Farm Security Administration Aids—Effect of (Loomis, Wis., December 17, 1938). No set rule may be applied as to effect of various activities of Farm Security Administration on question of legal settlement which by law is denied to persons while being "supported as a pauper or employed on any State or Federal work relief program." Generally Farm Security Administration and corporation standard loans are not relief, but contemplate rehabilitation. Grants not supported by work agreements indicate relief or pauper status, but employment under work agreement does constitute employment on a "Federal work relief program" so as to bar acquisition of settlement.

³Eligibility for Assistance—Interpretations—(Reno, Pa., Rutherford, Asst., March 6, 1940. In 1939 Pennsylvania amended its Public Assistance Act. The residence requirement was increased from 1 to 2 years and a settlement requirement was added. The former 1-year residence condition for eligibility did not create any vested rights to relief which were not subject to change by the legislature, since relief responsibility is purely statutory. Another provision of the 1939 law provides that funds shall be kept by the director for furnishing assistance in emergency cases. A liberal interpretation if placed upon this provision permitting the director to make a grant in an emergency situation until other aid can be solicited, even in cases where the facts disclosed indicated ineligibility under the act.

The migrant seeking economic security experiences the real brunt of the settlement laws; stranded in a foreign community his appeal for aid can only be directed to private charity groups. Where industrial or agricultural circumstances force large migrant movements, however, the settlement law under existing arrangements is a necessary protection to those geographical sectors in which the migrants sojourn. In such sectors the usual resources of the community cannot be expected to meet the demands occasioned by such a great increase in population.

Attempts have been made to effect a partial remedy to cope with the problems of the dependent migrant. In cases where migrants have maintained a settlement status in the States from which they have migrated, interstate agreements providing for their return have been consummated. Such agreements now exist between Vermont and Maine, Vermont and New York, and Vermont and New Hampshire. In 1935 the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws drafted and approved a Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act providing for the enactment of enabling clauses permitting the formation of reciprocal agreements between States.

In 1938 the National Association of Attorneys General became interested in this problem and there was established an advisory committee on public assistance. This committee, with the aid of the American Public Welfare Association, is responsible for the terminology changes in the most recent interstate agreements and for the sponsorship of this device as a means of aiding the migrant.

Lack of uniformity in settlement laws, however, particularly with respect to the loss of settlement, destroys the effectiveness of interstate agreements. For example, a person migrating from New York to Vermont would lose his settlement in New York after 1 year's absence and would not gain settlement in Vermont until 3 years' presence. Hence, after the duration of 1 year, Vermont could not request that this person be transported back to the State of New York for that State is no longer responsible under the law. The result is that neither State is legally bound to provide relief and the interstate agreement entered into in no way corrects this situation. Such agreements could be made more workable if they were of a higher order than the statutory enactments that pertain to loss of settlement. Legislative authority might be delegated to the officers entering into the agreement to revise the loss of settlement provisions with respect to dependents sought to be transferred. For example, if the agreement provided that no settlement is lost until a new one is gained, authority to transfer would always exist, for theoretical settlement is gained at birth through inheritance. Whether such legislative powers could be delegated to the persons designated to form agreements is doubtful, but ratification of the agreement by the legislature would cure this defect.

Aside from the nonuniformity of settlement laws among the several States, other factors indicate that the interstate agreement for the transfer of dependent migrants is not a satisfactory method of treatment. In the case of California, a State having great attraction for the migrant, the following unofficial statement by the attorney general points out the defects:

"While this compact (agreement) undoubtedly provides a satisfactory adjustment of this problem for Maine and Vermont and might serve as a model for other States similarly situated, it does not offer a solution for California of this difficult problem.

"In the first place, under the present laws there is no authority permitting the officials of California to enter into such a compact and specific legislation would be necessary to authorize it. Such legislation could not be considered until the regular session of our legislature in 1941.

"Secondly, the laws of California with reference to the return of indigent migrants are not uniform as to length of residence in this State. For instance, under sections 2500 to 2615 of the Welfare and Institutions Code of California (California Indigent Act, Stats. 1937, ch. 464), which sections make it the duty of the counties to relieve and support all incompetent, poor, indigent persons and those incapacitated by old age, disease, or accident, the residence qualification is fixed at 3 years and if the residence qualification is not met the county is authorized to spend the money necessary to transport the nonresident to his State of legal residence. On the other hand, it is provided under our children's aid law that the residence requirement shall be

1 year immediately preceding the date of application. In addition, there is a statutory provision permitting boards of supervisors to care for the indigent sick (sec. 217, Welfare and Institutions Code) which does not provide any specific length of time as a residence requirement but authorizes the transportation of such indigents to other States, 'when such indigents will thereby cease to become public charges, or when friends or relatives of such indigents agree to assume the cost and expense of the care and maintenance of such indigents, or when such indigents are legally public charges in the places to which they are so transported.'

'Finally, the provisions of section 4 of the compact, which makes the transfer dependent upon the agreement of both States that the welfare of the indigent and his family will be promoted by such transfer, might cause so much negotiation and perhaps dispute as to make the compact exceedingly difficult to administer. In instances where the migrants have fled from disaster in the State of residence, the practical effect would, in my opinion, be to require that California keep them.

'This compact would seem to be suitable for use between States which have relatively small numbers of such cases to deal with, but I am not so sure that it would benefit States which have a great influx of migrants.'

It has been recommended that settlement laws be abolished entirely on the theory that for most States the relief burden would not thereby increase—the number of dependents coming into the State would be offset by those going out. This recommendation obviously could not apply to States like California unless outside financial resources—such as grants in aid—were forthcoming.

The difficulties of repealing the settlement laws are manifest, particularly when the Federal Government has apparently placed its stamp of approval upon this type of legislation by providing in the Social Security Act that States receiving Federal aid may not exclude from benefits anyone who has resided in the State for the following specified periods:

Aid to the blind.—Five years during the 9 years immediately preceding application, the last year continuously.

Old-age assistance.—Five years during the 9 years immediately preceding application, the last year continuously.

Aid to dependent children.—One year immediately preceding application. A child born within the State within 1 year immediately preceding application is eligible if its mother has resided in the State for 1 year immediately preceding its birth.

As for the demand for uniformity of settlement laws throughout the States, if the theory of the law is bad, then such a demand amounts to a request that a bad law be uniformly bad.

In the case of migrants, a change in the law with respect to the loss of settlement would create a desired status if the plan of local responsibility is to be continued. This change, modeled after the legal interpretation of a domiciliary status, would merely provide that a legal settlement is not lost until a new one is gained. The advantages of this policy, especially in the case of the migrant, are apparent.

Since this memorandum is confined to the legal aspects of settlement laws and interstate agreements for the transfer of migratory dependents, the social phases of the problem have not been discussed.

TESTIMONY OF HARRY C. NAIL, JR.—Resumed

Mr. PARSONS. You have presented here a very fine statement, and because of the lack of time, we cannot have you read it all. I will ask you some questions about it.

Mr. NAIL. All right.

Mr. PARSONS. Before we get to that, some members of the committee have been discussing what was said about changing the settlement law in Illinois last year. We did not want to cause any embarrassment to the State or the State legislature by seeming to be critical of that change. I wonder if you know why the time was changed from 1 year to 3 years by the legislature?

Mr. NAIL. I do not know specifically why they did. I can see a reason for it; that is, to limit the financial responsibility on the part of the

State. That is the reason for all settlement laws, I think. Why it was specifically, in this particular instance, raised from 1 year to 3 years, I have no knowledge.

Mr. PARSONS. In his testimony Mr. Lyons did not indicate that there had been any appreciable migration into Illinois, or at least not into Chicago, just for the purpose of getting on relief.

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. I asked him about that specifically.

Mr. NAIL. I recall that.

Mr. PARSONS. He mentioned that on more than one occasion.

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. The Illinois Emergency Relief Commission has all of the records probably that are available upon that question. He also stated that they did not recommend passage of the law.

Mr. NAIL. I heard him say that.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you familiar with the act changing the time, familiar enough with it to know whether or not that was a section that was placed into the act extending the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission?

Mr. NAIL. No; I am not. I am acquainted with the attorney general's opinion that interpreted that act; that is, with respect to the extension of time from 1 year, I believe, to 3 years.

Mr. PARSONS. I see.

Mr. NAIL. As far as the act itself is concerned, I am not familiar with it.

Mr. PARSONS. From your study of settlement laws, will you explain to the committee your concept of the origin and purpose of settlement laws and how they have been handed down from past centuries?

Mr. NAIL. I think it was in the year 1300, or thereabouts, in England there was a statute passed, called the statute of labor. This statute provided that it was a penal offense for anyone not to accept employment in the place where he was located.

In about 1600 we began to see our first settlement law, at the time of Elizabeth. They were breaking up the feudal system at that time, and cities were faced with a large influx of population. They had to limit their financial responsibility. They passed a law very similar to the law we have in Illinois and in most of the States today. In fact, the effect of the law is the same, but the terminology has changed a little bit. That law became part of the famous Elizabethan Code. Then it was brought over when we colonized the United States, and it has been with us since that time.

We have a precedent, therefore, extending back about three or four hundred years. That is the type of law we have today.

Mr. PARSONS. We learned over in New York City that the New England settlement laws were almost identical today with what they were when the Constitution was adopted.

Mr. NAIL. That is true.

Mr. PARSONS. There has been very little, if any, change.

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Of course, they were handed down, or borrowed, from the old English law.

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

ABOLITION OF SETTLEMENT LAWS

MR. PARSONS. What is your idea about the time? What is your opinion as to what changes should be made? Should they be abolished altogether, or should they be made uniform; and if so, how can we accomplish that? Congress cannot step into the State picture.

MR. NAIL. That is true. I do not think, from the standpoint of theory, the element of time should be the determining factor in ascertaining whether a person should be given relief. I think it is dependent upon whether he needs relief, rather than the question of whether he has been in the community 6 months or 5 years. So believing, I think settlement laws should be abolished, but I do not think you are going to have any success in attempting to abolish them.

As I said before, until you remove the cause for settlement laws, which is the limitation of financial responsibility, it appears that you are not going to have very much success in removing the settlement laws themselves.

MR. PARSONS. These terms "settlement laws," "residence laws," and so forth, may be confusing to the public. Will you explain the difference, using Illinois, of course, as an illustration, between our residence law and our settlement law?

MR. NAIL. They are entirely different. You have the term "residence" often appearing in the statutes with respect to jurisdiction for divorces and with respect to voting statutes. Where we refer to the settlement law, we use the word "residence" in an entirely different way.

In the first place, it is a particular type of residence. It must be one self-supporting in nature, and if you receive public assistance or private assistance, you are not fulfilling the requirements as to that type of residence. I should say, in the first place, we should consider the settlement law as having a twofold purpose: First that of setting up qualifications or conditions of eligibility for public assistance; and second the fixing of responsibility for such public assistance upon the locality wherein there has been a compliance with the qualifications. But we should not confuse the term "residence," or think that we are referring to it with respect to settlement laws in the same way as when we are referring to voting laws or jurisdiction laws.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is the settlement law always predicated upon relief or assistance?

MR. NAIL. Yes; in my opinion.

MR. PARSONS. It is your thought that the legislature raised the limitation to 3 years in order to avoid relievers who might be migrating to the State?

MR. NAIL. Yes; and I think, too, there is a tendency throughout the States to raise residence requirements. I know that in Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Pennsylvania—

THE CHAIRMAN. And California.

MR. NAIL. And California, that has been done. There is a trend in that direction.

MR. PARSONS. Give us your suggestions as to how Congress might attack this problem in the way of uniformity of settlement laws. You say you think they might as well be repealed. My fear about that is

that should you do so, it might be an inducement to at least a limited number of people to see America first at the expense of the governmental agencies furnishing relief.

If he could apply at Chicago today and get relief, and then run over into Iowa tomorrow and could apply and get relief there, and stay for 10 days and then go on out through Kansas and out through the Rockies and out to the coast, and then down the coast, every State in which he stopped for a few days would furnish relief, so he would have a nice junket, so-called, at the expense of the relief agencies.

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. What do you have to say about that?

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. NAIL. I think it might be true in isolated instances, but I think that just the idea of receiving relief in a place where you would like to go for climatic reasons, or because you would like to see the country, is not a sufficient force to cause a family to uproot their connections in the State where they have settlement, or if they do not have settlement there, and move on to another State. I think you might have individual instances, as I say, but not a widespread movement at all.

Mr. PARSONS. What are your suggestions as to how Congress can attack this problem? Do you think it can be done by giving grants-in-aid to the States, and influencing the States to adopt, say, uniformity of settlement laws?

1. EXTENSION OF FEDERAL AID

Mr. NAIL. Well, I think if the Federal Government were to reestablish the Federal transient program that was in existence in 1933—not exactly that particular program, but something of that nature—they would then be limiting the financial responsibility to be placed on the States, because the Federal Government would be taking care of those persons who did not have settlement status by direct grant.

If that were done, and the States could be made to believe their financial responsibility would not increase, I think they would be more likely to revise downward the present residence requirements. They might never abolish them, but there would be no particular reason for continuing the settlement laws.

Mr. PARSONS. Would you have the Federal Government contribute the entire cost of the out-of-State destitute migrant?

Mr. NAIL. Yes. I would have it contribute the entire cost for those persons who did not have a resident status. I think there is a tendency on the part of most of the States to feel that they do not particularly like to help the outsiders that come in. They are willing to take care of those persons who have been residents of the State for some period of time.

2. MIGRANT REGISTRATION

Mr. PARSONS. Would it be helpful if we were able through the various local and Federal Government agencies to catalog all of the migrants and were able to have a definite report on them?

Mr. NAIL. I think it would be decidedly helpful.

Mr. PARSONS. Then when they left, to go from one place to another, the agency could give them some kind of identification showing what type and character of person they were, so that they could present that identification in the next State or at the next stop to the local authorities, who would then understand the background of these migrants.

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Would that be helpful, do you think?

Mr. NAIL. I think so. I think if you had a record of these migrants, it would be very helpful.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

3. UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mr. NAIL. You asked a moment ago about making these laws uniform.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. NAIL. There is an organization called the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. They have been in existence about 50 years. They have been attempting to make laws uniform with respect to commercial transactions in the main.

During that time, they have only been able to make one law uniform, and that is the Negotiable Instruments Act. If we are attempting now to make settlement laws uniform, we have a hard road ahead of us, unless it could be done through some form of grant-in-aid with conditions attached.

Mr. PARSONS. If it was necessary for them to qualify for aid, Congress might be able to touch the problem.

Mr. NAIL. I think Congress has done that in connection with the Veterans Guardianship Act. They have been very successful in having that adopted. There still are a few States, however, that have not adopted it.

Mr. PARSONS. What has been your observation in your study of this problem where the States have more recently been raising the limitation of the time? Do you not think that merely aggravates the problem as a whole?

Mr. NAIL. Particularly for the migrant, it does. It also aggravates it for those in the community, because disputes arise as to whether they have settlement, and the cost of litigation is very high.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you any recommendations to make to the committee that you think might be beneficial in improving present practices in the treatment of this problem?

Mr. NAIL. The only recommendation I would have to make is, as I have said, with respect to grants-in-aid; some sort of program such as the Federal transient program, or an extension of the categories of social security to take in this particular class of persons.

Mr. PARSONS. You would require the Federal Government to pay the entire cost of the destitute migrant?

Mr. NAIL. I think so; yes.

Mr. PARSONS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nail, you are a lawyer, are you not?

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Federal Government, of course, could not tell the States what residence laws or settlement laws they should enact. Is that not true?

Mr. NAIL. No; they cannot.

The CHAIRMAN. But if your suggestion were followed, of course, the United States Congress jurisdiction would follow the dollar, would it not, if they granted aid to the States?

Mr. NAIL. I think that has been the case with respect to the social-security law and with respect to the merit system.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you will agree with me that this is a very complex problem. There is no single solution. You very delicately approached just one.

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we have former President Hoover who thinks the solution is resettlement of millions of acres of federally owned property in the United States. Mrs. Roosevelt agrees with him. That is one subject they agree on. Yet you can readily see what a problem that is. You can see what it would involve, if we should recommend that. We have to first find the land and do many other things before that could be accomplished.

Mr. NAIL. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think, Mr. Nail, in agreement with the other witnesses, that this is really a national problem?

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Take Chicago: If 850,000 people moved into the State of Illinois, the tax structure of the State could not stand up under it, could it?

Mr. NAIL. I do not believe it could.

The CHAIRMAN. It just simply could not be done. Who knows when they are going to start to come? Nobody knows. You are a citizen of what State?

Mr. NAIL. Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. Ohio?

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But under the Constitution you are a citizen of the other 47 States, are you not?

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We have spent billions through the Congress and through the courts to fix the status of iron, steel, coal, and other commodities, watching them jealously pass through the States, but we have never spent a dime yet to protect human interstate commerce, have we?

Mr. NAIL. When you refer to "interstate commerce," do you refer to people as being in interstate commerce?

The CHAIRMAN. I am just using that term figuratively, to designate the destitute migrant citizens moving from State to State.

Mr. NAIL. Where would be the authority of the Federal Government, under the general welfare clause, or under the commerce clause, or what?

The CHAIRMAN. The point is, the only thing you suggest is grants-in-aid by the Federal Government.

Mr. NAIL. Under the general welfare clause?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. NAIL. That is the only thing I can think of to bring in the authority of the Federal Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. But they are interstate commerce themselves.

Mr. NAIL. I think there has to be something commercial attached to it. I do not know that a person coming across a State line would be considered as interstate commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. NAIL. I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us use that term.

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not raised any barriers in the 48 States against any other State shipping in oats or wheat or anything else. No such barriers have been raised. Why? Because you just simply cannot do it and get away with it. But we are raising barriers against the free flow of the human interstate commerce, are we not, in the residence laws?

Mr. NAIL. I do not want to contradict you, Mr. Chairman, but there are hundreds of State trade barriers to commodities.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. NAIL. The trend now has been stopped, but it has been in that direction.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. NAIL. From 1932 to 1937 actually there were hundreds of laws passed of that nature, particularly with respect to liquor.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but the tendency is always to break down those barriers, is that not true?

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Please do not infer from our questions that we are indicating how we feel about it.

Mr. NAIL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to find our own way, you see.

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. With respect to these settlement laws, they range as high as 5 years and as low as 6 months.

Mr. NAIL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Parsons has brought out the fact that that is what we are deeply concerned about, and that is why we want your idea about it.

Mr. NAIL. The Social Security Board has something very similar to a settlement law. They make it necessary for those applying for social security out in the States to have lived there 5 years within the last 9 years continuously. I think it would be a very good thing if the Government could abolish that type of settlement law, if it can be referred to as such, as it has in the social security program.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. NAIL. If you are going to ask the States to remove settlement laws, I think it should be done by the Federal Government also.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? (No response.) The statement which you have prepared entitled "A Statement on Settlement Laws, Interstate Agreements for the Transfer of Dependent Migrants" will be received and made a part of the record, and given the appropriate exhibit number.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Nail.

Mr. NAIL. Thank you.

(Whereupon Mr. Nail was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JAMES MILLER

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be James Miller. Congressman Curtis will examine you, Mr. Miller.

Mr. CURTIS. Will you give your full name to the reporter, please, Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. James Miller.

Mr. CURTIS. Where were you born?

Mr. MILLER. Leith, Scotland.

Mr. CURTIS. At what age did you come to this country?

Mr. MILLER. Nineteen.

Mr. CURTIS. When were you born, what year?

Mr. MILLER. 1894.

Mr. CURTIS. You are a citizen of this country?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. When were you naturalized?

Mr. MILLER. 1923.

Mr. CURTIS. How much of a family do you have?

Mr. MILLER. Two boys, one 21 and one 19.

Mr. CURTIS. Is Mrs. Miller living?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. The children as well as Mrs. Miller are all citizens, too?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you working now?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What was your last job?

Mr. MILLER. At Pittsburgh.

Mr. CURTIS. Pittsburgh, Pa.?

Mr. MILLER. Yes; in the steel mills.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you do before that?

Mr. MILLER. You mean from the start, from Chicago here?

Mr. CURTIS. No. What was your last job before your job at Pittsburgh?

Mr. MILLER. That was at Gary, Ind.

Mr. CURTIS. How long were you at Pittsburgh?

Mr. MILLER. About 3 months altogether.

Mr. CURTIS. During what year?

Mr. MILLER. That was 1939.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you leave Pittsburgh, what month?

Mr. MILLER. January 1940, to come here; to come back.

Mr. CURTIS. That was only about a 3-month period of employment there?

Mr. MILLER. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. During what time did you work in Gary, Ind.?

Mr. MILLER. 1937. I went there in June and that job lasted up until January 1938. Then we lived on what we had saved up until we became destitute.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. I applied there for relief in Indiana. They gave me some subsistence there to help us. In the meantime they got in touch with Chicago here to find out what our case was here. In the meantime I got another position there.

Mr. CURTIS. In Gary?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. That lasted around 6 months.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. Then I got laid off of that job. There was nothing more doing in the mills there, and no chance of employment in that small town there, so my wife and I talked it over, and the two boys went into the C. C. C. camp.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. At that time we put our furniture in storage in Gary, to go east in search of employment. I had heard at the shipyards at Camden where my sister is located, that there was work there. That is why we went there, to get employment. We went down there and made application. They kept saying it would be a month or so, or maybe a month and a half before they could use me.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. I did not receive employment, so I went from there to Boston. I had heard about the shipyards there. My wife, incidentally, had a sister there. We stayed there for about a month. I think it was. Then we started back again, stopping at my sister's again in Camden. There was nothing there at the shipyards. We came back to Pittsburgh, and got into the mills at Pittsburgh.

Mr. CURTIS. At what are you trained? At what work are you trained?

Mr. MILLER. Powerhouse operator; substation operator and electrician.

Mr. CURTIS. That was your last permanent job in Chicago, along that line?

Mr. MILLER. Powerhouse operator; yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How many years were you engaged in that work?

Mr. MILLER. Twelve years, with the Edison Co.

Mr. CURTIS. That work terminated in what year?

Mr. MILLER. 1932.

Mr. CURTIS. They have not called you back?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. CURTIS. When you applied for aid in Gary, Ind., did Illinois consider you a resident of Illinois at that time, or do you know?

Mr. MILLER. I don't know.

Mr. CURTIS. I see.

Mr. MILLER. I don't know. They got in touch with Illinois through the Indiana relief, so I don't know what arrangements they made. They didn't seem to refuse anything in Indiana at that time.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you had any odd jobs besides those you mentioned at Gary and Pittsburgh?

Mr. MILLER. No. I was sick for about 2 months, with erysipelas, since I came back.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. I am just getting over it now.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you not do some instructing in the Y. M. C. A.?

Mr. MILLER. That was after I left the Edison Co.

Mr. CURTIS. What was the nature of that work?

Mr. MILLER. Swimming instructor, and boys' work.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did that last?

Mr. MILLER. That was around 2 years.

Mr. CURTIS. Did it provide a sufficient income to take care of yourself?

Mr. MILLER. Fourteen dollars a week. That at least let me keep my family going.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you do following that work?

Mr. MILLER. Then I got into W. P. A., in the labor end. I went from laboring to safety inspection in W. P. A.

Mr. CURTIS. Altogether how long were you on W. P. A.?

Mr. MILLER. I can't recall. Around 4 or 5 years, I think.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you leave W. P. A.?

Mr. MILLER. In 1937, to go to Gary.

Mr. CURTIS. You had a chance to go to Gary?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. I heard they were picking up. I ran down to Gary and got employment there, and started to work in Gary. We moved our furniture down to Gary.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. I was going back and forth on the I. C., but it was too far to travel. It took me 2½ hours each way to go back and forth.

Mr. CURTIS. What did they pay you in Gary?

Mr. MILLER. \$5.50 to start in. I got 6 days a week, though.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you drawn any unemployment compensation?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did that run?

Mr. MILLER. What do you mean?

Mr. CURTIS. Over how many weeks did you draw it, or are you still drawing it?

Mr. MILLER. No. That is all over. I drew from Gary, or from Indiana. I had, I think it was, only \$29 from Pittsburgh.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you had any work of any kind since you left Pittsburgh?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Are your boys still in a C. C. C. camp?

Mr. MILLER. The oldest one is.

Mr. CURTIS. His age is 19, you say?

Mr. MILLER. Twenty-one.

Mr. CURTIS. Where is your other boy?

Mr. MILLER. He is with us at home.

Mr. CURTIS. Did the boys get through high school?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, Mr. Miller, you in search of work have gone through quite a number of States, have you not?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. In your opinion, what causes individuals to go from one State to another, those who have found it necessary to be upon relief? Do you think it is because of their seeking a job, or did you run into anyone who was hunting better and more abundant relief?

Mr. MILLER. No. It was in quest of work that I went.

Mr. CURTIS. I understand that you did, but in your contacts, in making all these tries for a job——

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it your opinion that is the general cause?

Mr. MILLER. Well, the men I have spoken to on the way have said that they went for work.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. They were all looking for work. They wanted work.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. At the steel mills and shipyards, it was all the same. They were looking for work.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you ever have any difficulty in crossing any State line?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Did anyone inquire of you where you were going or whether you had money to support yourself?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. CURTIS. They never did?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. CURTIS. In visiting these various cities in search of work, did you contact employment agencies?

Mr. MILLER. Not employment agencies; no. The mills themselves.

Mr. CURTIS. The mills themselves?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. No public or private employment agency urged you to go to any particular place?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. CURTIS. What relief, other than work relief, have you received here in Chicago, either public or private?

Mr. MILLER. Before I left Chicago, that was when I went on W. P. A., through that relief. Since I came back, in 1940 here, I went to the public relief, and they said I wasn't a resident here any more, because my furniture is in storage in Gary. They said they couldn't do anything there, so I went to the United Charities. They looked into the case, into my record, and they have given me aid.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. On top of that, my boy had sent in \$22 a month from the C. C. C. That supplemented the rest, and kept us going.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. We are in a one-room place, right now—my wife, my boy, and I. The last 2 weeks my wife had obtained employment through the charities, so we are on our own at the present time.

Mr. CURTIS. In other words, you have been confronted with this proposition, that had you stayed in Chicago and not tried to find private employment—

Mr. MILLER. I could still have had relief.

Mr. CURTIS. To take care of yourself and the family, you would have qualified for relief, but by doing your best to find work you have been penalized?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. That is right. We can't understand it. Both of our boys was born and raised here and went through the public schools. They don't know what to make of it. They don't know where their home is, here or somewhere else.

Mr. CURTIS. Altogether you only spent 3 months in Gary?

Mr. MILLER. That was in Pittsburgh.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you stay in Gary?

Mr. MILLER. From June 1937 up until, I think it was, September—no; June 1938 it was when we left Gary.

Mr. CURTIS. It was about a year, then?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. But when you went down there you still considered Chicago your home?

Mr. MILLER. Oh, yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You moved the family down to save carfare?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. I see.

Mr. MILLER. We tried to locate a flat or apartment here on the far South Side so we could still be residents here, but we couldn't find one to suit, so it would take a shorter time to go back and forth on the Illinois Central. Places was hard to get in Gary, but we finally got a flat there. We figured it would be better to live there, where we were making our money, the same as in Chicago.

Mr. CURTIS. We are very glad that you came here. Your experience is illustrative of some of the problems facing the Federal Government in trying to do what is best and right in similar cases. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Miller.

(Whereupon Mr. Miller was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Karen and Kathryn Lee.

TESTIMONY OF KAREN AND KATHRYN LEE

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is your name?

Miss KAREN LEE. Miss Karen Lee.

Mr. SPARKMAN. K-a-r-e-n?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. L-e-e?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is your name?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Kathryn Lee.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are sisters?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where do you live?

Miss KAREN LEE. At the Salvation Army Emergency Home.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Here in Chicago?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long have you been in Chicago?

Miss KAREN LEE. One week yesterday.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just a week?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did you come from?

Miss KAREN LEE. St. Louis.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is St. Louis your original home?

Miss KAREN LEE. No.

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Kansas City.

Miss KAREN LEE. Kansas City.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Speaker louder, please.

Miss KAREN LEE. All right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old are you, Karen?

Miss KAREN LEE. Twenty.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And you, Kathryn?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Eighteen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When did you leave Kansas City?

Miss KAREN LEE. I was 14.

Miss KATHRYN LEE. I was 12.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where have you been since that time?

Miss KAREN LEE. St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I could not hear you.

Miss KAREN LEE. St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Why did you leave home?

Miss KAREN LEE. Well, to tell the truth, I was kicked out.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean out of the family?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Out of the family life?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What was it—your mother?

Miss KAREN LEE. Stepfather.

Mr. SPARKMAN. By your stepfather?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that true of both of you?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Yes.

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What schooling did you have, Karen?

Miss KAREN LEE. I had 3½ years of high-school education.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you have, Kathryn?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. I only went to eighth grade.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Had you gone to eighth grade before you left Kansas City?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You did some of that after you left there?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How about you? Did you have any schooling after you left Kansas City, Karen?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes; 2½ years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where was that, in St. Louis?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you spend all of your time in St. Louis?

Miss KAREN LEE. We have traveled around a little bit. We have been many places since we have been in St. Louis.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, you more or less established yourselves in St. Louis?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And the other places you have just been for a short time?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. To what extent have you traveled around?

Miss KAREN LEE. I have been in California for almost a month. Then we were in Florida for awhile.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you stay in California?

Miss KAREN LEE. Well, almost 2 months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What were you doing there?

Miss KAREN LEE. Well, just looking at the town.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You did not get any job?

Miss KAREN LEE. Well, I had one, just for a short time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of work?

Miss KAREN LEE. Housework.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of work have you done in St. Louis?

Miss KAREN LEE. Well, housework, or usually as a waitress in some tavern or cafe.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Kathryn, what kind of work have you done?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. I have had waitress work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In St. Louis?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you working here?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Not working right now; no.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are not working, either, Karen?

Miss KAREN LEE. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are staying at the Salvation Army emergency home?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How did you happen to get there?

Miss KAREN LEE. Well, we were at a park, in Douglas Park, which is near Cicero. An officer found us there. He took us to the emergency home, the Salvation Army emergency home. That was 1 week ago Sunday, yesterday. We have been staying there ever since.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How did you happen to come to Chicago?

MISS KAREN LEE. Well, we heard there was work up here, plenty of work up here. There wasn't any in St. Louis that we could find.

MR. SPARKMAN. How did you come from St. Louis?

MISS KAREN LEE. Hitchhiked.

MR. SPARKMAN. When you went to California, did you do the same thing?

MISS KAREN LEE. Yes, sir.

MR. SPARKMAN. Have all of your travels been by hitchhiking?

MISS KAREN LEE. Yes.

MR. SPARKMAN. Ordinarily, how would you travel? In other words, what kind of rides would you get?

MISS KAREN LEE. Mostly they are truck drivers.

MR. SPARKMAN. Have both of you stayed together all of the time?

MISS KAREN LEE. Yes.

MR. SPARKMAN. Do you plan to go back to St. Louis?

MISS KAREN LEE. No.

MISS KATHRYN LEE. No.

MR. SPARKMAN. You do not want to go back?

MISS KATHRYN LEE. No.

MISS KAREN LEE. There is nothing there.

MISS KATHRYN LEE. There is nothing for us down there.

MR. SPARKMAN. Do you want to go back to Kansas City?

MISS KATHRYN LEE. No. We want to stay in Chicago.

MR. SPARKMAN. Is that true with you, Karen?

MISS KAREN LEE. Yes. I want to be anywhere where I think I will be able to find a decent job.

MR. SPARKMAN. What would you like to do?

MISS KAREN LEE. Right now, I think I would scrub steps.

MR. SPARKMAN. You would do anything to make a living?

MISS KAREN LEE. Yes.

MISS KATHRYN LEE. Yes.

MR. SPARKMAN. Honorably?

MISS KAREN LEE. Yes.

MISS KATHRYN LEE. Yes.

MR. SPARKMAN. Do you have any desire to do any more school work?

MISS KAREN LEE. No, sir. My ambition was to become a doctor, but I think that is out now.

MR. SPARKMAN. Do you aspire toward any more school work, Kathryn?

MISS KATHRYN LEE. No, sir.

MR. SPARKMAN. What kind of work do you want to do?

MISS KATHRYN LEE. Waitress work.

MR. SPARKMAN. If you could find a waitress job in a good place, that is what you would be looking for?

MISS KATHRYN LEE. No tavern; just a restaurant, or something like that.

MR. SPARKMAN. Have you ever asked for relief anywhere?

MISS KAREN LEE. We don't want relief.

MISS KATHRYN LEE. No, sir.

MR. SPARKMAN. You are not looking for relief?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. No.

Miss KAREN LEE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are looking for work?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Work.

Miss KAREN LEE. Work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you ever had any difficulty in going from one State to another? I mean, has any city or State ever tried to send you back to your home?

Miss KAREN LEE. No, sir.

Miss KATHRYN LEE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. So you want to be a doctor, Karen?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever study medicine or anything of that kind?

Miss KAREN LEE. No. So far I have not. I have always wanted to, when I could.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't give it up entirely. You never can tell when the breaks might be in your favor. Many people have been just as poor as you are, and still have made a success in the profession which they intended to adopt.

When you made the trip to California, where did you stay at nights?

Miss KAREN LEE. Well, generally in a park.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, you slept out in the open?

Miss KAREN LEE. We never slept. We just stayed out.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not sleep?

Miss KAREN LEE. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it too cold to sleep in California?

Miss KAREN LEE. It isn't too cold, but we were afraid of tramps.

The CHAIRMAN. How many nights did you and your sister sleep that way, if you did sleep?

Miss KAREN LEE. Oh, I wouldn't want to start counting.

The CHAIRMAN. Generally you went to parks at night?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the idea?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you in Cicero?

Miss KAREN LEE. Oh, we were just there for one night.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that where the policeman found you, in the park?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who directed you to the Salvation Army?

Miss KAREN LEE. First they took us to the—he called a sergeant.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss KAREN LEE. He came and took us to the police station. They asked us a few questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss KAREN LEE. Then they took us to the Salvation Army emergency home.

The CHAIRMAN. We had two girls at the New York hearing similar to you and your sister. I think they had covered probably 26 States out of the 48. They adopted the practice of going and reporting to the police station, and they said they never had failed in having the policemen take care of them, and seeing that they got a room. I am not giving you that as a suggestion if you start out again, or anything of that kind. I am just telling you what I heard. Is there anything further?

Mr. CURTIS. Have either of you received aid through a private charity organization or through some branch of the Government before you were picked up here in Chicago?

Miss KAREN LEE. This is the first time in our life anybody ever helped us out.

Mr. CURTIS. It has been 6 years now that you have been out on your own?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. The first place you went when you left Kansas City was St. Louis?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have any relatives there?

Miss KAREN LEE. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you know anybody?

Miss KAREN LEE. No, sir. That is the first time I think I was ever in St. Louis.

Mr. CURTIS. You were 14?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. She was 12?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you get work right away?

Miss KAREN LEE. Housework.

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Housework.

Mr. CURTIS. You did?

Miss KAREN LEE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Did the school authorities ever check up on you to see why you were not in school?

Miss KAREN LEE. We were, when we could be.

Mr. CURTIS. You went to school after you got to St. Louis?

Miss KATHRYN LEE. Yes.

Miss KAREN LEE. We went to school. We got a job working mornings and evenings and going to school in the day.

Mr. CURTIS. What agencies helped you to find such a job?

Miss KAREN LEE. We just looked at the ads in the paper.

Mr. CURTIS. Is your mother still living?

Miss KAREN LEE. No, sir. We heard they were killed—we read it in a newspaper later on, about 2 years after we were in St. Louis, that they were killed in an automobile accident.

Mr. CURTIS. Your mother and stepfather?

Miss KAREN LEE. My mother and stepfather.

Miss KATHRYN LEE. He used to drink a lot, you know. He was a reckless driver. That is how we are sure that happened.

Mr. CURTIS. Were there any children besides you?

Miss KAREN LEE. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You have no brothers or sisters?

Miss KAREN LEE. No.

Miss KATHRYN LEE. No.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Karen and Kathryn. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, Karen and Kathryn Lee were excused.)

TESTIMONY OF DOROTHY B. DE LA POLE, STAFF ASSOCIATE, NATIONAL TRAVELERS AID ASSOCIATION

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Miss Dorothy B. de la Pole. Congressman Parsons will interrogate you.

Mr. PARSONS. Give your name, address, and the association with which you are connected, Miss de la Pole.

Miss DE LA POLE. Dorothy B. de la Pole, staff associate, National Travelers Aid Association, New York.

Mr. PARSONS. You have submitted quite a voluminous statement here for the record which the committee will go over in detail. From what I have read of it, it seems to be a very fine statement of the work in which you have been engaged. I think it will be very helpful to the committee.

Miss DE LA POLE. Thank you.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY DOROTHY B. DE LA POLE, STAFF ASSOCIATE, NATIONAL TRAVELERS AID ASSOCIATION

INTRODUCTION

The settlement laws of the various States result in the needs of a migrant or nonresident person, who applies for assistance in a strange community, being considered first in relation to the length of time he has lived in that community and only secondarily on the basis of his actual needs. The settlement law of a State is designed to clarify and designate the financial responsibility of the various towns, cities, counties within that State and of the State itself in respect to destitute persons. In the nature of State legislation, it does not and cannot reach beyond State boundaries to take into account the practical reality that persons move across State lines as well as within State boundaries. The result has been a body of legislation which, taken together, presents extreme variation both in legislative provisions and in the interpretation of these provisions, and the lack of coordination and of reciprocal provisions among them produce confusion, inequalities, and inconsistencies which make settlement one of the great obstacles in meeting the problem of the migrant.

For many years practicing social workers and other students of this problem have been trying to find ways of overcoming these difficulties either by the elimination of the concept of legal settlement as a basis of eligibility for public relief or, as a compromise, by the enactment of uniform settlement legislation by all of the States. In spite of the considerable activity in this direction, however, settlement legislation has continued to be made more restrictive. Reference to exhibit A attached, "Summary of State Settlement Laws Showing Changes from January 1938 to October 1939," shows that during 22 months 14 States made changes in requirements to gain or to lose settlement, and of these there were 7 States which changed both requirements. In general, these changes are more restrictive; requirements for gaining settlement increased; requirements for retaining settlement once gained are, with one or two ex-

ceptions, made less definite or less protective by the introduction, for example, of "intent" as a basis for determining whether a person left a community with the intention of not returning, in which event settlement was automatically and immediately relinquished.

Scope and plan of legal settlement study.—In order to gather factual material which would reveal the present operation of the settlement laws—the extent to which they work for or against the reasonable adjustment of persons who are nonresidents in the community in which they apply for help—the National Travelers Aid Association enlisted the cooperation of public and private agencies in 15 communities earlier this year in a study of cases of nonresidents in which service involved settlement factors.

It was not practical to conduct a Nation-wide study which would include a report of all settlement cases served during a selected period throughout the country and thereby show the total extent of the problem, but in order that the findings might include information on the various situations encountered State by State and regionally and provide a cross-section view, care was given in selection of the communities which were invited to participate. Considerations weighed in selection of cities were geographic and regional representation, the inclusion of cities in States with recently increased or restrictive requirements, and of cities which were known to be experiencing current difficulty either because of a new law in that State or because of conflict with laws of the States from which a majority of clients came. The cities finally selected were Chicago, Cincinnati, Houston, Jacksonville, Kansas City (Mo.), Memphis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Sioux City, St. Louis, Washington (D. C.), Westchester County (N. Y.), and Worcester.

Fifty-seven agencies, both public and private, sectarian and nonsectarian, participated, and it may be of interest to know the numbers of each type of agency:

Organization:	Number reported
Public relief agencies.....	22
Travelers Aid Societies.....	14
American Red Cross chapters.....	5
Family agencies (nonsectarian).....	5
Salvation Army.....	3
Hospitals.....	2
Jewish agencies.....	2
Juvenile courts.....	2
Catholic agencies.....	1
Prison relief society.....	1
Total.....	57

During February 1940 each of these 57 agencies reported, on a schedule provided for this purpose, each new nonresident case in which inquiry regarding the person's settlement was made through telegram or correspondence with another community. The schedules were held by the agencies until April 15, 1940, to afford time for conclusive replies regarding settlement to be received and for plans to be worked through in relation to these replies.

COMPOSITION OF CASES

Number of cases.—Seven hundred and fifty-five cases were reported as a result of this procedure, and these have been analyzed and the significant findings are presented here.

As has been already indicated, these 755 cases reported by 15 communities cannot be taken as representative of the extent of the problem, but they do show the character of the problems met and the ramifications and variations in settlement laws as well as the complex, human situations to which these laws must be related in their administration.

Representation of States.—Each of the 48 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico was represented in the State of presumed settlement of these 755 cases, which does indicate that the selection of cities was successful in providing a widespread distribution. In addition, there was 1 case from Mexico.

Since the scope was limited, the number of cases reported as having come from each State cannot be regarded as a measure of the extent to which the various States contribute to the migrant problem, but with this reservation in mind it is of some interest to examine table 9, "Number of cases, by State of supposed settlement," which shows that in 85 instances the communication regarding settlement was sent to a community in the same State as the city reporting; in other words, intrastate cases; of the remaining 663, communications were sent to 678 communities in other States (including Puerto Rico, 1; Mexico, 1; and 4 in which the name of the State was not given).

Analysis of cases.—There were 1,564 persons in the 755 cases reported, and these fall into the following groups:

Unattached individuals-----	403
Male-----	272
Female-----	131
Individuals in family groups-----	1, 161
Adults-----	592
Children-----	569
Total-----	1, 564

It is important to bear in mind when considering these and other figures in this report that this is a study of cases involving legal settlement inquiry opened during February 1940 and not a study of the transient problem itself in these communities for this period. Not all nonresident persons who made application for assistance during the period were accepted in most of these communities, and of those accepted, in only a fraction of the cases was inquiry into settlement initiated, thereby making the case reportable.

In order to see more clearly the probable relationship of the 755 cases studied and of the 1,564 persons in these cases to the general dependent transient population from which they were selected, it may be helpful to consider the situation reported by one of the cities which participated in the study.

An example of case selection.—Jacksonville, Fla., submitted certain supporting information regarding their general transient problem during the study period and accompanied it by a letter from which this is an excerpt:

"Six agencies in Jacksonville cooperated with the study: Salvation Army, Travelers Aid Society, Duval County Hospital, Jewish Welfare Agency, Family Welfare Agency, District No. 6 Welfare Board. * * * During February 1940 these 6 agencies reported 803 new cases, of which 15 were intercity inquiries¹ and the rest nonresident individuals and families applying for assistance.

"Surprising though it was to all participating agencies to learn the total number of nonresident or transient families and individuals with whom they had had contact during February 1940, and the amount of relief given (\$1,135.88), the intake and expenditures were only normal for a winter month. It is believed that these cases represent only a part, although what part we do not know, of the borderline relief nonresident families and individuals in Jacksonville or en route through Jacksonville during the month. Churches, private charitable societies, fraternal organizations, and individuals helped many transients, but there has been no way of determining the extent of this assistance. Others, knowing the very limited assistance available, have made their own plans by pawning, selling, or trading possessions to fulfill their needs. Still others have panhandled, begged, or engaged in petty rackets for what they needed. There is always an increase in the number of petty thievery cases and those arrested on vagrancy charges during the winter months.

"Undoubtedly the intake of these six agencies would have been much greater but for the restrictions placed upon them by policies and limited funds. It is the policy of four of the agencies * * * to accept only residents of this county; only two² of the six, the Salvation Army and the Travelers Aid Society, are set up to care for nonresidents."

¹ Letters of inquiry from agencies in other States in which former Jacksonville residents were stranded.

² Both supported by private funds.

From the 803 cases, the 15 intercity inquiries should be deducted for our present purposes in order to secure the number of applications made to Jacksonville agencies, a figure of 788. These 788 applications fall into 3 categories: Those who received apparently adequate service and relief in relation to their needs; those who received emergency relief or care only; and those who were rejected and received neither relief nor service.

Table 3 shows that of the 788 applications, 49 were accepted for adequate service and relief, 650 were accepted for emergency care only, and 89 were rejected. The problems which brought the person to the agency have been grouped and divided into—

Case-work service and relief.

Medical care.

Of 142 who requested medical care, 15 were hospitalized, 17 were registered in the out-patient clinics, 57 were given emergency care, and 53 were rejected. Of 646 who requested either relief or assistance in returning home, continuing their journey, an opportunity for adjustment locally, or some combination of these, 17 were accepted for complete service, which included necessary relief and inquiry into settlement; and of the rest, 593 were given emergency relief, which, in 463 instances, for example, was limited to overnight lodging without meals, and 36 were rejected.

The 17 cases which were accepted for adequate case work and relief service, out of a total of 646 applications in this group, suggest a very real attempt to make existing resources meet the needs judged to be most urgent. These cases consist of 2 boys and 2 girls under 16; 6 boys and 1 girl under 20; a sick man, 37; and 5 family groups—an elderly couple, a mother with 6 children, a mother with 5 children, parents with 4 children, and a 24-year-old father and 19-year-old mother with 2 children under 5 years old (17).

As we look now at the figures at the beginning of this section and in table 2 on composition of cases, the Jacksonville example will serve to remind us that, in the absence of facilities for provision for the needs of the nonresident group in communities, the number of cases and the age, sex, and family composition of those cases reported will be affected by the limitations in local resources for care pending the working out of plans with the applicant, of which plans inquiry into settlement would generally have been an element.

The unattached individuals.—Sex: There were reported in the 403 unattached individuals almost half as many females as males, 131 to 272. This proportion does not represent the relative needs of these 2 groups, nor the proportion of unattached women to men in the nonresident population. It is inconsistent with census returns on transient and migrant groups, since these invariably show an almost negligible proportion of single women to single men. The explanation will be found in the selective process which gives preference to applications from women and girls over those from able-bodied single men.

Ages: The age range of the unattached individuals is from 7 to 85 years. Table 4 gives the age distribution for these cases, by age groups and by cities. The relative uniformity of the numbers in the several age groups, rather than the marked increases normally to be expected in those of middle age, again suggests a selective tendency toward the young and the old, or a reluctance to accept for possible return home the adult nonresident man.

Children and young persons.—There were 43 boys and girls under 16 years of age and 113 young persons between 16 and 20 years, a total of 156 minors. Under the age of 21, settlement, with certain minor exceptions, is derivative, usually following the settlement of the father. Therefore, the verification of a minor's settlement is secondary to the discovery of the settlement of the adult through which his is derived, a basis which may be more obscure and a process which, therefore, may be more involved than for an adult capable of acquiring settlement independently. Where such questions enter in as the father's death or desertion, the minor's legitimacy or his emancipation, or his guardianship, or if the father's settlement is itself in doubt, the difficulties are multiplied.

Age.—Twenty-two persons over 65 were reported: 10 men, the oldest 85; and 12 women, the oldest 84. The settlement of persons over 65 years of age presents, since the enactment of the social security program, an anomalous situation, because it is frequently true that, regardless of legal settlement, the

person can meet the residence requirements for old-age assistance by showing a residence of 5 years out of the last 9. A case in point is that of John B:

Mr. B was born in Chicago and lived there for 59 years, when, in 1934, he secured work and moved to Wheeling, Ill., and remained there until the work ended in October 1937. He then returned to Chicago and on February 13, 1940 (2 years and 2 months later), applied for public assistance. He was held ineligible because of loss of settlement in Chicago. Mr. B was now 66 years old; he applied for old-age assistance and was accepted. (It should be noted that Mr. B had never been out of the State of Illinois and that he had left Chicago only to accept employment.)

The families.—The 352 families included 100 couples without children and 252 family groups of one or both parents with from 1 to 10 children. Table 6, "Number of family groups, by number of children in families," shows that whereas for the most part the families were small, there were 20 families with 5 to 10 children.

The children.—One of the matters of grave concern to all persons interested in this problem is the exposure and exploitation of children incurred by migration of families. The child-labor problem among migratory and seasonal workers has been for some time the special concern of governmental and private agencies. Any program for infant welfare and health must be concerned with the number of very young children who are reported in this sample of cases.

Table 2, "Total number of persons in 755 cases reported by 15 cities," shows the age groups into which these children are classified. There were 60 children 1 year of age and under; there were 146 of preschool age—one through 5 years—or 206 little children. In the years when most children in this country are expected to be in school (6 through 15 years), we find in this small group of families 269 children, so that 475 children below the age at which children are expected properly to be employed were on the road with their parents. Only 90 of the 569 were 16 years or over.

Although these children are unable to establish settlement in their own right, they are caught, nevertheless, in the net of settlement-law requirements, since securing for them those things which we believe all children should have—food, shelter, security, health, education, friends, and a reasonably happy family setting in which to develop—will depend in a large measure upon the decision regarding the settlement of their parents.

There are some families in this group in which parents and children are all so young as to be regarded socially, if not legally, as minors:

John and Nellie M, 22 and 17 years old, infant, 7 months: Traveling with Mr. M's father, who has settlement in Blank, Iowa, but only seasonal work there. The young family has settlement in Kansas but refuses to consider returning there, preferring to go on to father's place of settlement. Assistance could only be given to settlement in Kansas, so they continued on their way unassisted except for one meal each.

Marion T, 19, unmarried, and infant 5 weeks: Her settlement, being a minor and unmarried, will be that of her father. However, her parents were married 3 months after her birth, and by the law of her State an illegitimate child is not legitimated by the subsequent marriage of the parents unless adopted by the father. It has been impossible to determine whether adoption took place. The father deserted several years ago; his present whereabouts unknown. The settlement of the girl's mother (which the girl would take if no settlement can be derived from the father) will depend upon the husband's settlement and whether she has established a separate settlement since his desertion. It is not surprising to learn that this case was still active at the end of the study with investigation continuing.

One may well raise a question regarding this last case, as many others, as to whether from the standpoint of the future welfare of this young mother and her child primary consideration should be given to the legal or to the social aspects of the situation. The discovery of a legal settlement for this young woman may mean the acceptance of legal responsibility for her and her child by some community in which she has never lived and in which she has no ties which might help her in facing a difficult future.

Examples of difficulties met in planning for people in accordance with settlement laws.—The difficulty both for the agency and for the nonresident person which meeting requirements of the settlement laws presents is here partly illustrated:

Sources of inquiry for verification of settlement.—It is a general practice to hold the applicant responsible for supplying information upon which settlement may be verified. In many States, either by law or administrative policy, acceptable evidence is limited to some form of documentary proof, and the applicant may experience honest difficulty in producing, for example, rent receipts, utilities receipts, motor-vehicle licenses, marriage certificate, divorce certificate, and in recalling previous addresses by specific dates, street number, and name of landlord, over an unbroken period sufficient to prove settlement. People do not usually compile complete records of this type of information, and particularly would this be true of the person who is away from home. Memory may serve for furnishing details for 1 or 2 years back, but when, as in one case in this study, settlement is held to be dependent upon the ability of a man to show a continuous period of residence for the year 1932, at which time he was unmarried and living in various rooming houses, it is not surprising that he would not be able to do this.

It must be borne in mind that an applicant may be required to furnish evidence for proof of settlement in some other community, or of settlement in the community of application, in order to prove his eligibility for local public relief. In one instance, in a community which required 1 year of continuous residence immediately preceding application, a long-drawn-out investigation succeeded in piecing together 16 months of continuous residence with the exception of one 10-day period which fell in the 16-month period in such a way as not to leave an unbroken 12-month period of residence. With this gap, it was impossible to establish settlement and eligibility for relief.

Comments on schedules emphasize the difficulties of investigation: "Delay in establishing settlement as period to be verified, August 1925 to August 1926, is so many years ago that records of renting agents are not available, and other verifications difficult to obtain"; "Correspondence to places where man received previous care, to former employers, to the Navy Department, collecting data for opinion as to settlement (probably none or New York City because of service on ships registered there)." This 29-year-old man's physical condition is described as follows: "Has multiple sclerosis with probably some mental deterioration. Does not realize he is permanently incapacitated. Staggered off on crutches. Continually in penitentiary for vagrancy, but refuses permanent institutional care. He will have to accept help soon and will need it as long as he lives, including hospital care. Possibly eligible for care in soldiers' home if it can be proved."

Intent.—The loss of settlement by leaving the State with intent not to return is provided for in the statutes of several States. There are several disadvantages to legislation of this kind, foremost of which is the difficulty in finding objective means of determining intent as well as the necessity which may quite legitimately arise for a person's changing his plans after leaving home.

Mr. and Mrs. R. and their son, 24, had lived in a Pennsylvania city for a number of years and were receiving public relief there. The son qualified on a Federal civil-service examination, and through a misunderstanding expected to receive an appointment. The family welcomed this as an opportunity to become self-supporting. They sold their household goods to provide money for transportation and went to Washington where it was found that no definite prospects of a civil-service appointment existed. They were held to have lost their settlement in Pennsylvania because of their intent not to return. The city of Washington, D. C., has no provision through public funds for the relief of nonresident persons, and the burden fell on the privately supported agency whose limited relief funds were planned for the relief of emergency distress and for care of persons pending investigation for return.

Francis and Bertha J went from Minnesota to a town in Iowa where Mr. J had a prospect of private employment. They made their home temporarily with a resident relief family which, automatically, brought them to the attention of the public-relief agency and occasioned correspondence with the Minnesota community in an effort to verify settlement there. The Minnesota community denied settlement, with this comment: "Settlement denied on

basis client has been out of State 3 months with intention of abandoning residence." (Mr. J soon found private employment in another Iowa county.)

Albert and Alice R, 44 and 36 years of age, came to western Iowa from Minnesota, where they stayed with a brother-in-law who was working on Work Projects Administration. The woman was fatally ill. Seven communications were exchanged in an unsuccessful effort to place responsibility on the Minnesota community. Minnesota officials "believe that he left that State with the intention of making his home in another State." They were unable to verify the date of his leaving.

The schedule contains this additional comment: "Family made their own arrangements for medical care under a doctor not recognized by the county medical society. They have arranged to pay for this when the husband secures employment."

The nonresident notice.—Only two or three States, among them, Iowa and South Carolina, retain the procedure (familiar in colonial times) of utilizing the nonresident notice as a means of preventing newcomers from gaining settlement. In the case just referred to of Francis and Bertha J, the Iowa community immediately served a nonresident notice "to protect local county." This would mean that, regardless of the length of time the J family might live in that community, the period would not count toward the establishment of settlement. Only by appearing before the proper officials and notifying them of his intention to establish settlement and satisfying them of his ability for self-support could Mr. J begin a period of residence which might ultimately lead to the acquisition of settlement. It is obvious that this elaborate procedure would not be familiar to the average person who moves from one community to another seeking employment.

A nonresident notice was likewise reported as served on a 29-year-old widower with a 17-months-old son, who moved to an Iowa town from Illinois. He returned to Illinois and found that, regardless of the fact that he had lived in this State many years, he could not comply with the 1939 Illinois settlement law which requires 3 years' continuous residence without relief immediately prior to application. This man and child were, therefore, without settlement in any place.

Complex settlement situations.—The several case summaries which follow serve to illustrate complications which arise in discovering settlement:

Mrs. L, 27, and her nephew, 16 months: Mrs. L and her nephew have different settlements; the woman's husband deserted, his settlement is unknown, and there is also a question regarding the legality of the marriage. The child's mother was unmarried and is dead. Although Mrs. L has lived in the community of application for a considerable length of time, she has not established settlement because her settlement would follow that of her husband.

John J, 42, and a son and daughter, both under 21 years: The daughter has been married and is separated, but not divorced, from her husband. Mr. J has lost settlement in his place of former residence, but his minor son retains settlement there in accordance with the usual provision that a minor's settlement is the last settlement of the father. The daughter's settlement cannot be determined because her husband's whereabouts and his settlement are unknown. The agency caring for this nonresident family has received authorization to return the son home, but authorization for the father's return has been denied. Disposal of this family group in accordance with settlement regulations would mean a separate plan for each and a breaking up of the family.

Lawrence and Mary G, 3 children, 9, 4, and 2 years of age, and Mrs. G's mother came to a large city in the Southwest because of Mr. G's serious illness. The grandmother is separated from her husband, whose whereabouts are unknown; therefore his, and consequently, her settlement cannot be verified. This raised the question as to whether on the man's recovery the family should be returned to their place of settlement while the grandmother remained nonresident in the reporting community. No decision had been reached in this case at the end of the study.

Mrs. A. and 6 children from 20 to 6 years of age: This case is referred to in detail in another section of this report. The settlement issues involved are: Mrs. A is not legally married to Mr. A, but he acknowledges paternity to the youngest two of her six children. Mrs. A's legal husband, and the father of the other children, has a settlement in a New England State. Mrs. A's settle-

ment does not follow his because of a provision in the law of that State which requires that the wife must have lived with her husband during the period in which he acquired settlement.

Restrictive settlement laws as an influence promoting nonsettlement.—The Illinois settlement law, which became effective July 1, 1939, and which requires, among its provisions, 3 years' continuous residence without relief immediately preceding application in the township of application, has resulted in the rendering of a large number of people nonsettled who under the previous settlement law would have had settlement. The agencies participating in the study have submitted schedules on cases which illustrate various special problems, and when this material did not meet the requirements of the study, it has been considered separately. Sixty-one cases submitted by the Chicago Relief Administration Transportation Service, for example, have been analyzed and show the influence which the present Illinois settlement law has upon increasing the number of persons who are without settlement in any place.

Thirty-six of these 61 cases would clearly have had settlement in Chicago prior to July 1, 1939. At least 15 more would probably have been considered settled in Chicago because of long periods of previous residence broken only by brief periods of absence from the township, so that 51 out of the 61 may be considered nonsettled as a result of the law itself. Some of these had lost settlement by moving out of the township of Chicago to communities elsewhere in the State or within Cook County itself:

Mrs. P, 72, was born in Chicago and lived here all of her life until October 1938 when she went to Cicero (Cook County) to make her home permanently with her son. In 1 month the son died and Mrs. P returned to Chicago. When she applied for assistance after July 1, 1939, she was found to be without settlement in any place.

Martha M had lived in Chicago 17 years. She accepted a domestic position in a home in Maywood, Ill. (in Cook County, 10-cent elevated fare) and worked there from March to December 1939. When the work ended, she returned to Chicago. In February 1940 she applied for public relief, and since she could not prove her claim that she had retained her room in Chicago during the period of her absence, she was found without settlement and ineligible for public relief until December 1942.

Communities distressed by the problem of meeting the needs of nonresident persons sometimes naively assume that the problem may be eliminated by increasing settlement requirements for relief. The experience of Illinois during the past year should serve clearly to illustrate that the number of nonsettled persons increases at least arithmetically and the difficulty of investigation with reference to settlement increases geometrically in proportion to the length of time required to establish settlement. A practical and humane view will face the reality that a law which renders people in need ineligible for assistance does not eliminate the people or their need in the community.

Expense for relief and transportation.—Agencies were asked to report as completely as possible amounts expended on cases from public funds and from private funds. Expenditures for institutional care as well as for direct cash disbursements were asked for and amounts expended for transportation were divided by source of funds—public, private, and from clients' resources. Various circumstances prevented the securing of a complete report of all relief expenditures and of a complete break-down in the classifications requested. Insofar as these amounts were reported, however, they yield this information:

	Total	Public funds	Private funds	Clients' resources
Relief.....	\$8,621.93	\$4,464.11	\$4,157.82	
Transportation.....	2,282.01	1,406.15	519.52	\$356.34
Institutional care.....	4,402.19			
Total.....	15,306.13			

Particular attention should be given to the fact that an almost equal amount was expended for relief by private and by public agencies. In four cities in the group no public relief expenditure was made since there is in these cities no such provision for nonresidents. The limited funds characteristically available to privately supported agencies make these agencies unequal to the burden of furnishing relief on any but the most limited scale. There would seem to be a particular responsibility resting on the community which restricts public relief to those who can meet its residence requirements for making available necessary emergency relief and case-work provisions for nonresidents, so that persons who do not qualify for relief locally may be returned to the community in which they would be eligible for relief. The settlement laws may render nonresident persons ineligible for assistance in the community in which they apply. Lack of adequate provision for investigative service and relief pending this inquiry may prevent this person's enjoyment of his settlement rights in his own community. The information presented from Jacksonville, Fla., is an excellent example of this. If we are to have settlement laws, then it is fair to ask that the people be protected in the rights which settlement affords. This would mean the assumption of definite responsibility by agencies serving nonresidents for assisting them in the discovery of place of settlement. This cannot be done without available funds for the person's care while correspondence is in progress.

Administrative expense.—In considering expense in relation to the cases in this study, the administrative expense including the cost of correspondence should not be overlooked. In connection with the 619 cases in which conclusive replies regarding settlement were received, 2,642 communications were exchanged—an average of 4.3 a case. It is not possible to suggest an estimate of the cost of this volume of correspondence, but back of the actual writing of the letters and telegrams must be realized the time and skill required for interviewing, for seeking out sources of information and verification through visits and consultation of documents. Sometimes the cost of correspondence in these cases has far outweighed the cost of relief provided for the individual or family pending completion of the inquiry. A pertinent question which may be well asked is, Does the cost of writing 2,642 letters on 619 cases, which resulted in the returning of only 118 cases to their place of legal settlement with acceptance by the community and assurance for their care on return, justify itself? Might the amount of money involved in this administrative procedure have produced more lasting results for a large group of cases and for all of the communities involved if it had been applied to meeting directly needs of these people with return to their homes carried through only when it seemed that this would be a desirable and constructive plan.

OUTCOME OF CASES IN RELATION TO SETTLEMENT STATUS

Of the 755 cases reported in this study, on which correspondence was carried on to determine legal settlement, in 619 cases at the time the study closed, April 15, 1940, conclusive information regarding settlement had been secured. There still remain 136 cases on which, although at least 46 days had elapsed, no conclusive reply had been received.

These 136 cases are excluded from consideration in this section of the report which will be devoted to an analysis of the remaining 619 on which definite settlement information was available. The details regarding this group of cases are presented in table 7.

Of the group under discussion, there were, at the end of the study, 113 still under the care of the reporting agency either because additional effort was being made to establish settlement (34) or because the results of the correspondence and the client's needs made his return to his supposed place of settlement inadvisable (79). The remaining 506 cases had been closed by the reporting agency, and we find from referring to the table the circumstances under which service was discontinued:

	<i>Cases</i>
Return to place or legal settlement.....	239
With authorization.....	222
Without authorization.....	17
Transferred to another local agency.....	18
Adjusted locally (secured employment, etc.).....	76
Lost contact.....	160
Other.....	13
Total.....	506

Returned to legal settlement.—Correspondence directed at discovering the place of legal settlement has as its primary object the ultimate return of the client to that place. It is therefore important to note that of the 755 cases in which this was undertaken only 239 cases, or less than one-third, were returned to place of legal settlement.

Criteria for return to settlement.—Since legal settlement by itself does not assure a person's satisfactory adjustment in a community the responsible social agency, before sending a person to another community, wishes to be assured that the community recognizes him as a proper responsibility, that means will be available there for assisting the person to, if possible, reestablish himself on a basis of self-support, or, that failing, for providing for his basic relief and health needs. Traditionally a settlement status has carried with it the right to relief if in need. Moreover, it is customary that the return of legally settled persons be authorized by the home community. In order to eliminate the planless passing on of destitute nonresident persons from one community to another or to the community of claimed settlement, standard social agencies have developed and are guided by a code, formerly known as the transportation agreement, which requires that before transportation is furnished to another community, the client's claim on that community, assurance of provision for his care on arrival, and consent for his return will be verified or secured.

It will be understood, therefore, that the minimum essential criteria which good practice requires to safeguard the client and the community will be met by—

An acknowledgment of the client's settlement status.

Authorization for his return.

Assurance of necessary relief on arrival.

In the light of these criteria, the circumstances under which these 239 cases were returned home merit further consideration.

Settlement verified, return authorized, relief assured.—The first column of table 7 shows the six settlement classifications into which the cases fall on the basis of information yielded through correspondence: Settlement verified, return authorized, relief assured; settlement verified, return authorized, relief not assured; settlement verified, return not authorized; settlement not determinable; settlement denied; without settlement in any place.

Only the first classification meets all three criteria and acknowledged settlement status, authorization for return and the assurance of relief if needed after return. Of the 619 cases, 155, or 25 percent, are classified here, and 104 of these were returned home.

Relief not assured.—The second classification is the largest, with 178 cases, or 29 percent, reported in which the client's settlement is acknowledged, his return authorized, but relief on return is not assured. Actually, in the majority of instances, the communication from the home community carries the positive information that relief will not be available.

The same number of cases (104) were returned home in this classification as were returned in the previous group in which all three criteria were met. While proportionately this number is slightly smaller than the number returned with the assurance of relief, the small degree to which lack of relief resulted in the development of some other plan for the client is significant. It is true that some of those returned under these circumstances may have had resources at home in family, friends, employment, credit, which would have not in any case required their receiving public relief grants, and that these persons may have returned willingly and fared well after reaching home. But for the larger number for which this was not true, one wonders what was gained for the client, for the sending community, and for the home community.

How long did the person, or family, remain in the home community and under what conditions; did he start out soon again to seek opportunity which he could not gain at home, and, if so, would he be less likely to seek and use the assistance of a social agency after this experience of being "transported" under circumstances which protected the status of the sending agency but offered no protection for him?

The sending community was, at least temporarily, the gainer by the arrangement. It was freed of an individual or family under circumstances (authorization of return) which technically placed the sending agency beyond criticism from the community of destination. With such a practice generally followed by

communities, however, the apparent elimination of responsibility for one family or individual may prove, instead, to be an exchange of responsibilities. There is abundant evidence to support the expectation that the family that has once moved to secure better opportunity or to escape unsatisfactory conditions moves again when the conditions of the first migration are again encountered. The sending of mobile people to communities in which there is no provision for reasonable security and opportunity should be considered as a practice which promotes migration rather than reduces the necessity for it.

Settlement verified, return not authorized.—This classification containing 22 cases is chiefly interesting because it is contradictory of the assumption that the acknowledgment of settlement carries with it the obligation to authorize return of the settled person or family to the community. This impression is so widely accepted that the inclusion of this classification in the study schedule was considered by some persons to be without pertinence. The 22 cases reported in this group reveal the intrusion of certain subjective factors into decisions on settlement as, for example, the notation with reference to a 19-year-old boy, "Return not authorized as boy is delinquent and on probation. Probation officer suggests he return by hitchhiking." This is not so much a denial of authority to return as an attempt to have the boy return home in the least comfortable, most hazardous way, a way having particular disadvantages for a probationer. It will not be surprising to know that this boy proceeded from the reporting city hitchhiking, and was later heard from some 600 miles farther from home. This is not an isolated instance of the rejection of statutory responsibility on the whim of an individual. A 16-year-old mentally retarded boy, whose home was in the same State as in the case just cited, was rejected with the comment, "Boy is a behavior problem. Probation officer does not want him returned." Four of these 22 cases were returned to their homes regardless of the lack of authorization.

Settlement not determinable.—The difficulties of determining settlement in any but the most simple situation are manifold. They impose a burden of responsibility on the client with which it is sometimes beyond his ability to cope, they increase the burden of administrative cost on the two or more agencies involved in the inquiry to a point of serious financial expense and consume staff time which might otherwise be used in direct service to these or other clients of the agency.

The A family, consisting of parents and 6 children ranging from 6 to 20 years in age, came to Houston, Tex., in September 1939. They made a down payment on a tourist camp, but in a short time Mr. A was arrested on a charge of bigamy and returned to an eastern State to stand trial. It developed that the A's were not legally married and that the woman's legal husband, Mr. B, was believed to be living in a Vermont town, and, apparently, had a settlement there. In an effort to discover the legal settlement of "Mrs. A" and her four legitimate and two illegitimate children (whose paternity was acknowledged by Mr. A), 22 letters were exchanged by 7 agencies in 4 States during the period, February 27 to April 15, 1940, and at the close of the study it had been impossible to reach a decision.

The usual rule is that the wife and legitimate children take the settlement of the legal husband. Illegitimate children take the settlement of the mother. "Mrs. A" had not lived with her husband for at least 9 years and had at no time lived in Vermont. The years spent with Mr. A in the State in which he was now under arrest were of no significance relative to settlement since it was impossible for her to establish settlement in her own right and she was not the legal wife of Mr. A. The apparent place of settlement, therefore, seemed to be the settlement of the legal husband in Vermont. If this could be established for "Mrs. A" and the four children, the two illegitimate children would also have Vermont settlement through the settlement of their mother. The agency in Houston proceeded accordingly. In the Vermont settlement law, Mr. B's wife's settlement did not follow his (settlement for his four children probably would have been Vermont, but this question was not raised):

"A married woman who lived with her husband in a town he last resided in for 3 years, supporting himself and family, shall be deemed to have gained a residence in such town, and such town shall be liable for her support as a pauper. An illegitimate child shall be deemed to have the residence of his mother, and the town liable for the support of the mother shall be liable for the support of such child (sec. 3919, as amended by No. 76, Public Acts of 1935, Vermont)."

The situation which faced the family in the meantime in Houston is described in one of the letters written in a final appeal to the State department of public welfare in Vermont:

"You can easily see the family has no claim whatever on Texas, and we are sure that they will suffer as there is no public relief agency here except this one, and we are prohibited from assisting nonresident families. Families and individuals are not considered residents here until they have been in Texas continuously for 1 year independent of relief. * * * The relief given by the Travelers Aid Society is of a temporary nature, pending the return of families to their legal settlement, or working out plans whereby they can maintain themselves."

Settlement denied.—Seventy-five cases, representing 12 percent of the total, classify as being denied settlement. Illinois figured prominently in this classification since 19 of these 75 cases were denied settlement by communities in the State of Illinois. This group of 75 cases may be considered with the next group.

Without settlement in any place, for which there are 65 cases reported, or, taken together, 140 cases without settlement status. These represent 23 percent of the cases on which replies were received. The distinction between the two groups is one of finality. In the first group, it will be seen from column 4 that activity was continuing in an effort to fix settlement in some community other than the one which denied settlement or to further press claims on the denying community, whereas in the latter group are those cases in which all effort to discover settlement has been fruitless and activity has been stopped.

Other.—The remaining 41 cases classified as "Other" include special situations of which the largest group of cases involve minors whose return to parents, themselves without settlement, was authorized on the basis of the social desirability of reuniting members of family groups. The fact that there were in all 14 such instances where the consideration of the welfare of the individual took precedence over a strict interpretation of the law is encouraging.

Summary.—Of the 239 cases returned to local settlement in this study, 118 (104 in the first classification and the 14 cases of minors) were returned under circumstances that suggest they would be provided for on arrival. The remaining 121 were returned under circumstances which give doubtful promise of reasonable provision.

Transferred to local agencies.—The 18 cases which were accepted for continued service by local social agencies, other than one of first application, are distributed fairly evenly throughout the various settlement classifications. The figures do not rise appreciably as one might hope for the groups whose settlement is doubtful or denied. Such a rise might suggest the willingness or ability of social agencies to accept responsibility for persons without a settlement claim on another community, thereby affording these individuals an opportunity to establish roots in the community in which they now are as an alternative to further, perhaps planless, migration.

Various factors may contribute to the reluctance of agencies to accept for continued service and adjustment nonresident persons; prohibitive laws and restrictive local policies in tax-supported agencies may prevent the acceptance of cases of this type. Limitation of available relief funds in public and private agencies may and often does impose a very practical barrier; primary concern for the unmet needs of the local resident person may push to the periphery of consciousness the needs of the nonresident who, it may be reasoned (since migration for him has proved unsuccessful), should not have left home at all.

Adjusted locally.—Information is incomplete regarding the means of adjustment for each of the 76 cases reported as adjusted locally. The majority secured employment in the community, and for a number of others family or other relatives in that community were willing and able to assume responsibility.

In this group of 76 cases whose difficulty was adjusted without return, we may be touching the margin of the transient and migratory population whose movement is attended by a sufficient degree of success that they do not come to the attention of a social agency or undergo an inquiry into their settlement status. These are the people who are protected by a larger reserve of money, who do find employment perhaps seasonal in character, the income from which tides them over periods of unemployment and pays their way to the next work location; they are the people who by good fortune are not overtaken by illness, accident, disappointment, and other unpredictable disaster. A shifting, ill-defined line separates the successful migrant from the migrant who seeks help

in a strange community and, in so doing, becomes entangled in the complexity of the settlement laws. Many of the 76 who succeeded while the settlement inquiry was in progress in working out some arrangement which made further assistance and, therefore, further inquiry unnecessary may be thought of as having temporarily dipped below the line of independent migrancy. If the job had been secured a short time earlier, we might never have heard of them at all.

Lost contact.—In this group of 160 cases are included those who separated themselves from the care of the agency without a plan, so far as the agency knew. They “departed”—they “became impatient at the delay in the reply and continued on their way”—or they did not wish to remain to consider a plan for their return. In the latter instance, the correspondence frequently bears out their statement that there is no opportunity in the home community for them and return would be useless. The distribution of these 160 cases in the various settlement classifications is of particular interest when the number reported for each classification is reduced to a percentage of that classification. Table 8 gives the percentages in detail for the material presented in table 7 and, combining the figures and percentages on “lost contact” cases, we have:

Settlement classification	Number in this class	Lost contact	Percent of class
Settlement verified, return authorized, relief assured.....	155	14	9.0
Settlement verified, return authorized, relief not assured.....	178	33	18.5
Settlement verified, return not authorized.....	22	7	32.0
Settlement not determinable.....	83	37	44.5
Settlement denied.....	75	42	56.0
Without settlement in any place.....	65	19	29.0
Other.....	41	8	19.5
Total.....	619	160	¹ 25.8

¹ Percent of total.

These figures show that as the settlement status becomes less satisfactory, the rate at which cases are “lost” increases. Few cases are lost in the first class, but in the next classification, the denial of assurance regarding relief at home brings a doubling of the rate of withdrawal from the agency’s attention. The proportions continue to increase rapidly until 56 percent of those for whom settlement was denied break their relationship with the agency. The rate drops for those “without settlement in any place,” but at the same time a much larger number of these cases (25 cases, or 38.4 percent) are reported as being open and under the care of the reporting agency. Did agencies have a greater disposition to continue service for those who had entirely lost settlement, and did this affect the willingness of the clients to remain, or would the number of clients still under care have been larger in the previous groups if it had been possible to persuade them to remain? In other words, did the client in all cases actually take the initiative for the separation from the agency, or was he encouraged to do so when the agency’s hope of returning him home began to dim? We cannot answer the questions, but in these 160 cases may be seen the process by which chronic, perhaps purposeless, transiency develops with the possibility of movement becoming an end in itself and a fixed life pattern from which it becomes increasingly difficult for the person to extricate himself.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Consideration of the material in this study supported by conferences with administrators of public and private social agencies directly concerned with the problem, and by observation of conditions in the various sections of the country lead to these recommendations:

(1) That provision for the needs of people should not be dependent upon the length of time and the circumstances under which an individual has lived in the community in which he applies for assistance, and that, therefore, the elimination of settlement legislation as a basis for eligibility for public relief is to be desired.

(2) Uniformity in settlement legislation among the States with the provision that a settlement once gained is retained until a new settlement is established would remove to a considerable degree the difficulties and privations which the present unrelated legislation occasions.

(3) That, in view of the reality that settlement laws exist and that their elimination or uniformity cannot be accomplished immediately, the Federal Government, through the establishment of an additional category to the Social Security Act, should make provision for the relief of migrant, transient, and unsettled persons.

Categorical relief and assistance to transients under the Social Security Act, administered in similar manner to the present categories, would provide assistance for nonresidents in the locality where they applied for help and would also provide relief and service facilities, characteristically not now available or limited, for discovering the place of settlement and for assisting the person to return there if this seemed socially desirable.

TABLE 1.—Total cases reported by 15 cities

City	Total	Unat- tached	Family groups	City	Total	Unat- tached	Family groups
Total.....	755	403	352	Pittsburgh.....	57	39	18
Chicago.....	124	60	64	Salt Lake City.....	24	12	12
Cincinnati.....	67	26	41	San Francisco.....	39	23	16
Houston.....	48	9	39	Sioux City.....	29	9	20
Jacksonville.....	17	12	5	St. Louis.....	6	4	2
Kansas City.....	26	14	12	Washington, D. C.....	130	99	31
Memphis.....	93	37	56	Westchester County.....	32	16	16
Philadelphia.....	55	37	18	Worcester.....	8	6	2

TABLE 2.—Total number of persons in 755 cases reported by 15 cities

City	Total	Unattached			Family composition—adults		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total.....	1,564	403	272	131	592	256	336
Chicago.....	273	60	42	18	103	41	62
Cincinnati.....	162	26	11	15	74	33	41
Houston.....	132	9	5	4	68	31	37
Jacksonville.....	37	12	9	3	8	3	5
Kansas City.....	46	14	9	5	20	8	12
Memphis.....	255	37	20	17	99	48	51
Philadelphia.....	93	37	20	17	27	10	17
Pittsburgh.....	109	39	27	12	30	14	16
Salt Lake City.....	45	12	11	1	19	8	11
San Francisco.....	62	23	14	9	27	12	15
Sioux City.....	71	9	7	2	36	16	20
St. Louis.....	12	4	2	2	4	2	2
Washington, D. C.....	191	99	51	18	50	20	30
Westchester County.....	65	16	9	7	24	8	16
Worcester.....	13	6	5	1	3	2	1

City	Family composition—children						
	Total	1 year and under	1 year through 5	6 years through 15	16 years through 20	21 and over	Not reported
Total.....	569	60	146	269	69	21	4
Chicago.....	110	10	29	51	11	9	0
Cincinnati.....	62	3	16	32	9	2	0
Houston.....	55	3	14	29	9	0	0
Jacksonville.....	17	0	3	10	4	0	0
Kansas City.....	12	5	3	4	0	0	0
Memphis.....	117	8	26	63	15	5	0
Philadelphia.....	29	6	10	9	1	2	1
Pittsburgh.....	40	7	9	16	7	1	0
Salt Lake City.....	14	3	1	7	2	1	0
San Francisco.....	12	2	3	5	2	0	0
Sioux City.....	26	2	9	13	2	0	0
St. Louis.....	4	1	0	0	0	0	3
Washington, D. C.....	42	5	16	20	1	0	0
Westchester County.....	25	5	7	7	6	0	0
Worcester.....	4	0	0	3	0	1	0

TABLE 3.—*Action taken on 788 non-resident applications by agencies in Jacksonville, Fla., during February 1940*

Level of service	Total	Types of care		
		Case-work service and relief	Medical care	None
Total.....	788	610	89	89
Adequate.....	49	1 17	32	.....
Help with planning.....	17	17	.....	.....
Hospitalization.....	15	.....	15	.....
Out-patient service.....	17	.....	17	.....
Emergency.....	650	593	57	.....
Meals only.....	8	8	.....	.....
Lodging only.....	463	463	.....	.....
Meals and lodging.....	90	90	.....	.....
Emergency grants.....	89	32	57	.....
Rejected.....	89	.....	.....	2 89

¹ These 17 cases are reported in this study.² Requests for service or relief 36; for medical care 53.TABLE 4.—*Ages and sex of unattached persons reported by 15 cities*

	Grand total	Male								Female							
		Total	6 through 15	16 through 20	21 through 25	26 through 45	46 through 64	65 and over	Not reported	Total	6 through 15	16 through 20	21 through 25	26 through 45	46 through 64	65 and over	Not reported ¹
Total.....	403	272	29	77	32	77	37	10	10	131	14	36	19	33	15	12	2
Chicago.....	60	42	11	12	2	8	6	1	2	18	4	3	3	7	1	0	0
Cincinnati.....	26	11	2	4	0	2	0	2	1	15	0	4	1	4	2	2	1
Houston.....	9	5	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	3	0	0	0
Jacksonville.....	12	9	2	6	0	1	0	0	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kansas City.....	14	9	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	1	3	1	0	0	0
Memphis.....	37	20	1	10	3	2	0	2	2	17	1	8	1	5	0	2	0
Philadelphia.....	37	20	0	2	3	7	6	1	1	17	0	3	3	4	4	3	0
Pittsburgh.....	39	27	3	5	3	9	5	1	1	12	3	3	2	1	2	1	0
Salt Lake City.....	12	11	3	2	4	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
San Francisco.....	23	14	1	1	4	5	3	0	0	9	2	6	0	0	1	0	0
Sioux City.....	9	7	0	0	1	0	2	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
St. Louis.....	4	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Washington.....	99	81	2	23	9	36	11	0	0	18	2	5	3	5	1	2	0
Westchester County.....	16	9	0	2	1	4	1	0	1	7	0	0	2	3	2	0	0
Worcester.....	6	5	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

TABLE 5.—*Children and young persons reported by 15 cities*

Age groups	Total	Unattached		In families
		Male	Female	
Total.....	700	106	50	544
1 year and less.....	60	0	0	60
1 through 5.....	146	0	0	146
6 through 15.....	312	29	14	269
16 through 20.....	182	77	36	69

TABLE 6.—*Number of family groups by number of children in families*

City	Total families	Couples, no children	Families with children	Number of families, by size									
				1 child	2 children	3 children	4 children	5 children	6 children	7 children	8 children	9 children	10 children
Total.....	352	100	252	108	61	41	22	6	6	4	3	0	1
Chicago.....	64	11	53	28	9	7	7	0	0	1	1	0	0
Cincinnati.....	41	13	28	14	5	3	4	0	1	1	0	0	0
Houston.....	39	11	28	14	6	5	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
Jacksonville.....	5	1	4	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Kansas City.....	12	3	9	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Memphis.....	56	18	38	10	9	9	3	0	3	2	1	0	1
Philadelphia.....	18	4	14	5	6	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Pittsburgh.....	18	3	15	4	4	4	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
Salt Lake City.....	12	4	8	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
San Francisco.....	16	10	6	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sioux City.....	20	10	10	2	2	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
St. Louis.....	2	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Washington, D. C.....	31	10	21	12	4	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
Westchester County.....	16	2	14	6	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Worcester.....	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 7.—*Outcome of cases in relation to settlement status*

	Total	Still open			Closed—total	Basis for closing					
		Total	Awaiting further investigation	Receiving continued care		Returned to legal settlement		Transferred to local agency	Adjusted locally	Lost contact	Other
						With authorization	Without authorization				
Total.....	619	113	34	79	506	222	17	18	76	160	13
Settlement verified—return authorized—relief assured.....	155	15	3	12	140	104	-----	3	16	14	3
Settlement verified—return authorized—relief not assured.....	178	18	1	17	160	104	-----	2	17	33	4
Settlement verified—return not authorized.....	22	6	4	2	16	-----	4	2	3	7	0
Settlement not determinable.....	83	22	8	14	61	1	4	5	12	37	2
Settlement denied.....	75	19	16	3	56	-----	2	1	10	42	1
Without settlement in any place.....	65	25	-----	25	40	-----	4	2	13	19	2
Other.....	41	8	2	6	33	113	3	3	5	8	1

¹ Minors whose return to nonresident parents was approved.

TABLE 8.—*Outcome of cases in relation to settlement status in percentage*

		Still open				Basis for closing					
	Total	Total	Awaiting further investigation	Receiving continued care	Closed—total	Returned to legal settlement		Transferred to local agency	Adjusted locally	Lost contact	Other
						With authorization	Without authorization				
Total.....	100.0	18.2	5.5	12.7	81.8	35.9	2.8	2.9	12.3	25.9	2.1
Settlement verified—return authorized—relief assured....	100.0	9.7	1.9	7.7	90.3	67.0	-----	1.9	10.3	9.0	1.9
Settlement verified—return authorized—relief not assured.....	100.0	10.1	.6	9.6	89.9	58.4	-----	1.1	9.6	18.5	2.2
Settlement verified—return not authorized.....	¹ 100.0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Settlement not determinable....	100.0	26.5	9.6	16.9	73.5	1.2	4.8	6.0	14.5	44.5	2.4
Settlement denied.....	100.0	25.3	21.3	4.0	74.7	-----	2.7	1.3	13.3	56.0	1.3
Without settlement in any place.....	100.0	38.4	0	38.4	61.6	-----	6.2	3.1	20.0	29.2	3.1
Other.....	¹ 100.0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

¹ Percentage not computed on base less than 50.TABLE 9.—*Number of cases by supposed state of settlement*

State	Number of cases			State	Number of cases		
	Total	Inter-state	Intra-state		Total	Inter-state	Intra-state
Alabama.....	18	18	-----	New Hampshire.....	3	3	-----
Arizona.....	5	5	-----	New Jersey.....	21	21	-----
Arkansas.....	22	22	-----	New Mexico.....	1	1	-----
California.....	21	22	2	New York.....	48	45	3
Colorado.....	3	3	-----	North Carolina.....	18	18	-----
Connecticut.....	7	7	-----	North Dakota.....	1	1	-----
Delaware.....	2	2	-----	Ohio.....	48	36	12
Distriet of Columbia.....	8	8	-----	Oklahoma.....	15	15	-----
Florida.....	13	13	-----	Oregon.....	5	5	-----
Georgia.....	27	27	-----	Pennsylvania.....	41	40	1
Idaho.....	6	6	-----	Rhode Island.....	2	2	-----
Illinois.....	40	27	13	South Carolina.....	25	25	-----
Indiana.....	15	15	-----	South Dakota.....	2	2	-----
Iowa.....	15	4	11	Tennessee.....	39	25	14
Kansas.....	6	6	-----	Texas.....	38	17	21
Kentneky.....	22	22	-----	Utah.....	3	2	1
Louisiana.....	10	10	-----	Vermont.....	2	2	-----
Maine.....	2	2	-----	Virginia.....	26	26	-----
Maryland.....	13	13	-----	Washington.....	11	11	-----
Massachusetts.....	21	14	7	West Virginia.....	13	13	-----
Michigan.....	21	21	-----	Wisconsin.....	14	14	-----
Minnesota.....	11	11	-----	Wyoming.....	1	1	-----
Mississippi.....	12	12	-----	Puerto Rico.....	1	1	-----
Missouri.....	36	36	-----	No report.....	6	-----	-----
Montana.....	4	4	-----	Mexico.....	1	-----	-----
Nebraska.....	6	6	-----				
Nevada.....	1	1	-----	Total.....	755	663	85

EXHIBIT A.—*Summary of State settlement laws showing changes (in italics) from January 1938 to October 1939*
RESIDENCE REQUIREMENTS (WITH RESTRICTIONS) FOR ACQUISITION OF SETTLEMENT IN THE VARIOUS STATES

6 months	1-year period practiced, assumed, or accepted	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	Not specified
Alabama Mississippi Oklahoma	Arkansas Florida Illinois Kentucky Louisiana Texas <i>New Mexico</i>	Colorado District of Columbia Idaho Indiana Iowa Kansas Maryland Michigan Minnesota Missouri Montana Nebraska New York North Carolina North Dakota Ohio Pennsylvania South Dakota Utah Virginia Washington West Virginia Wisconsin Wyoming <i>Georgia</i> <i>Louisiana</i> <i>Oklahoma</i> <i>Tennessee</i>	Delaware <i>Minnesota</i>	Arizona California Nevada Oregon South Carolina Vermont <i>Colorado</i> <i>Illinois</i> <i>Indiana</i>	Connecticut	Maine Massachusetts New Hampshire New Jersey Rhode Island <i>Kansas</i>	Georgia New Mexico Tennessee <i>Arkansas</i> <i>Maryland</i>

See notes on page 930.

EXHIBIT A.—Summary of State settlement laws showing changes (*in italics*) from January 1938 to October 1939—Continued

LOSS OF SETTLEMENT

Less than 1 year's absence	1 year's absence	5 year's absence	Intent	Not specified	Acquisition of new settlement	3 years' absence
Kansas (6 months) Mississippi (6 months) South Dakota (30 days) Utah (4 months)	Arizona California District of Columbia Florida Indiana Iowa Kentucky Louisiana Maryland Minnesota Missouri Montana Nebraska New Jersey New York North Dakota Oregon Washington Wisconsin Wyoming <i>Colorado</i> <i>Kansas</i> <i>Michigan</i>	Maine Massachusetts New Hampshire Rhode Island	Alabama Arkansas Georgia Illinois New Mexico Tennessee West Virginia	Delaware Idaho Michigan Nevada Ohio Oklahoma South Carolina Texas Vermont <i>Arkansas</i> <i>Louisiana</i> <i>Maryland</i> <i>New Mexico</i> <i>Tennessee</i>	Colorado Connecticut Pennsylvania Virginia North Carolina	<i>Vermont</i>

Showing changes between January 1938 and October 1939. Those States which have changed their settlement laws since January 1938 are struck through; the new status as of October 1939 is shown by italics.

An invaluable reference on current settlement legislation is the compilation of settlement laws of all States in the United States, by Harry M. Hirsch, published by the American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, 50 cents. The information in these tables is drawn from this source, by permission.

Adapted by National Travelers Aid Association, New York, N. Y.

INCREASING RESTRICTIONS OF SETTLEMENT LAWS

MR. PARSONS. Will you explain to the committee the manner in which this material was obtained, with respect to the settlement laws, especially?

MISS DE LA POLE. I will be glad to. I would like to start with just a word as to why the study was made at all, because that is, I think, of interest.

MR. PARSONS. Very well.

MISS DE LA POLE. The Travelers Aid Association is very much concerned and troubled by the variation in settlement laws and the difficulties experienced in working within the structure of the settlement laws. Late last year in checking recent changes in legislation among States, we found that in spite of the fact social workers had been hoping settlement laws would get better and less restrictive and more reasonable, settlement laws in most States are becoming much worse.

I think you will be interested in referring to the chart which accompanies the statement which we have presented which shows the changes in settlement laws during the 22-month period up to October of last year.¹ It shows that 14 States in 22 months changed their settlement laws, some of them both making the time required to gain settlement more restrictive and the time required in which settlement could be lost, somewhat easier, or vaguer, which in itself is a disadvantage to a person.

MR. PARSONS. No State reduced its time limitation; all went up instead of down?

MISS DE LA POLE. That was the trend; yes. It is awfully hard in balancing the two pieces of legislation to get a net balance for each State, but the trend was definitely, very definitely, up.

MR. PARSONS. Yes.

MISS DE LA POLE. For instance, three new States went into the 3-year group. One dropped out of the 6-month group and three dropped out of the 1-year requirement group. As I said, three went into the 3-year requirement group. If you analyze the chart, you will see it moves to the right. It moves to make settlement more difficult.

We felt in the national association that if we could get a group of current cases of people caught in the settlement situation that would show in what instances settlement laws were working reasonably well and were protecting people and making it possible to do something for them, and in what instances and under what circumstances settlement laws did not work well, that that might be of interest to various groups of people—we did not know that this committee would be interested in it at that time—but, groups of this kind, and this was one of the groups we had in mind. We could not make an extensive study. We could not try to find out how many people there were in the whole country at any given time.

¹ See chart, pp. 929 and 930.

However, we thought we could get a group of cases which would show a general picture of the situation, and would give some indication of how widespread the problem is.

Mr. PARSONS. We think there are upwards of 4,000,000 people who are more or less on the road.

Miss DE LA POLE. You realize, a private agency could not undertake a study involving a total of 4,000,000 people.

Mr. PARSONS. Certainly not, but by a group study you could get a cross section which would do very well for illustrative purposes.

Miss DE LA POLE. I think that is what we tried to do, Congressman. We selected, or tried to select, 15 cities in different areas of the country which would be apt to give us cases in which the laws of the different sections that were giving trouble would be represented. You may be interested in the names of the cities, although they are in the statement. We selected Chicago, Cincinnati, Houston, Jacksonville, Kansas City, Mo.; Memphis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Sioux City, Iowa; St. Louis, Washington, D. C.; Westchester County, N. Y.; and Worcester, Mass. We had a special reason for putting each of those cities in.

While we do not expect that the sampling we have made will bear any relation to the total problem in any special region, it is interesting to note that in the 755 cases reported in this statement by these 15 cities, every State in the Union was represented. That is, one or more cases came from every State in the Union. In addition, we had one from Puerto Rico, and one case from Mexico.

With respect to the question raised earlier, in the morning session, as to the places from which people are coming to Chicago, whether they are coming from rural or from urban areas, and from what States they are coming, we do have available if it would be of interest. I have not tabulated it. If you would like to have it, I will be very glad to furnish it.

Mr. PARSONS. I would be very glad to have it for the record. You may send it to the committee at Washington, and it will be made part of the formal record.

Miss DE LA POLE. I believe they contain some interesting information. Now, in these 15 cities we asked various social agencies interested in this problem to cooperate with us in reporting for a 1-month period, the month of February, each new nonresident—let me restate that: Each new nonresident case which applied in February, in which the case work service involved an inquiry into settlement. It is not a study of all transients. It is not even a study of all transients that were accepted. It is a study of the transients who were accepted, and with respect to whom an inquiry into settlement was made. I want you to know that, because your 4,000,000 people are back of this.

There were 57,000 in the 15 cities that cooperated in this study. Almost half of those are agencies supported by public funds, and the others a variety of agencies under private auspices.

SETTLEMENT LAWS ADVANTAGE TO PERMANENT RESIDENT

Mr. PARSONS. You will furnish the complete study when it is finished?

Miss DE LA POLE. Yes.

MR. PARSONS. For the benefit of the committee?

MISS DE LA POLE. Yes.

MR. PARSONS. Are the settlement laws an advantage and protection to those persons in the State who have settlement, if they have to bear, at least in more recent years, the burden of taxation for this public relief that is given in order to take care of those who are traveling?

MISS DE LA POLE. Yes.

MR. PARSONS. Do you not think the settlement laws are an advantage in one respect?

MISS DE LA POLE. They are an advantage to the person who has settlement and who stays at home, provided there is a public-relief program of reasonable adequacy in that community in which he has settlement. The person who leaves home for some of the reasons we have already been considering then is influenced by two settlement laws. He is influenced by the settlement law of his own State, the State from which he is going, and he is also influenced by the settlement law of the community in which he finds himself in need, but without settlement.

Most of those laws make nonresident persons ineligible for relief, and this in most communities means ineligible for even temporary relief, which would give time for an inquiry which would discover that person's place of settlement, and get him back to it. Therefore, the lack of relief for nonresidents has a very great force in getting people who have settlement attention from the State of their own settlement. I think that is an important point. I want to be sure I am making it clear.

MR. PARSONS. You stated in your article here that the settlement law served to increase the number of nonsettled persons.

MISS DE LA POLE. Yes.

MR. PARSONS. Will you explain from your studies how you think that has happened?

MISS DE LA POLE. Of course, your settlement law is not the only thing that creates nonsettled persons. It creates the category of nonsettled persons.

MR. PARSONS. We might apply the terms "settled" and "nonsettled" on the basis of the settlement law itself, but the generally accepted term of "nonsettled" so far as the individual is concerned, denotes those people who are migrating from place to place in the hope of finding work, or the self-supporting migrant who travels to different agricultural regions such as the South and East.

We found a very large number of people who started out in the winter working in Florida, and as the season came North, they came North with it, and finally wound up in the middle of the summer or early fall up in the northern part of the country. They are more or less self-supporting migrants. It is that type of migrant we do not want to abolish completely. They are needed. The people need them to come in and perform this work. By the generally accepted term "nonsettled," we mean that type, those who are on the road. Now, you say settlement laws tend to increase the number of nonsettled persons.

MIGRATION INCREASED BY PRESENT SETTLEMENT LAWS

MISS DE LA POLE. I think one very good example of that is in a group of cases that were reported in this study, but which we did not include in the 755 cases in the original study, because it was additional material that one of the agencies in the city of Chicago sent in to illustrate a particular angle of the law. There were about 300 in this particular group of cases in which people had lost settlement because of the law, not because of anything particularly that the person did.

There was one group, for example, of 61 submitted by the Chicago Relief Administration Transportation Service—this is on page 20 of the statement—61 cases submitted by the Chicago Relief Administration Transportation Service, for example, have been analyzed and show the influence which the present Illinois settlement law has upon increasing the number of persons who are without settlement in any place. Of these 61 cases, 36 would clearly have had settlement in Chicago prior to July 1, 1939. At least 15 more would probably have been considered settled in Chicago because of long periods of previous residence broken only by brief periods of absence from the township. Therefore, it is fair to say that 51 out of 61, or five-sixths of this group of cases were made nonsettled by the enactment of the new Illinois law.

That does not represent the total picture. That is just a block of cases sent in by one agency. I think perhaps an example will illustrate to you the way the settlement laws can pull people's roots up for them. For example, a woman who had lived all of her life in Chicago, who was 72 years old, went to Cicero, which is also in Cook County, to make her home with her son. She intended to live permanently with her son. That is, she intended to make her home there permanently, as far as she knew. After 1 month her son died, and she came back to Chicago. She had been out of the township and had lost her settlement in Chicago. She had no claim on the township of Cicero.

She is 72, and has lived all of her life here. Probably a woman 72 will not take to the road, although we have in our studies an unattached woman of 84 and some past 70 who are on the highways alone, and are without settlement. A younger, more vigorous person—that might be the one thing that might make them a very likely recruit for this migrant group.

Another woman had lived in Chicago 17 years. She accepted a domestic position in Maywood, Ill., which is also in Cook County, and which only requires a 10-cent elevated fare to travel to from Chicago. She worked there from March to December 1939. She returned to Chicago when the work ended. In February 1940 she applied for public relief, and since she could not prove her claim that she had retained her room in Chicago during the period of her absence, she was found without settlement and ineligible for public relief until December 1942.

That is operating to make people without settlement, not because of anything they have done or anything they could have foreseen.

They would have to be much more sophisticated than they are to protect themselves against this sort of thing.

Mr. PARSONS. I think we will all agree that something should be done at least to equalize the period or to make the States conform to one particular period, if it is possible to do it. We would like to see uniformity. At least, that would be a step in the right direction. The committee feels that most of the witnesses who have appeared before the committee in the other two hearings, as well as here, agree with that. The question is, How are we going to do it? Do you have any suggestions to make?

UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAWS

MISS DE LA POLE. Theoretically, I am one of the people who believe in no settlement law. Practically, I think that may be idealistic, and that uniform settlement laws may be the thing for us to hope for. It may be more practical.

On the other hand, I have looked at these reports coming in on these cases, and I realize that we are so far from uniformity now that it seems it would be a tremendous task to achieve or accomplish uniformity. There are 11 States which require 1 year to gain settlement and 1 year to lose settlement, so at least 11 States have uniform settlement laws in that group. Still, the infinite variety in interpretation of special requirements in the settlement laws, and special provision, brings us to the point where probably no 2 States, regardless of what length of time to gain a new settlement is specified—probably no 2 States have anything that approaches a uniform settlement law.

I am wondering, actually, whether there is a reasonable possibility of getting uniformity of legislation. I do think that the recommendation which was made this morning, with which we also would be in sympathy, of a program which would provide grants to the States similar to the social-security program, with certain standards fixed by the Federal Government, or by the Social Security Board, might give us in effect a uniform settlement law, as it has in some of the other social-security categories.

When you look, as you are looking, at the statement later, you will see we have one section showing the complexities met in dealing with settlement laws. You see all of the varieties of things that can happen. For instance, with respect to a minor's settlement, the law says that a minor takes the settlement of his father, but if the minor has been emancipated, he does not. If his father's settlement is in doubt, he does not. If he was born illegitimate, he would take the settlement of his mother. In some States if a child is born illegitimate, the subsequent marriage of the parents makes the child legitimate, and the child's settlement would be that of his father. However, in some States, the mere marriage of the parents of an illegitimate child does not legitimize the child, and in cases where no settlement can be derived from the father, the child takes settlement from the mother. Those are the things you try to discover as you try to administer settlement laws, which make it very difficult.

WORK OF NATIONAL TRAVELERS AID ASSOCIATION

Mr. PARSONS. What is the purpose of your association? You do not disburse funds yourself, but you are a national association that is in contact with the local units of Travelers Aid?

Miss DE LA POLE. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Will you explain for the benefit of the committee just what the purpose of your association is, and how it functions?

Miss DE LA POLE. Well, the National Travelers Aid Association, with which I am connected, is the central association, or central clearing house, for local Travelers Aid Societies in the various communities. The local Travelers Aid Society carries membership in our association and the membership is based upon their meeting certain minimum standards. The local Travelers Aid Society is locally supported and draws most of its support through the community chest in the community. Are you interested in my saying something further about our functions?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Miss DE LA POLE. Our association acts as a central clearing house and information exchange among the Travelers Aid Societies. There is a definite responsibility placed on us by the field for developing and improving standards of service throughout the field and for developing and disseminating information.

As we work with people who pass from one city to another, our agencies have to be closely geared between cities. The effectiveness of the operation of Travelers Aid Societies depends a great deal upon this gearing together of cities, because they are dealing with people who move about and they cannot follow them through themselves.

We also have a responsibility for keeping in touch with trends in this whole field of moving people, both those that Travelers Aid is able to serve, and the general group of moving people which forms the background for the service our societies are able to provide.

For example, a study of settlement laws and trends, we feel is quite a definite part of this more general problem, and we feel it is a responsibility of ours to study causes of migration and try to give what leadership we can in developing satisfactory programs and plans.

Mr. PARSONS. Do your local Travelers Aid Societies keep up with the people that are traveling across country from one State to another State, and submit records upon people who are stopping at the different places as they go through?

Miss DE LA POLE. We are what we call a social case-working agency and keep the usual records, the standard case records that are kept, that is, individual records on cases assisted. Those are confidential records, of course. You know the nature of them. We do not have an information exchange regarding moving people that goes between our societies. Is that what you had in mind?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Miss DE LA POLE. We do not have reports on all individual cases, but when one society has an individual as shown in this report, who belongs in another city, or whose roots, interests, and resources lie

in another city the two Travelers Aid Societies gear themselves into working relationship in order to decide which city offers the best opportunity for that particular person, where the resources are that can be tapped for him, and what is going to be the most reasonable and helpful outcome. We do not have listings that we send from city to city.

MR. PARSONS. How long have you been connected with this work?

MISS DE LA POLE. Well, more or less continuously for about 18 years.

MR. PARSONS. It must be very interesting work.

MISS DE LA POLE. It is interesting, but very distressing sometimes when we feel there are many people that need a great many things done for them, but we are handicapped in not being able to do it.

MR. PARSONS. Yes.

MISS DE LA POLE. We are looking with great hope toward the report your committee is going to release.

FEDERAL TRANSIENT PROGRAM

MR. PARSONS. What do you suppose would have happened if the Federal Government had not come to the relief of the transients in 1933?

MISS DE LA POLE. Of course, we know what was happening at the time they did come to the relief of the group we are discussing. Personally, I spent time almost continuously in the field during the somewhat over 2 years that the Federal transient program was in operation. While we had no official connection, there again, because of our general interest in the field, we gave a good deal of informal consultation, encouragement, and information service. I visited most of the transient camps in a number of States I traveled in.

Some of us felt that the Federal transient program had a very advanced social conception of what a social work program should be. I think, personally, it was a young program. Nothing as large as that in 2 years could expect not to have made some mistakes, or to be open to some criticism. I think it was too bad that after 2 years the experience, which was considerable, was lost because if we had had that program modified and developed as it should be, with some changes in the administrative plan for it, we would have something that would mean a great deal to the whole country.

MR. PARSONS. Out in the rural sections—what I am going to say is not true in the cities, because there is no soil in the cities to go to—during that 2- or 3-year period from April 1933 to July 1, 1936, when the Federal Government withdrew from giving aid to the States, there was a lot of encouragement lent to people to accept relief, and thereby avoid responsibility for providing for themselves, even though they had acres of land upon which to do so. In that respect it invited a lot of people to come to relief who never should have received, perhaps, direct relief. They should have had farm security loans. Or, after we started the W. P. A. work, after the months in the winter, they could have gotten along themselves.

However, when they were invited to come into the relief picture, they quit growing gardens, because relief told them that if they

had a cow, chickens, and a team, it made no difference then how much land they owned, and if they had those things they could not obtain any relief aid, so as a consequence, they sold the team, the chickens, and the cow, in order to go on relief. Many instances of that occurred right in southern Illinois. We know it happened in other places. They were out in the wide open spaces, and if they had been helped with a small loan or encouraged to grow gardens, raise more chickens, raise more pigs, and so forth, they would then have been self-reliant, so it was not altogether the fault of the individual. Part of it was the fault of the relief worker, or social-service worker in not explaining to the individual how he could help himself, and then encourage him to do so.

I tremble to think what might have happened if the Federal Government had not come to the aid of the States in 1933. Do you think there would have been riots and bloodshed right here in the city of Chicago?

MISS DE LA POLE. I doubt if there would have been. I think people are surprisingly patient. I was in the public-relief program in Chicago at that time, and sometimes some of us wondered why they did not riot, but they did not, and that is greatly to their credit.

MR. PARSONS. Certainly; it is to their everlasting credit, but people will not sit down and starve to death.

MISS DE LA POLE. People should not.

MR. PARSONS. Mothers and fathers will not sit down and let their children starve either. They might starve themselves, but they are not going to let their children starve.

MISS DE LA POLE. No.

MR. PARSONS. I think it was Mr. Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, who came to Washington in 1932 or 1933. I know his statement was hailed very widely because he was the first big-business man to say it. His statement was that he himself would steal before he would permit his wife and his children to starve. Of course, we were upon the brink of breeding a very large crime wave at that time.

MISS DE LA POLE. They get hurt when they steal. It is too bad if they are put in a position where they have to do something else.

MR. CURTIS. May I ask a question?

MR. PARSONS. Yes.

MR. CURTIS. Were you through?

MR. PARSONS. Yes; I am through. I wish to say that this is a very fine statement you have submitted, Miss de la Pole, and we appreciate it.

MR. CURTIS. It is true that most people prefer to have a home and stay there?

MISS DE LA POLE. Yes.

MR. CURTIS. It is usually crying necessity that forces them to leave it?

MISS DE LA POLE. I think that is correct; yes.

Mr. CURTIS. It seems to me there are two phases of this problem: One is the care of the victim and how that should be divided between the local, State, and National responsibility; and the other one is some attention to the problem and condition that forces people to leave their home.

As a representative of the social-worker group who are doing a fine work in administering care to the victim, do you have any suggestions in regard to the other angle of the problem dealing with those basic economic questions, and so forth, that have made it difficult for people to stay on the land, or who lose their jobs, or the like?

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

MISS DE LA POLE. I am very glad to be given an opportunity to correct what may have been a false impression I may have given in my statement. I would not want it to appear that I would speak only for Federal relief for nonresident persons. We seem to overlook the fact that many persons are nonresidents and in need of that relief because of needs that they had in their own communities which resulted in their leaving their own communities. Therefore, anything I would suggest in regard to a Federal program for nonresidents would certainly, I hope, be part of a general provision for people who are in need, regardless of whether they are residents or nonresidents.

We know that people move because they are pushed or pulled or both. Certainly as we travel about the country, we see what is happening; we see many forces that are pushing people quite logically out of the place where they ordinarily would consider to be their homes. I know there are some sections in this country where that has occurred. I know that in the Dust Bowl section that is true, and there are many other sections of the country where that is true. I think one section perhaps is publicized more than another. There are many sections in the country in which it makes very good sense for people to move from that section to another section.

If you do not mind, I would like to, at this time, introduce another idea in relation to some of the discussion which occurred this morning, where the question was asked a number of times as to whether in the opinion or observation or experience of the people who were appearing as witnesses, relief seemed to be a factor which was making for movement; that is, whether people were moving in order to get better relief, and whether they were moving to areas on a higher relief standard. I wonder if it would not be quite reasonable to suggest that the particular sections of the country that have higher relief standards are also sections of the country that have greater economic opportunities, and that the person may be moving not because of higher relief standards, but because that is a section of the country which is able to have higher relief standards, because of some other things it happens to have.

It seems to me that that would relate somewhat to the question you have asked.

Mr. CURTIS. With respect to the people you have come in contact with, these families and these individuals who are homeless and jobless, has it been your observation that they are part of a mass exodus, or are they individual cases of hardship that have befallen that particular individual or family?

Miss DE LA POLE. Speaking from my own observation, which may be somewhat limited because our agency works more on individual cases, or at least from the standpoint of the person who is moving—his case as an individual—he does not usually see his own situation in relation to general economic conditions clearly enough to be sufficiently wise to protect himself. The person, each individual person, seems to think that he can get a job even if the papers say that he cannot.

Mr. SPARKMAN. His problem is that of an individual?

Miss DE LA POLE. That is true. I think we credit these people with much more sophistication and much more wile than we are justified in doing. If people leave home to get relief, they are very unwise, because when you leave home, you do not get relief.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have no other questions.

The CHAIRMAN. From your experience, are you not of the opinion you never can stop migration in the United States?

Miss DE LA POLE. Oh, I am; definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. Whether one has any money, or does not have any money?

Miss DE LA POLE. That is absolutely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Are there any other questions?

Mr. CURTIS. I have one more question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Curtis.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you been here today while the other witnesses have testified?

Miss DE LA POLE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. There have been a number of witnesses who have told of their experience, as well as some administrative witnesses who have told of the difficulties within Illinois, and even within Cook County as to the matter of residence.

Miss DE LA POLE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. It is true, is it not, that the answer to those legal difficulties can be reached within the State of Illinois? Is it not true that your legislature can solve the major problem before you with respect to that?

Miss DE LA POLE. I am not an Illinois person, but I would think they could solve some of the problems.

Mr. CURTIS. I thought you were from Chicago, Miss de la Pole.

Miss DE LA POLE. I have worked here. However, each State can only make a law, obviously, for itself that will apply within its own boundaries.

Mr. CURTIS. That is true.

Miss DE LA POLE. So no matter how good a law one State makes, it is at the mercy of the legislation of all the other States.

Mr. CURTIS. That is true.

MISS DE LA POLE. Your ability to move across State lines is the real crux of the difficulty, is it not?

MR. CURTIS. Yes.

MR. PARSONS. Have you visited any of these migrant camps which you visited back in the relief days, since the Farm Security Administration has taken over the providing of these camps?

MISS DE LA POLE. I visited almost all of the transient camps in the country, I think, during the transient program. I do not believe there were any I missed. I have not visited any of the Farm Security Administration camps in California, although I have been very much interested in them, and have had very long first-hand reports. Nor have I visited camps in Texas, although people who have seen them are very enthusiastic about what they have been doing to facilitate the movement of people to jobs.

MR. PARSONS. Of course, that is not going to cure the migrant problem.

MISS DE LA POLE. No.

MR. PARSONS. As some have stated, we do not want to carry it entirely, but it is doing a great deal to the sanitary conditions and for the comfort of the people, in providing those things. If more of that type of work assistance had been granted earlier, we might have saved a lot of those who have gone on the road, and kept them in their former abode. That is all.

THE CHAIRMAN. The real problem is simply this, the problem with which the committee is concerned: How far can the State of Illinois go financially in taking care of the destitute nonresident citizens? There comes a time when they cannot take care of their own, is that not true?

MISS DE LA POLE. That is true.

THE CHAIRMAN. In other words, no one can tell. You may have 100,000 come in here in the next year.

MISS DE LA POLE. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is the great problem. That is why your paper which has been submitted here is very useful to us. We thank you very much for it, Miss de la Pole.

(Whereupon Miss de la Pole was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JOEL D. HUNTER, GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT, UNITED CHARITIES OF CHICAGO

THE CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. Joel D. Hunter, general superintendent, United Charities of Chicago. Congressman Curtis will interrogate you, Mr. Hunter.

MR. CURTIS. Will you state your full name and your occupation for the benefit of the record, Mr. Hunter?

MR. HUNTER. Joel D. Hunter, general superintendent, United Charities of Chicago.

MR. CURTIS. You have submitted a written statement which will be made part of our record.

MR. HUNTER. Yes.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY JOEL D. HUNTER, GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT, UNITED CHARITIES OF CHICAGO

THE EFFECT OF THE AMENDMENTS TO THE ILLINOIS PAUPER LAW ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF RELIEF TO MIGRANTS

I have always thought of migratory workers as falling into two large groups. First, the people who go from place to place following employment, such as the individuals who go from one harvest field to another.

The second group is made up of the individuals and families who wish to make a permanent change in their residence because of changes in the economic conditions of the community in which they have lived. These people come from the dust bowls, drought areas, villages near a mine which has been closed, or from communities in which there is a long history of unemployment and no prospect of improvement.

The Family Service Bureau of the United Charities has had nothing to do with the first group of the migratory workers. We have always had contact with some families who belong to the second group. This was never a large number of families until November 1, 1939, when the amendments to the pauper law relating to residence went into effect. Up to that time, the policy of the Family Service Bureau was always to handle each case on an individual basis.

We did three different things: First, if the family had legal residence in some other State or community and agreed to return to that community and it seemed best because of greater opportunities for employment and other facts to arrange for such return, we sent such families to their place of previous residence. In the second place, when there seemed to be a much better opportunity in Chicago than in the place of previous residence, we did everything possible in relief and service to help the family to become adjusted and self-supporting in this community. In the third place, there were occasional families in our judgment, who should return to their place of previous residence but did not agree to this return without any valid reason. To these few, we did refuse material relief.

Since November 1, 1939, the situation has been much different. On that date amendments to sections 16 and 17 of the Illinois pauper law went into effect. The following is a copy of these amendments:

[House bill No. 272, 61st general assembly, 1939]

An Act to amend sections 16 and 17 of an Act to revise the law in relation to paupers, approved March 23, 1874, as amended, and to add section 16a thereto.

Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the general assembly:

SECTION 1. Sections 16 and 17 of an act to revise the law in relation to paupers approved March 23, 1874, as amended, are amended, and section 16a is added thereto, the amended and added sections to read as follows:

SEC. 16. No city, village, incorporated town, county, or township required by this Act to provide relief and support to residents therein shall furnish such relief or support to any person who did not reside therein for a period of three years immediately preceding his application for relief and support. If, however, any person did, for said three-year period, reside in some other city, village, or incorporated town in this State charged with the relief and support of poor and indigent persons or some other county or town in this State, it shall be the duty of the overseer of the poor of the municipality, county, or town, as the case may be, to send written notice, by mail or otherwise, to the overseer of the poor of such other city, village, or incorporated town in which such pauper so resided, or, in counties not under township organization, to the county clerk of the county in which the pauper so resided, or if he then resided in a town supporting its own poor, to the overseer of the poor of such town, requesting the proper authorities of such city, village, or incorporated town, county, or town, as the case may be, to remove said pauper forthwith, and to pay the expenses accrued or to accrue in taking care of the same; and such city, village, or incorporated town, county, or town, as the case may be, where such pauper resided, shall pay to the city, village, incorporated town, county, or town, in the event it takes care of such pauper, all reasonable

charges for the same, and such amount may be recovered by such city, village, or incorporated town, county, or town, as the case may be, in any court of competent jurisdiction.

SEC. 16a. Any city, village, incorporated town, county, or township which is charged with the duty of relieving and supporting all poor and indigent persons lawfully resident therein may, in lieu thereof, use funds available for such relief and support to pay the expense of transporting any such person to any other State in which he last resided prior to his entering the State of Illinois.

SEC. 17. The term "residence," for the purpose of this Act, shall be taken and considered to mean the city, village, incorporated town, county, or town charged with the duty of furnishing pauper relief, in which a person has made his permanent home for a continuous period of three years, preceding his becoming chargeable as a pauper.

HUGH W. CROSS,

Speaker, House of Representatives.

JOHN STELLE,

President of the Senate.

This bill having been presented to the Governor on July 13, 1939, after the adjournment of the General Assembly and he having failed to file it in my office, with his objections, within 10 days (Sundays excepted) after such date, it has thereby become a law.

Witness my hand this 26th day of July A. D. 1939.

EDWARD J. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

When this law went into effect it made a good many people ineligible for public relief. It was our opinion that the amendments were unreasonable and discriminatory. We set about to do three things: First, to grant what aid and assistance we could to the families who were suffering because of the above unreasonable and discriminatory law. The attached table shows the number of people who applied to the 11 different district offices of the Family Service Bureau in the months from November 1939 to June 1940, inclusive. It also shows various facts related to this group. You will note that in June 1940, 25.4 percent of the relief cases were made up of this nonresident group.

As stated in the earlier part of this memorandum we usually deal with a very small number of such cases—probably less than 1 percent. When such things as the sufferings caused by the enforcement of the unjust residence requirements of the recent amendments to the pauper law happen in the community, the United Charities considers the situation and does one of two things: In the first place, if the situation involves so many people and such a large expenditure of money that it is absolutely beyond the reach of private philanthropy, we do not attempt to give aid or service to any of the people involved. It would seem in such cases like trying to put out a forest fire with a squirt gun. In the second place, if the number of people involved and the amount of money necessary is smaller, and it seems possible to change the situation in a reasonable amount of time, we give what aid and service we can to the families who are suffering the most. This is like helping a group of people across a river. We do not do it unless we feel our boat is big enough to take care of a reasonable number of the people involved and we can see the other side of the river. We followed this second policy in regard to the nonresident families in economic distress because of the unreasonableness of the amendments to the Illinois Pauper Act. In the second place, we set out to attempt to have the Illinois General Assembly called into a special session so that they would give consideration to these amendments and repeal them. It was impossible for me to see Governor Horner because of his illness, but I did have conferences with Mr. Neil H. Jacoby, chairman of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission; Leo Lyons, executive secretary of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission; and also with various other State officials who were in touch with Governor Horner, namely, Samuel Nudelman, director of the department of finance; Charles S. Schwartz, chairman of the State tax commission; and Alexander Wilson, administrative assistant to the Governor.

All of them stated that it was their opinion that the Governor would not call a special session of the legislature earlier than the fall of 1940, and it was not certain that he would do so then. In the third place, the constitutionality of the law was carefully examined by the legal aid committee of the directors of the United Charities under the chairmanship of Edward D. McDougall, Jr. In some of the meetings in which these amendments were being examined there were representatives of the Legal Aid Bureau of the Jewish Charities, the Association

of Attorneys General, the American Public Welfare Association, and the Chicago Relief Administration. It was felt that there was a reasonable chance that the supreme court would declare the amendments unconstitutional. Therefore, special money was obtained to defray the costs of the proceedings, and Mr. Charles P. Meegan was employed to file an original petition for mandamus before the Supreme Court of Illinois. This petition was filed for five different relators who were eligible for public relief on every other account except the residence requirements set up in the amendments to the Pauper Act which we are discussing. The Jewish Charities of Chicago have agreed to pay a proportionate share of the costs of this suit. The petition is supported by affidavits from the United Charities, the Jewish Social Service Bureau, the Salvation Army, and the Catholic Charity Bureau of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

The original petition was filed on June 4, 1940. There was an oral argument on June 18, 1940. The supreme court has this matter under advisement, not yet having rendered its decision. The petitioner's briefs and the reply brief have been given to Mr. A. Kramer, representative of the house committee on migration. It is hoped that the members of the house committee on migration will study the arguments set forth therein. While the briefs concern themselves in the main with relators who have spent most of their lives in Illinois, some of the principles and arguments in the briefs relate equally well to interstate migration.

As general superintendent of the United Charities, I do not assume to set forth any answer to the extremely difficult problem of migration. I am merely setting forth the unnecessary and unreasonable suffering which now exists in Illinois because of unfair, unjust, and discriminating legislation passed by the Illinois General Assembly. I believe that similar situations exist in other States. In our dealings with these migratory families we become conscious of so many things that are not done for them or with them. The first is that many of them come to Chicago with very little information concerning work opportunities, partly because there is no way of their obtaining such information in the communities from which they come. At the present time, so far as we know, there is no public agency to give information to many people who want to move permanently from areas in which it seems impossible to make a living—such as dust bowls, drought areas, some coal fields, etc. Also, so far as we know, there is no public agency prepared to give these families assistance and service in new communities until they become through permanent employment, self-supporting units in the new community. It seems to me that neither of these are likely to be done by any other government agency than the Federal Government.

The movement of workers from one part of this country to another is certainly a matter of national concern. In order to have it done so that the migratory people may go to places where there are wage-earning opportunities or the possibility of self-support in agriculture, it seems to me that the Federal Government must enter into the program in some manner. It is a satisfaction to have a congressional committee giving careful consideration to the matter of migration, a thing of national concern.

Family Service Bureau, United Charities of Chicago: Comparison of total applications, relief cases, and expenditures with non-resident applications, relief cases and relief expenditures, Nov. 1, 1939, through June 30, 1940

Month	Applications			Relief cases			Relief expenditures		
	Total	Non-resident	Percent non-resident	Total	Non-resident ¹	Percent non-resident	Total	Non-resident	Percent non-resident
November 1939.....	1,547	215	13.8	1,187	67	5.6	\$39,188	1,072	2.7
December 1939.....	1,632	234	14.3	1,348	159	11.7	44,123	3,534	8.0
January 1940.....	1,768	258	14.5	1,398	261	18.6	44,589	7,957	17.8
February 1940.....	1,814	243	13.3	1,438	312	21.6	46,424	8,770	18.8
March 1940.....	1,736	245	14.1	1,493	355	23.7	49,627	10,609	21.3
April 1940.....	1,608	202	12.5	1,420	367	25.8	49,146	11,849	24.1
May 1940.....	1,384	153	11.0	1,289	338	26.2	43,604	12,696	29.1
June 1940 ²	1,664	139	8.3	1,232	313	25.4	39,814	9,841	24.7
	13,153	1,689	12.8	-----	-----	-----	356,515	66,328	18.6

¹ Beginning in December this figure includes nonresident relief cases carried over from the previous month as well as new relief cases.

² Increase in total applications in June due to requests for summer outings.

TESTIMONY OF JOEL D. HUNTER—Resumed

Mr. CURTIS. In this statement you have discussed this matter.

Mr. HUNTER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. We want to thank you for it. I have given some attention to it, but there are a few questions I would like to ask.

Mr. HUNTER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You have been at our hearing all day today, have you?

Mr. HUNTER. I did not come in until after the mayor had testified. I have been here since then.

Mr. CURTIS. The idea you present in your paper is somewhat similar to what has previously been submitted by some of the witnesses in reference to the difficulties you have encountered here in Illinois under your new poor law, is that right?

Mr. HUNTER. There is no question about the size of the difficulty encountered. I think more might have been done than has been done.

Mr. CURTIS. What do you mean by that?

Mr. HUNTER. Well, specifically, surplus foods have not been granted to nonresident families. They have not been certified to the Works Progress Administration. I believe in both of those instances the Chicago relief administration could have, through cooperation with the Federal Government, given some assistance to the present nonresident group in Illinois.

Mr. CURTIS. In other words, you feel that without any change of the existing law, they could have handled it a bit differently?

Mr. HUNTER. I think they could have done something—perhaps not adequately taken care of them—but could have done more with the cooperation of Federal Government agencies.

Mr. CURTIS. I do not believe, so far as the committee is concerned—at least, I was not—that we were aware of this amended law that you speak of, made last year. We were not aware of that until we got here for the investigation. We do not want to draw any unfair conclusions against your legislature, but has any attempt been made to modify this law in the light of how it has worked out?

ATTACK ON ILLINOIS POOR LAW

Mr. HUNTER. If I might, I would like very briefly to repeat, Mr. Congressman, what we have done in the United Charities.

Mr. CURTIS. We would like to have you.

Mr. HUNTER. I think this amended law is a vicious law. We set out to do several different things. First, with what funds we were able to obtain, we endeavored to grant aid and assistance to people who are ineligible for public relief because of the new law.

We also made what efforts we could to have the law amended. Our board of directors asked me to do what I could to have a special session of the legislature called to consider changing these amendments. I could not reach Governor Horner, but I conferred with Mr. Jacoby, chairman of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission; Mr. Lyons, executive secretary of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission; Mr. Samuel Nudelman, Mr. Charles S. Schwartz,

and Mr. Alexander Wilson, various executives in the State departments. I do not know with how much authority they speak for the Governor, but they said there would be very little likelihood of having a special session of the legislature until some time in the fall of 1940, if then.

Our board of directors then authorized our attacking the law in the Supreme Court. The lawyers felt there was a 50-50 chance it was unconstitutional. There is no question about it being unjust, unfair, and very discriminatory. We selected certain cases, and in the names of five different families we filed a mandamus action. It was a friendly suit filed against Mr. Lyons, who is a friendly party to the whole proceeding, to have the law declared unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court has the matter under advisement now. The hearing was held about the middle of June, and decision probably will not be rendered until they meet in the October term. We had hoped for a vacation decision, but it has not come.

WORK OF PRIVATE AGENCIES

Mr. CURTIS. Now, with respect to your agency, what is happening is that persons who could not qualify under this law were shifted to private agencies, were they not?

Mr. HUNTER. Well, as far as we could handle them.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. HUNTER. I will be glad to give you this statement. We have actually given in relief aid, not administrative cost, \$82,085.94 since last October. In the first week we gave only \$108. In the last week it was \$2,740. It is a growing thing, because these people, many of them, remain for awhile. They are eligible for public relief on every other count except nonresident law.

We now have under our care 796 families, which is all we can take care of. I have had to issue bulletins to our offices saying that we can take on no more nonresident cases after August 26, which is next Monday.

Mr. CURTIS. How many families?

Mr. HUNTER. Seven hundred and ninety-six different families, for whom we have spent \$82,085.94 in relief.

Mr. CURTIS. Seven hundred and ninety-six families?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. When you say "nonresident," that means "nonresident" as defined by your new law?

Mr. HUNTER. Nonresident, as defined by the amendments to the Pauper Act.

Mr. CURTIS. How many of them are actually interstate migrants?

Mr. HUNTER. We have not conducted a study, except at about the end of the first 2 months. Then we made a study, and there were 22 and a fraction percent that were interstate; about 22 or 23 percent were within Illinois and as near as we could tell, there were half that had no legal settlement anywhere.

Mr. CURTIS. I was very much interested in this chart on the last page of your statement. Do you have any specific conclusion or idea you would like to point out to the committee in regard to that?

Mr. HUNTER. Those are the detailed figures, Congressman. I would like to say, in the first place, it is impossible for a private charity here, or in any other city, to meet this situation. Ordinarily less than 1 percent of our cases are what we call nonresident cases. Now it is more than 25 percent, and as I say, we are going to have to stop. We believe it is part of our responsibility as a private organization which is aware of community conditions, to try to have this vicious law changed.

I would like to put in here, if I may, and give you as part of the record a letter from the township supervisor in the village of Thornton, because of the boast that the township supervisors have the responsibility for having this law passed by the legislature. This is a photostatic copy of a letter of one township supervisor to another.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received as part of the record.

(Letter of township supervisor of Thornton village, Ill.):

[NOTE.—Photostatic copy. Name of township supervisor, to whom letter was addressed, has been deleted]

TOWNSHIP OF THORNTON, *October 5, 1939.*

DEAR ———: It seems that some of the supervisors of Cook County are not interested, after the work that was done in Springfield to save their jobs as overseers of the poor. You know that Mr. Cermak, of Berwyn, and Mr. Propper, of Thornton township, were appointed as a legislative committee to attend the last session of the legislature and work against bills that were introduced which were detrimental to the overseers of the poor and the taxpayers, and in favor of bills which would benefit the taxpayers and retain the overseers of the poor in office.

Mr. Cermak did not render any services at Springfield, but Mr. Propper attended the sessions from the time that they convened until the last day of the session on June 30. He attended the sessions nearly every week during the five and a half months that the legislature was in session and advanced all of his expenses during that time. He received some money on account from some of the supervisors, but there is still due him at this time \$206.92, which should have been paid immediately after July 1.

Some of you do not realize what it meant to combat the bills that were introduced at Springfield. There were 35 different bills introduced in the senate and house of representatives during the last session. Out of these bills there were three senate bills, Nos. 416, 417, and 418, which were very detrimental to the overseers of the poor. In these bills they tried to create county bureaus and departments to administer relief. These bills were passed in the senate, but Mr. Propper stopped them in the house, because the chairman of the judiciary committee was a friend of his and had these bills held in the committee until the legislature adjourned. Then house bill No. 272, which fixed the residence at 3 years in the State of Illinois before a person could ask for relief, was another bill that Mr. Propper worked for and had passed. House bill No. 1022, authorizing bonds to be issued to pay debts, was another bill that was passed at the last session, and the two senate bills increasing appropriations for the poor relief for the months of May and June were also passed. Then all the rest of the bills out of the 35 which were introduced that were detrimental in some form to the townships and overseers of the poor and taxpayers of the townships, were killed by lobbyists from down-State and Mr. Propper.

You must remember that every supervisor throughout the State of Illinois got the benefit of the legislation that was passed in favor of the overseers of the poor, and therefore each one should be interested in seeing that the expense is paid for that kind of work.

An assessment of \$20 was made by the Cook County Supervisors Association at their July meeting, and only a few have made this payment. We would like to have you send your check for \$20 to the secretary of the organization, Mr. Otto Ziebell, Harvey, Cook County, Ill., R. F. D. No. 1. If you have paid \$10 on account of this \$20 assessment, then of course you should only pay \$10 at this time.

It is certainly not fair to Mr. Propper to carry this burden because he happens to be the president of the Cook County organization. He has always been willing to do his part for good legislation in favor of the supervisors as overseers of the poor or otherwise, and we hope that you will make it your duty to see that these checks are sent in immediately to Mr. Ziebell.

Thanking you in advance for doing so, we are,

Respectfully yours,

W. F. PROPPER, *President.*

OTTO ZIEBELL, *Secretary.*

MR. CURTIS. We are glad to have something along that line in the record, because, although we did not come here to referee what issues might arise in the Illinois Legislature, we are interested in the problem generally. We are very glad for this contribution that you have made here.

NECESSITY OF FEDERAL RELIEF AID

MR. HUNTER. I introduce that because it seems to me that the Federal Government must enter into this situation. You know that the relief responsibility in Illinois is in the townships, of which there are 1,454. I think anyone would realize that migratory relief could not be well taken care of in 1,454 different units in any one State. I think it can well be said that the Federal Government enters into the picture. Perhaps I am getting a little ahead of your questions, but it seems to me that is a prerequisite for the handling of migratory dependent families, moving from one State to another.

How should the Federal Government come in? It seems to me—this is only my individual opinion—that all of these people should be handled in the same administrative group as those who are dependent on general relief. I believe that the best way in which that could be done would be to have the Federal Government administer or else control through grants-in-aid, general relief in which migratory families play a part. That is the only way in which you can get any unity of procedure or adequacy of relief and service in the various States.

The townships, as you will see from that letter, are trying to protect themselves, to stop spending money in the locality, which is a perfectly understandable thing. They do not want people coming to Maywood, or Cicero, or Berwyn, or Park Ridge. They are protecting their own provincial area. It is perfectly understandable.

MR. CURTIS. Is the problem different in the rural area and the metropolitan city with reference to attracting people in search of jobs?

MR. HUNTER. There are people that go from one area to another because of the relief situation. We all hear that they do. I personally do not know of anyone who has done that, nor have our workers ever told me that they had an absolute case where they knew someone had come from village A to city B to get more relief. As all the other people testified, it is for work.

MR. CURTIS. I do not think you understood my question.

MR. HUNTER. Pardon me.

Mr. CURTIS. Is the problem essentially different in the rural part of your State and the city of Chicago?

Mr. HUNTER. This law affects the whole State. A good many of the rural areas in the State of Illinois have disregarded it. The State of Illinois does not have sufficient administrative control over the township supervisors to tell them they must live in accordance with this law. They have accounting control and certain financial control, but not sufficient control to make them obey the law. Mr. Lyons is obeying the law in Chicago because he is both secretary of the Chicago Emergency Relief Commission and Chicago relief administrator.

Mr. CURTIS. I have nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hunter, I have heard men like you talk about this problem, but it seems to me there are several elements in it, and no one can answer.

Mr. HUNTER. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. In the first place, there is scarcely an American family that wants to leave home, if they are getting along all right at home.

Mr. HUNTER. I think that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have soil erosion. You have dust storms. You have mechanization. Some of them simply cannot stay at home.

Mr. HUNTER. I think that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I am inclined to agree with you that there should be some classification into which these migrant destitute citizens would fit. We have never given them a classification in the 160 years since the Government was created. They are wandering now, as we have said many times, Stateless and homeless. On the other hand, you cannot make it too nice, because it may encourage them, don't you see?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We are certainly very indebted to you for what you have given us. I have read everything you have presented here.

Mr. HUNTER. The brief?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I think it is a fine contribution and we are very much pleased. Your presentation will have a high place in our report when we finally come to make it. The paper which you have submitted has been received as part of the formal record and given the appropriate exhibit number.

Thank you very much, Mr. Hunter.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you, sir.

(Whereupon, Mr. Hunter was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JEAN ZGORSKI

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Jean Zgorski. Please give your name to the reporter.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Jean Zgorski.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you married?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Here in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think you would be insulted if I asked you how old you are, would you?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Thirty-two.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you married?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Here in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. When?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. September 20, 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any children?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Three.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are they?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Shirley is 9. Richard is 7½. Arlene is 4¼. All have been born here.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they with you now?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your husband's occupation?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. He is a plasterer and painter.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is he now?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. He is down in Miami, Fla., we think.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. We have not been able to get in touch with him at Miami Relief or Chicago Relief. We don't know where he is at right now.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he generally make good wages at his work?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. He has been the last 2 or 3 years. At least, I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he desert you?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes, 4½ years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen him since?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes. I have seen him, in January.

The CHAIRMAN. It was in October 1935 when he deserted you?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he just pull up stakes?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. No. He wrote me from Miami and asked me to come down there. I didn't want to go there, because he had left me, and I was really afraid to go back to him. I called up the relief and asked them, should I go to him or stay here, and they told me on the telephone I should go to him. That is what they told me.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. I didn't want to go. I went there. He sent me tickets. I went there and stayed there from January until June. I left Chicago January 24 and stayed there until June 14. Then I came back here to Chicago. He gave me money to come back here, and sent me back here, and told me he was going to take care of me and support the children.

He didn't do it. I was here from June 14 until July 17, I think. I was here a little over a month. I tried to get a job. He didn't send me any money like he said he would. About the only thing I

could see to do was to go to the relief. I went to the relief and asked if I could get relief. They said no, because I had left the State.

They told me to go ahead and borrow money, and go ahead back to Miami. They said they couldn't give me relief. My mother borrowed money to send me back there. I was there from Friday of that one week to the next week, Thursday.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. They were looking for my husband there. They couldn't find him.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. The judge there told me to go down to the city charities in Miami. I went down there, and Mrs. Bain sent me back here. She told me she absolutely couldn't give me my relief, because I wasn't there long enough.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have your children with you?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes. She sent us all back here.

The CHAIRMAN. She sent you back here?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How did your husband get to Florida?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. We don't know. I don't know yet until today why he left here, and went there.

The CHAIRMAN. How did he get there?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. The way I think he went there, must have been in the car.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he have a car?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. He had a car at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has it been since you have heard from him?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. About 4 weeks now. That was in Miami. Not since I have been here.

The CHAIRMAN. How are you living? Are you supporting yourself?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Here?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. I have been on relief ever since Arlene was born, up until January.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Then I went there.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. I went there against my will, because I didn't want to go there. I didn't want to go back to him. I wanted to get him to take care of the children. They told me at relief I couldn't get a divorce. I asked them for work, and they told me I couldn't do any P. W. A. work. I am able to sew. I was able to go out and do any type of selling, although I can't since Arlene was born. I got a pain in my right leg, and I'm not able to do that kind of work so much, but I can sew.

I asked relief to give me work several times, and they told me they couldn't do it. The first reason they told me was, when Arlene was about 6 months old, that she was too little. When she was about a year and a half old, I asked again, and they told me I couldn't get

W. P. A. work. I told them there was other women there who had three or four or five children that had W. P. A. jobs. They didn't say anything. They told me I couldn't get a job. Arlene was $3\frac{1}{2}$ when I asked again, and they told me I couldn't get a W. P. A. job because they were laying them off.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been altogether on relief?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. How long have I been altogether on relief?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. I have been on relief from when Arlene was born up until January. She is $4\frac{1}{2}$. She will be 5 in November.

The CHAIRMAN. And since January?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Since January I went down to Miami, and my husband was supporting me.

The CHAIRMAN. He was supporting you down there?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes. Then I came back here with the children.

The CHAIRMAN. You are on relief again?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. No; they won't give me relief.

The CHAIRMAN. They will not give you relief?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. No; they won't give me relief, because they told me since Miami sent me here, Miami relief sent me back to Chicago, it would be hard for me to get relief. They said I should go back to Miami again. The Chicago relief here told me that they had written to Miami and was waiting for an answer, and they would call me and let me know when I am supposed to go down there.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are you living now?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. The Salvation Army.

The CHAIRMAN. The Salvation Army?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes; with the three children.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the two Lee girls?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. They are in the same place I am.

The CHAIRMAN. In the same place you are?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes. They are downstairs and we are upstairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you work there?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. We help there.

The CHAIRMAN. The three children are there, too?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes. I have all the children with me.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of work are you able to do?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. I am able to sell. I have done office work. I haven't done any typing, but I have used a comptometer. I have done filing. I haven't done typing or shorthand. I have done general office work.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to have your husband come back to you here?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. I want him to support the children, but I couldn't live with him. It is impossible. They told me to go down there $2\frac{1}{2}$ years ago. I wrote and asked for my husband's—the man he worked for. I asked for his name. I wrote to the man he worked for and asked if he had a steady job. He told me he didn't have a steady job. I wrote and they told me he had a steady job, and wanted me to come down there. They told me to go ahead.

I wanted them to find my husband, and make him support the children. I wan't asking for anything for myself. I was going to

go out and get a job for myself. I wanted him to support the children, and he never did. I have been on relief the whole time.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people are there at the Salvation Army Home where you are?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. I should say about 40.

The CHAIRMAN. About 40?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Right now. You can't stay there all the time. They just let you stay there until you find yourself either a job or something, or get on relief. You can't stay there permanently. It is just an emergency place.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you do if the Salvation Army had not taken you in?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. I don't know what I would do.

The CHAIRMAN. Starve?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. I don't know. I don't know what was the matter, why they didn't find my husband. I gave them the license number of my husband's car, and from Sunday until Thursday they told me they couldn't find my husband. He was right there in the city. I couldn't understand why they didn't find him. Why did they send me back here to Chicago? I wanted him to take care of the children, and support the children. All I wanted to do was to make him support the children. He is making \$35 a week. Why didn't they get him and make him support the children? I couldn't understand that.

They gave me money to buy tickets, and sent me to Chicago. They told me they couldn't help me. They told me to come back here. I told them when I got here, "What am I going to do?" They said down there they couldn't help me, and they gave me the tickets to come up here.

Mr. PARSONS. The Florida Relief Agency gave you your tickets to come back?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes. It is called the city charities.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. They told me to come back here. I says, "When I get here, what then?" She told me to find something to do. Well, it isn't as easy as that to go ahead and do it. You can't do it. You can't just go ahead and get a job just by saying "Go out and get a job," and then get it. It isn't that easy.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, as I understand it, you are not entitled to relief either in Florida or in Illinois?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. No. When I got there, they told me I wasn't eligible for relief there. They told me I wasn't entitled to relief here. So I couldn't figure out where I was at. When I got here from Miami, they told me to borrow the money to go back to Miami. I couldn't figure that out, because I was born and raised here. The children have all been born here. I couldn't figure it out. I still can't figure it out, why they want me to go back there. When I was there not quite a week, they sent me back here. When I get back here, they want to send me back there.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you to go and borrow the money?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Relief told me to go out and borrow the money.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know where that is located?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. One hundred and eighty West Polk Street.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know the name of the individual who advised you to leave the State of Illinois?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. No. I don't know her name. She didn't tell me her name, but I would know her if I saw her.

Mr. CURTIS. Did she have any correspondence with Florida to find out whether you could qualify for aid down there?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. No. She just told me to go and borrow the money. I said, "Sister, I don't know how I can borrow the money. It isn't so easy to go ahead and borrow the money."

Mr. CURTIS. You do not know her name?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. No. I do not know her name.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know whether she was employed by the Federal Government or by the city of Chicago?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. She must have been employed by the Chicago relief. She was there in the office. There is several women there talking to you.

Mr. CURTIS. Where in Chicago is this Salvation Army shelter?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Twelve hundred and thirty West Adams.

Mr. CURTIS. Your husband deserted you while you were in the State of Illinois?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You condoned that when you went to Florida?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You lived with him how long?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. From January until June.

Mr. CURTIS. Then he deserted you again?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes. We didn't live together. I had my own room and he had his own room.

Mr. PARSONS. He fed you and the children?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. What is it?

Mr. PARSONS. He fed you and the children?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Not the way he was supposed to. He didn't give me enough money to run the house.

Mr. CURTIS. But in Florida they told you you could not compel him to support his children when he had work?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. They told me they couldn't compel him. I told Mrs. Bain at the relief there—they couldn't find him. They told me they couldn't find him when I was in Miami. They had his license number, and I don't think they made any effort to find him, because I am sure Miami isn't a large city. I am most sure from Sunday until Thursday they could have found him. They had his description. I had a description of the car and everything. They told me they couldn't find him.

Mr. CURTIS. What work does he do down there?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. He is a plasterer and painter. He does both.

Mr. CURTIS. Has he had steady work most of the time?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. When I was there he worked pretty steady.

Mr. CURTIS. How much did he make?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. I imagine he averaged \$35 or \$40 a week. Never less than \$30.

The CHAIRMAN. A week?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. A week.

Mr. CURTIS. It occurs to me, Mr. Chairman, that the desertion is subject to the Florida law only, and not the Illinois law, because it was condoned. She went down there, and then they deported the complaining witness.

The CHAIRMAN. I will appoint you as a special committee to investigate that.

Mr. CURTIS. Thank you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long had your husband been in Florida before you went down there?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Five years, October 16.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I mean how long had he been there before you went down there?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. About 4 years. A little over 4 years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He had been there more than a year?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. A little over 4 years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any relatives in Chicago at all?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes. My mother is here.

Mr. PARSONS. What is your maiden name?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Wigless.

Mr. PARSONS. Your mother is still living?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other members of your family living?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. My sister is living with her, but I couldn't have a place there. She put me out. In fact, when I was here in Chicago the first time, before they sent me, she told me she couldn't support me. I told her if I could stay there until I got a job, I would thank her. She told me she couldn't support me, and that I should get out. My mother wants me to stay with her, but my sister don't.

Mr. PARSONS. Who is providing for your mother?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. My sister is. She is supporting my mother. My mother isn't able to work.

Mr. PARSONS. Is your mother old enough for old-age assistance in Illinois?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. No. She is 59.

Mr. PARSONS. Your sister is supporting her?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. What does your sister do?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. She is a telephone operator.

Mr. PARSONS. Is she married?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. No.

Mr. PARSONS. How much does she make per week?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. She makes about \$23 or \$24 a week.

Mr. PARSONS. That is all.

Mr. CURTIS. What is your husband's first name?

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Alexander.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Zgorski, let me make this suggestion: You said you could not understand why the relief people here were telling

you to go to Florida. The settlement law in Florida is 1 year. Your husband, having been down there for more than 1 year, had acquired settlement in Florida. You being his legal wife, his residence became your residence, and therefore your settlement is transferred to Florida. That is the reason they advised you to go.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. They told me in Chicago at the relief that as long as his residence was there, naturally mine was there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Because I had been married to him.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. When I got down to Miami, they didn't see it that way. They sent me back here. Why, I don't know. I can't figure it out myself.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That simply illustrates the problem we run into in various places.

Mrs. ZGORSKI. Now they are debating between the two of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mrs. Zgorski. We appreciate your having been here.

(Whereupon, Mrs. Zgorski was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JOHN B. BENNETT

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. John B. Bennett. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you, Mr. Bennett.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Bennett, give your name, where you live, and your age to the reporter.

Mr. BENNETT. John B. Bennett, 5256 East Grant, Chicago.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is your age?

Mr. BENNETT. Fifty-two.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where is your home? I mean, where were you born?

Mr. BENNETT. I was born in Boulder, Colo.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long have you been in Chicago?

Mr. BENNETT. Since along the latter part of January.

Mr. SPARKMAN. January of this year?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did you come from?

Mr. BENNETT. Well, I came from, you might say, Oklahoma, here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long had you lived in Oklahoma?

Mr. BENNETT. I had been living there not so very long. My situation is probably a little different from the ordinary ones you might have had.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is what we are trying to get.

Mr. BENNETT. I see. I am a salesman.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Talk louder, please.

Mr. BENNETT. I have not been employed by anyone in the last 2 years outside of selling products. I sell on a commission basis.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you always been a salesman?

Mr. BENNETT. Practically all my life.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Were you ever in any business of your own?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind?

Mr. BENNETT. The manufacturing business; the specialty manufacturing business in Los Angeles.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When was that?

Mr. BENNETT. Up until 1925.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Up until 1925?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then you went on the road as a salesman?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Selling what?

Mr. BENNETT. I have sold a great many different things.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Keep your voice up, please, so we can all hear you.

Mr. BENNETT. It would be pretty hard for me to enumerate all that I have sold.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just different things?

Mr. BENNETT. Different things.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you married?

Mr. BENNETT. I am married; yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did you marry?

Mr. BENNETT. I married in Oklahoma.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was your wife a resident of Oklahoma?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is she in Chicago with you?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you any children?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many?

Mr. BENNETT. Well, I have three stepchildren and one of our own.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean your wife has three children by a previous marriage?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then you and she have one child?

Mr. BENNETT. She and I have one child.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old is that child that was born to you and her?

Mr. BENNETT. Three weeks old last Saturday.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Three weeks old last Saturday?

Mr. BENNETT. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is your only child?

Mr. BENNETT. That is our only child.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do her children by the former marriage live with you?

Mr. BENNETT. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where are they?

Mr. BENNETT. They are with her parents in Oklahoma.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have any legal residence, and, if so, where?

Mr. BENNETT. I have not. I don't suppose I would be considered as having a legal residence for the simple reason that for the last 10 years I have been traveling practically all over the United States, and I suppose that I have not stayed in one place long enough to establish a legal residence. You might say that the last legal residence I had was in Los Angeles, or Pasadena, or, rather, Glendale.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you looked for work since coming to Chicago?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, indeed, I have.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you found any?

Mr. BENNETT. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you still looking for it?

Mr. BENNETT. No; I am not looking for any at all now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you had any help from any organization?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Public or private?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What organization?

Mr. BENNETT. The Salvation Army has helped me.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are they helping you now?

Mr. BENNETT. Well, I couldn't say whether they have—whether they would be any longer or not. My situation is simply this, and I will try to explain it to you: When I came to Chicago, I came here endeavoring to get some other lines of goods to add to the ones I was already selling. I worked here in Chicago for probably two months and a half selling. In the meantime, my wife's health got into a condition where she could not travel. I could not find anything here that you might consider to be a desirable thing, what I might be looking for. Up until about three months and a half or so, or 4 months ago, my wife's condition was such that she could not travel.

Well, I had sold, you might say, what products I was selling, about all that I could sell. In the meantime, I had tried several other things, but I found the competition here in Chicago so sharp and everyone so well represented that it was an impossibility for me to do anything at all, practically speaking, with it. We tried to survive as long as we could. Of course, I had to have my wife taken care of. I either had to hire someone to do it or do it myself.

We got into pretty desperate circumstances. The only thing I could do was to apply for relief until we were over the emergency of her confinement, which was 3 weeks ago last Saturday.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You say you applied for relief. Had you had relief from any—

Mr. BENNETT. From the Salvation Army.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have not had any public relief?

Mr. BENNETT. No; I have never gotten any.

EFFORTS TO OBTAIN WORK IN CHICAGO

Mr. SPARKMAN. How extensively have you looked for work here in Chicago?

Mr. BENNETT. Well, I have gone out and interviewed individuals in stores. I have had quite a lot of experience in the furniture business and kindred lines to that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you find to be the principal obstacle to your getting work?

Mr. BENNETT. Well, the principal obstacle to my getting work, and I think that is true of anyone else—there are really two obstacles. One is the fact I am not a resident of Chicago. The next is I am above the age limit.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old are you?

Mr. BENNETT. Fifty-two.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Fifty-two?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes; there have been several instances where I have interviewed people who have had advertisements in the paper for salesmen and kindred things of that kind. But as soon as they would see I had a few gray hairs in my head and was past 35 or 40, I could not even obtain an interview. Several of the employment managers had notified me they were prohibited by their firms from employing anyone above 35, or possibly 40 years old. There are a great many of the industries who are doing that too.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I agree with you, too many of them.

Mr. BENNETT. Now, then, after I had exerted every effort I could to find something, going here and there and the other place, to department stores and places of that kind, as a last resort I went to the employment agencies. I thought there might possibly be an opportunity of getting something there from them in answer to their advertisements.

Here is a sample of what I met: There was one advertisement in a paper about 2½ months ago for a hardware salesman. I went down and put my application in at the employment agency. He asked me about my experience, and I told him my experience. "Well," he says, "you come back tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock." I says, "Very well." I went back the next morning at 9 o'clock. He said, "The man is not there yet, and I have not had an opportunity to talk with him. I called him up last night, and as soon as he gets in, I will call him up. You come back in 30 minutes."

I said, "All right I will." After about 30 minutes I went down and he said, "There is nothing doing." I said, "Just what do you mean by that?" "Well," he says, "you are too old."

I said, "Would you mind asking that man, whoever he is"—of course, you do not find out who you are being put in connection with through the employment agency—"Would you mind asking that man if he would let me have the courtesy of simply a personal interview? You know," I said, "I am a perfectly physically able man. I know I am mentally able. I know I am an efficient man, and probably if I could have an interview with the man I could obtain myself a position."

"Well," he says, "I will tell you: Wait out here a little while and we will call him up." I waited, I suppose, 15 or 20 minutes. Then he motioned for me to come in. I came into his office and sat down, and he says, "Now, we can't get you that job." I said, "Well, maybe I could get it. I am only asking for an interview. I just want to talk to that man." He says, "No; the firm prohibits him from employing anybody over 35 years old. You would simply be wasting your time to go out there."

That man, whoever he was, would not employ me. He would not give me an opportunity to present myself to him. That was only one of, I will say, a half a dozen instances of that kind. I do not know whether all of them are that way or not, but I think the majority of them are.

Mr. SPARKMAN. At least, you have had enough experience to realize that that is a serious obstacle in getting employment?

Mr. BENNETT. I have had enough experience to realize that is a very serious obstacle in a person, we will say, over 40 years of age, regardless of how efficient they might be and regardless of their physical condition or how well they are versed in their line of business. It is practically an impossibility for you to obtain employment if you are above that age limit.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Thank you. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You are too old to get a job?

Mr. BENNETT. They say I am too old to get a job.

The CHAIRMAN. You are too young to get a pension?

Mr. BENNETT. I am too young to get a pension.

The CHAIRMAN. What is going to become of thousands and thousands just like you?

Mr. BENNETT. That is just what the question is. There is a question that must be solved, and it must be solved in an intelligent way, so that a person—if a person is mentally handicapped or physically handicapped or something like that, there may be some excuse for it. Regardless of how efficient you are, or regardless of how much experience you have had, it makes no difference what line you are asking for work in; if you are above that age, you can't get it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BENNETT. That is all there is about it.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you missed the bus when you did not get that interview.

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think if you had gotten the interview you would have gotten the job all right.

Mr. BENNETT. Perhaps so. I am an efficient man. I know that. I know the business.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Bennett. You may be excused.

(Whereupon Mr. Bennett was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Off the record.

(Discussion outside the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:05 p. m., a recess was taken until 10 a. m. tomorrow, Tuesday, August 20, 1940.)

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS,
Chicago, Ill.

The committee met at 10 a. m. in the Federal Court Building, Chicago, Ill., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman) presiding:

Present: Prerepresentatives John H. Tolan (chairman), Claude V. Parsons, John J. Sparkman, Carl T. Curtis, and Frank C. Osmer, Jr.

Also present: Dr. Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; James S. Owens, chief field investigator; A. Kramer, field investigator; John W. Abbott, field investigator; Ariel E. V. Dunn, field investigator; Joseph N. Dotson, field investigator; Robert H. Eagan, field secretary.

MR. PARSONS. The committee will please come to order. The first witness this morning will be Mr. Hayden.

TESTIMONY OF SPURGEON HAYDEN

MR. PARSONS. Mr. Hayden, Congressman Curtis will interrogate you.

MR. CURTIS. Mr. Hayden, give your full name to the reporter, please.

MR. HAYDEN. Spurgeon Hayden.

MR. CURTIS. How old are you?

MR. HAYDEN. Forty-three.

MR. CURTIS. Are you married?

MR. HAYDEN. Yes.

MR. CURTIS. How old is your wife?

MR. HAYDEN. About 39.

MR. CURTIS. Do you have any children?

MR. HAYDEN. Seven.

MR. CURTIS. How old is the oldest one?

MR. HAYDEN. She will be 18 December 17.

MR. CURTIS. How old is the youngest one?

MR. HAYDEN. Thirteen months old.

MR. CURTIS. Where were you born?

MR. HAYDEN. Mississippi.

MR. CURTIS. Was Mrs. Hayden born there, too?

MR. HAYDEN. Yes.

MR. CURTIS. How much schooling have you had?

Mr. HAYDEN. I ain't had much.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you had some?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; I have had some.

Mr. CURTIS. Mrs. Hayden has had some schooling?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You went a few years to grade school?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; public school, a country school.

Mr. CURTIS. Where was that school?

Mr. HAYDEN. That was in Mississippi, in Carroll County.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you spend all of your time in Mississippi until you came to Chicago?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; all the time.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you come to Chicago?

Mr. HAYDEN. December 7, 1939.

Mr. CURTIS. In other words, you have been here about 6 months?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you do for a living in Mississippi?

Mr. HAYDEN. Well, I farmed, and day-worked some. I worked in the saw mill, corn press, and so forth.

Mr. CURTIS. In the saw mill?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; I dug ditches, worked in the saw mill, and I farmed some.

Mr. CURTIS. When you say, "farmed some," what do you mean? Were you a sharecropper?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; a sharecropper.

Mr. CURTIS. You did not own any land?

Mr. HAYDEN. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How many acres did you handle when you were a sharecropper?

Mr. HAYDEN. Well, we would have from 12 to 14 or 15 acres in cotton, something like that. We would have 5 or 6 acres in corn, or something like that.

Mr. CURTIS. Did the landlord permit you to have space for a garden?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; he gave me a garden.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have some chickens?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; I had some chickens.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have any milk cows or hogs?

Mr. HAYDEN. I had a milk cow and hogs.

Mr. CURTIS. How did you get along at that?

Mr. HAYDEN. I didn't do so well.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you and your family able to get enough food that way?

Mr. HAYDEN. Well, not exactly. Sometimes we would and sometimes we wouldn't.

Mr. CURTIS. You could not make any money to buy anything else?

Mr. HAYDEN. No. Money was scarce. I would make a crop, and sometimes collect from \$25 to \$30.

Mr. CURTIS. How much would you get working around in the saw-mills, and so forth?

Mr. HAYDEN. Well, they paid at that time—they paid a dollar a day, or \$1.25 down there. For cotton picking you would get about

50 cents a hundred. For plowing all day long, you would get 60 cents a day, from sunup to sundown.

Mr. CURTIS. Were the children old enough to get any work in Mississippi?

Mr. HAYDEN. They would hoe a little.

Mr. CURTIS. They helped you when you were farming?

Mr. HAYDEN. That is right. They would help when I was farming.

Mr. CURTIS. They could not make any wages any other place?

Mr. HAYDEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. How many of your children are here in Chicago?

Mr. HAYDEN. They are all in school but two.

Mr. CURTIS. When you came into Chicago from Mississippi, did you have any trouble getting your children into school?

Mr. HAYDEN. Well, no, sir. They got—they brought a certificate from the other school with them.

Mr. CURTIS. You had no difficulty about that?

Mr. HAYDEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Well now, what have you done since you have been in Chicago?

Mr. HAYDEN. Well, I worked a little. I—well, I paint a little. I have calclimined. I tear down paper, clean buildings, and all like that.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you know someone who gave you that work?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You knew some of the other workmen there; is that how you got it?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes. I didn't know them until I came up here though. I didn't know them before.

Mr. CURTIS. During the year 1940, this year, have you had work most of the time?

Mr. HAYDEN. No. I ain't got no regular job now.

Mr. CURTIS. About how many days' work do you suppose you would have each month?

Mr. HAYDEN. I don't know, sir. I worked last month pretty regular. I haven't done much this month.

Mr. CURTIS. How about the winter months—January, February, and March? Did you have any work?

Mr. HAYDEN. No, sir. I didn't have no work.

Mr. CURTIS. How did you live?

Mr. HAYDEN. Well, charity helped me some.

Mr. CURTIS. One of these private charity organizations in Chicago?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; on Michner Street.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know the name of it?

Mr. HAYDEN. It is a bureau.

Mr. CURTIS. I believe they call it United Charities?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is that it?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How much did they help you? Did they pay your rent?

Mr. HAYDEN. They gave me \$10 a week for—let's see now. That was for about 2 months, or 2 months and a half; something like that. It might have been 3; I don't know.

Mr. CURTIS. Then you got a little work?

Mr. HAYDEN. A little work; yes.

Mr. CURTIS. After you got your first work, have they had to help you any since?

Mr. HAYDEN. Well, no, sir. They ain't helped me since—let's see—January, February, March—it has been about March since they helped me last.

Mr. CURTIS. How much money did you have when you arrived in Chicago?

Mr. HAYDEN. I had when I got here, about \$25 or \$30.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you come up in a car?

Mr. HAYDEN. No. I came up on the train.

Mr. CURTIS. You were able to buy your tickets and had \$25 or \$30 when you got here?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; I was about 2 years or longer saving that up to get up here.

Mr. CURTIS. You sold your chickens and pigs?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; and one thing and another.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you applied for any other relief here?

Mr. HAYDEN. I went down to the place on Harrison Street. They said I hadn't been here long enough.

Mr. CURTIS. That was for public relief?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. They told you you were not a resident of Chicago?

Mr. HAYDEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. That you had not been here long enough?

Mr. HAYDEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. You have not had any work this month of August?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes. I had a little work, the same place, cleaning buildings.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you any work now?

Mr. HAYDEN. I worked yesterday until 12. The man told me he might have some more tomorrow.

Mr. CURTIS. How much do you make?

Mr. HAYDEN. He gave me \$1.50.

Mr. CURTIS. \$1.50 for the morning?

Mr. HAYDEN. No; for the whole day.

Mr. CURTIS. For the whole day?

Mr. HAYDEN. For the whole day. That ain't enough, but I had to do something to live, don't you know?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. How did it happen you decided to leave Mississippi?

Mr. HAYDEN. I just got tired of that job we had. We didn't have enough to live. We couldn't send the children to school.

Mr. CURTIS. Why did you pick out Chicago?

Mr. HAYDEN. Well, I heard a whole lot of talk about Chicago.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have any friends here?

Mr. HAYDEN. No. I didn't have no friends here, but my folks had been here, and gone back, and I talked to them.

Mr. CURTIS. You talked to people who had been up to Chicago?

Mr. HAYDEN. I talked to people who had been up to Chicago.

Mr. CURTIS. They had gotten good wages?

Mr. HAYDEN. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you make any inquiry, or did you write any letters up here to see if there was any employment available?

Mr. HAYDEN. No, sir. I didn't write none.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, would you rather stay here in Chicago?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes. I would rather stay here. I ain't done bad here.

Mr. CURTIS. You can get along better here?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes. A heap better. Of course, it is a little tight now, because I ain't got no job. It is kind of tight. Times is kind of tight, anyhow. It's a whole lot better than Mississippi.

Mr. CURTIS. Going back to your farming in Mississippi, how many cows did you have?

Mr. HAYDEN. Oh, I had two or three, or something like that, or four.

Mr. CURTIS. Two or three or four?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You owned them?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes. I owned them.

Mr. CURTIS. You were able to get enough feed so that they would not dry up?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes. They would dry, but we would always stake our cows down there in the pasture, stake them out with a chain by the branches, and things.

Mr. CURTIS. You could get plenty of feed for them?

Mr. HAYDEN. Pretty good in the summertime, but in the wintertime they didn't get so much feed, because the feed was all frosted, and the frost killed everything.

Mr. CURTIS. Did the landlord permit you to put up some feed?

Mr. HAYDEN. Sometimes he did and sometimes he didn't.

Mr. CURTIS. How many chickens would he let you keep?

Mr. HAYDEN. We have had as high as 10 or 15 or 20 or 25 down there in the yard.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it easier to raise vegetables down there?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes. It is very easy to raise vegetables. You can raise plenty of vegetables up and down them breaksides, and one thing and another—cabbage and one thing and another.

Mr. CURTIS. But you could not make any cash money?

Mr. HAYDEN. Oh, no, sir. Cash money was scarce. When they pay a man 60 cents a day from sunup to sundown, that ain't much money.

Mr. CURTIS. You could not educate your children?

Mr. HAYDEN. No. I couldn't go to school any. My dad would keep me working. I didn't have a chance to go to school.

Mr. CURTIS. We are glad to have had you here as a witness, because you have given us some information that is typical of a certain group that are involved in this problem. Thank you.

That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAYDEN. I can go home now, can't I?

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? [No response.]

You may be excused, Mr. Hayden.

(Whereupon Mr. Hayden was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MARY JONES

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mrs. Mary Jones. Congressman Parsons will examine you, Mrs. Jones.

Mr. PARSONS. Will you state your name for the record, please, Mrs. Jones?

Mrs. JONES. Mary Jones.

Mr. PARSONS. Where were you born?

Mrs. JONES. Right in Illinois.

Mr. PARSONS. In Chicago?

Mrs. JONES. In El Paso, Ill.

Mr. PARSONS. How old are you?

Mrs. JONES. Twenty-six.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you married?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Your husband is living here in Chicago?

Mrs. JONES. Yes; he is.

Mr. PARSONS. With you?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. How long have you lived here?

Mrs. JONES. I have lived here 23 years, the first 23 years of my life.

Mr. PARSONS. You came here when you were a girl?

Mrs. JONES. I was born there, and then I came to Chicago and lived here for a long while. I went to school here. Then in 1937 my sister and I went to the Hawaiian Islands. I was a stenographer, and so was she. I had two brothers out there. I was there about a year.

Mr. PARSONS. They were there?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. That is why you girls decided to go?

Mrs. JONES. Yes. There I found work and my sister found work almost immediately. We stayed on, and then I was married about a year later. My husband was working on a newspaper out there. He originally was from San Francisco.

Mr. PARSONS. Go ahead.

Mrs. JONES. Perhaps I should have. If I had, my status would probably be better established. We were married about 3 months, and the doctors discovered I had tuberculosis. They put me in a hospital. I was there 6 months in the first hospital, and then we moved to the other island, or to another island, I should say, and I was in that hospital for 6 months.

Mr. PARSONS. Was that the big island of Hawaii or Hilo?

Mrs. JONES. Yes; the big island is where I was at first. First I was in the general hospital and I had to have my appendix out. The reason we left Hawaii is because it is not a very good place for tuber-

culosis. Most of the people out there, white people who have tuberculosis have it develop in their bronchial tubes, and it does not respond to treatment, that particular type, although mine is in my lungs and is not advanced.

MR. PARSONS. How long did you continue to work after you were married?

MRS. JONES. Well, I was working just part-time—for 2 months. I was working part of the time, and then I quit work. I was not feeling well, although I was not feeling very sick. The third doctor was the one who discovered tuberculosis. The first two missed it.

MR. PARSONS. Who paid for the operation?

MRS. JONES. I did.

MR. PARSONS. You did?

MRS. JONES. Yes.

MR. PARSONS. Who paid for the hospitalization?

MRS. JONES. For the hospital?

MR. PARSONS. Yes.

MRS. JONES. Yes; I paid for the operation; and for the hospitalization, we began by paying for it, but after awhile our funds gave out and we were not able to continue to pay for it. So then the State took it over.

MR. PARSONS. In Hawaii?

MRS. JONES. In Hawaii.

MR. PARSONS. Your husband was working all of that time?

MRS. JONES. Yes. He was employed.

MR. PARSONS. Did your husband remain in the islands?

MRS. JONES. No. After my appendix was taken out, I had trouble with my kidney. The doctor said I had tuberculosis of the kidney and the only treatment for that is to remove the kidney. The doctor who was going to do that was not a kidney doctor. He was a general physician. It was out on the big island of Hawaii, and I was not very eager to have it done out there by a physician whom I did not have a great deal of confidence in.

We were not aware of the situation in California. My husband, being a native of California, decided to go back. We had about \$300 saved up. He went back to California. He was going to get established back there and then I was coming on and have the kidney taken out by a doctor.

MR. PARSONS. Was he able to get work in California?

MRS. JONES. He never got work in California. He did get 1 month's work, but most of the time he was wandering up and down the coast in California.

MR. PARSONS. Did you have an operation performed then in California?

MRS. JONES. The kidney turned out to be negative. We decided not to take it out, and decided there was not tuberculosis after all. But right then they collapsed the other lung. They found a hole in it, and they collapsed it. Then I had to remain in Hawaii. I was not able to travel, so I had to stay in Hawaii until I was able to travel.

MR. PARSONS. When did you come to California?

MRS. JONES. I came to California in December 1939. My husband finally got enough money to bring me over, so I got to California.

At that time I was a "bilateral," as they call it. That means I was getting pneumothorax refills in one lung once a week and in the other lung twice a week. One lung had been collapsed for approximately a year. The other, 4 months. When they collapsed the second lung, I had turned negative, and it cleared up.

When I got to California they would not give me air there at all, because I was not a resident of the State. You have to be a resident of the State 3 years and of the city 1 year before you can get any assistance of any kind. All I could do was to go to a private doctor who wanted \$25 a month plus the cost of X-rays. I did not happen to have it. That was how we came to leave California, because I could not afford treatment, and I really could not be without it.

Mr. PARSONS. To what place did you go from California?

Mrs. JONES. I went down to Peoria, Ill. I had lived in Peoria, Ill., and it just happened that I had some things with me—I had my silverware and the radio, my ring, and a few things. We disposed of those and took the bus back to Peoria.

Mr. PARSONS. Why did you go to Peoria?

Mrs. JONES. Well, I thought maybe my husband could get work at the Caterpillar Tractor Co. Then, too, I knew I might be able to get air in Peoria, or in Illinois, because of my residence here. My mother had died in Peoria, and I thought I had enough contacts to get air.

Anyhow there was not very much down in Peoria. There is not much unless you happen to be mechanical. We stayed down there. He managed to sell some photographic coupons until his unemployment compensation got started. Then we came up to Chicago.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you draw unemployment compensation?

Mrs. JONES. We did.

Mr. PARSONS. From his work in Hawaii?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. How much did he obtain on that?

Mrs. JONES. \$166.

Mr. PARSONS. Over a period of 16 weeks?

Mrs. JONES. Fourteen.

Mr. PARSONS. Fourteen weeks?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. When did you get into Chicago?

Mrs. JONES. I think it must have been about January that we got to Chicago. We have been here ever since.

Mr. PARSONS. Has he worked since that time?

Mrs. JONES. He has not really found anything in Chicago.

Mr. PARSONS. Of course, you are not able to work?

Mrs. JONES. No; I am not.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you applied for relief here?

Mrs. JONES. We are not eligible.

Mr. PARSONS. Why not?

Mrs. JONES. Well, we were down at the relief station, down at W. P. A. You have to be here 3 years before you are eligible for relief.

Mr. PARSONS. You were away for almost 3 years?

Mrs. JONES. Yes. But then, of course, I take my husband's residence.

Mr. PARSONS. Has any agency helped you, or is any agency helping you now?

Mrs. JONES. We are getting some assistance from the Salvation Army.

Mr. PARSONS. How much assistance is that?

Mrs. JONES. \$21.35 every 15 days.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you able to get any treatment for your condition?

Mrs. JONES. Yes. That is fortunate; I am.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that furnished by the Salvation Army?

Mrs. JONES. No. You see, in Illinois, air is free. Anyone who has anything wrong with their lungs can get air free.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think you are improving?

Mrs. JONES. The doctors tell me I am.

Mr. PARSONS. You look as though you are. You look as though you could be improving.

Mrs. JONES. I am improving, but you cannot say definitely whether you are going to recover or whether you are not. It is a question of 3 or 4 years.

Mr. PARSONS. How much education did you have?

Mrs. JONES. Two years of college.

Mr. PARSONS. Two years of college?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. You are a high-school graduate, and have had 2 years of college?

Mrs. JONES. Yes; Northwestern.

Mr. PARSONS. Northwestern?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. I assume you probably took a business course?

Mrs. JONES. Well, no.

Mr. PARSONS. In high school or in college?

Mrs. JONES. No. I took a business course at a business school.

Mr. PARSONS. I see.

Mrs. JONES. That is where I learned shorthand and typing.

Mr. PARSONS. What are the plans of you and your husband now?

Mrs. JONES. Well, he is taking that national-defense program now. He is now taking woodworking and cabinetmaking. We are hoping that out of that will come something. I do think work opportunities are picking up.

Mr. PARSONS. He is going to school now?

Mrs. JONES. He is going to night school 4 nights a week.

Mr. PARSONS. Is he trying to find a job for the daytime?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Has he ever reported to the State employment office?

Mrs. JONES. Yes, indeed.

Mr. PARSONS. Has he tried through any private employment office to obtain employment?

Mrs. JONES. He has his name in at all of them.

Mr. PARSONS. He has been able to find nothing here in the 6 months you have been here?

Mrs. JONES. No; he has not found anything.

Mr. PARSONS. I think that is all. Are there any other questions?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have a question.

Mr. PARSONS. Congressman Sparkman.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is the nature of your husband's work?

Mrs. JONES. He has been selling advertising.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In the advertising department?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did he have any special training in that line?

Mrs. JONES. No. It was just—Hawaii is different. It is much more simple than it is here; it is not complicated.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old is he?

Mrs. JONES. Twenty-five.

LACK OF TRAINING AS CAUSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does he have any special training?

Mrs. JONES. He lacks special training in every line. That is his difficulty.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is he a high-school graduate?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He is now going to night school in order to get special training?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions?

Mr. CURTIS. Do I understand that neither of your parents are living?

Mrs. JONES. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. Their last home residence was at what place in Illinois?

Mrs. JONES. Peoria. My husband's relatives, of course, were native Californians. His mother and father both lived there and his grandparents on both sides.

Mr. CURTIS. They took the view that you were a Californian because that was your husband's residence?

Mrs. JONES. No; in California they took the view that we were not anything at all. They took the view we were Hawaiians. They were going to send us back to Hawaii, or they were talking about it. I do not think there is any danger they would give us the trip. They sent us down to the Bureau of Immigration, but they did not send us to Hawaii.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say that the fact your husband did not have any specific training along any line had contributed a great deal to your difficulties?

Mrs. JONES. I think that is the main thing. I think right now that if he had had some specific training—I think if he had 6 weeks' training, he would have a job.

Mr. OSMERS. You feel there are employment opportunities here?

Mrs. JONES. For anyone who is capable of doing something.

Mr. OSMERS. But the difficulty in your case is that your husband is not trained?

Mrs. JONES. I had the same experience myself before starting out. I had 2 years of college, and a good education. I was in the upper bracket of my class, but I was not able to do shorthand and typing. I had the bunniest jobs you could ever get, places like Montgomery Ward, where you get up at 5 o'clock in the morning. Then I learned shorthand in 9 weeks, and I was always able to get a decent job.

Mr. OSMERS. Because you were definitely trained?

Mrs. JONES. Yes. I think if my husband were able to do sheet-metal work, which he could learn in 6 weeks, he could get a job.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, your 4 years of high school and your 2 years at Northwestern did not mean anything when you went out to get a job and earn your living?

Mrs. JONES. I think you could have a master's degree, and it would not mean a thing.

Mr. OSMERS. The reason I stress that point is that I have found, as I have gone around the country, there is something wrong with our educational system. The people we are putting out of our high schools and colleges are not equipped to go out and make a living.

Mrs. JONES. I feel that way definitely.

Mr. OSMERS. You agree with that?

Mrs. JONES. Yes. If they would just teach them something—anything.

Mr. OSMERS. Thank you very much.

Mr. SPARKMAN. One more question. What became of your sister? Is she still in Hawaii?

Mrs. JONES. She is still in Hawaii.

Mr. SPARKMAN. She is getting along all right?

Mrs. JONES. She is well.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not married?

Mrs. JONES. No. She is not married.

Mr. SPARKMAN. She is still doing stenographic work?

Mrs. JONES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Your case is similar to many others that we have encountered in the course of these hearings. Thank you very much. (Whereupon Mrs. Mary Jones was excused.)

Mr. PARSONS. The next witness will be Mr. Mendenhall.

TESTIMONY OF ARTHUR MENDENHALL

Mr. PARSONS. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you, Mr. Mendenhall.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Mendenhall, will you give your full name to the reporter, for the benefit of the record?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Arthur Mendenhall.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where do you live: here?

Mr. MENDENHALL. At 2944 South Michigan.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that a private home, or what is it?

Mr. MENDENHALL. It is a C. Y. O. hotel.

Mr. SPARKMAN. A Catholic Youth Organization hotel?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Eldorado, Kans.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is your age?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Twenty.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you any brothers and sisters?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I have two brothers and a sister.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where are they?

Mr. MENDENHALL. My youngest brother and sister are in Lyons, Kans.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that where your mother lives?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is your father living?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your father and mother live at Lyons?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I do not know where my father is.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The family is separated?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your youngest brother and sister live with your mother at Lyons, Kans.?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where is your other brother?

Mr. MENDENHALL. He is in Seattle, Wash.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old is he?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Eighteen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What education did you have?

Mr. MENDENHALL. A high-school education.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you finish high school?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where?

Mr. MENDENHALL. In 1939, at Alden, Kans.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did you go after you finished high school?

Mr. MENDENHALL. To Estes Park, Colo.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What was the occasion for your going out there?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I got a job for the summer out there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. At a Y. M. C. A. camp, or something like that?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How did you happen to get that job?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Through a friend of mine at the University in Wichita, Kans.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What happened to you after that?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I went back to Kansas from Colorado. I worked in Wichita for about 2 months in a service station.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Had you had any plans to go to college?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You did not get to realize that ambition?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No; I did not.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is, you have not so far?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, what did you do after you left the service station?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I went back to Lyons, Kans., which is near Alden, the place where I finished high school.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you stay there?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Almost 6 months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you have work there?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes; I ran a beer tavern.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That brought you up to the first part of this year?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then where did you go?

Mr. MENDENHALL. To some relatives of mine at Newport, Ind.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you stay there?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Until about 4 months ago.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you come from there here?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you have work there?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you had any work in Chicago?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I have been working at the C. Y. O. practically ever since I have been here, but day before yesterday I was laid off.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that the Catholic Youth Organization?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have not just been staying there; you have been working there?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I was employed there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You were laid off day before yesterday?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have anything in mind now?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Well, I have a couple of leads.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have what?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I have a couple of leads for jobs, but I don't know.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have been looking for work?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you have any special training, Arthur?

Mr. MENDENHALL. As a musician.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are a musician?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What instrument do you play?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I play the piano. I also sing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You also sing?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What have you been doing at the C. Y. O.?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Head waiter in the kitchen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you ever been on relief, or have you ever applied for relief?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. So far you have been able to knock around and take care of yourself?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does your mother need any help, or is she able to support herself, she and the younger children?

Mr. MENDENHALL. She makes \$6 a week in the laundry.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I suppose your youngest brother and sister are still in school?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They do not work?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is your other brother working?

Mr. MENDENHALL. The last time I heard from him he was working in a bakery.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long ago was that?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Nearly a month ago.

Mr. SPARKMAN. While you were working at the C. Y. O., did you send money home?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you make there?

Mr. MENDENHALL. \$5 a week.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And your board?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They kept you there?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Out of that, you had your own spending money, and you sent money home to help your mother and younger brother and sister?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that is all.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you learn anything in school, in high school, that has helped you since you have been out trying to earn your own living?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No.

Mr. OSMERS. I suppose your musical education was privately paid for, your piano work?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. By the family?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That was not anything you got from school?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No.

Mr. OSMERS. How old are you now?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Twenty.

Mr. OSMERS. Is there any agency you know of in the city of Chicago, either Federal or State or local, that would make available to you training along a certain line that might assist you to get a regular job?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I do not know of any such agency.

Mr. OSMERS. I just wondered if you knew of any.

Mr. MENDENHALL. No.

Mr. OSMERS. I know that the National Youth Administration has a mechanic training program, for one thing. I wondered whether you might be eligible for that.

Mr. MENDENHALL. I really do not know whether I am or not.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all.

Mr. CURTIS. In what part of Kansas is Lyons?

Mr. MENDENHALL. The middle-western part.

Mr. CURTIS. Near what other town, what other larger place?

Mr. MENDENHALL. About 25 miles from Hutchinson.

Mr. CURTIS. How did it happen you lost your job over at the C. Y. O.?

Mr. MENDENHALL. They just did not need me any longer, that is all. I was extra, you might say. They do not have any one where I used to be.

Mr. CURTIS. You feel your chances of taking care of yourself are better going about the country this way, than remaining right in Lyons?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I feel so. I didn't have a chance in Lyons.

Mr. CURTIS. How big a town is it?

Mr. MENDENHALL. It is about, I would say, 10,000.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I want to ask another question or two. When you were planning to go to college, what were you going to take?

Mr. MENDENHALL. A musical education, to further myself musically.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you given any thought to enrollment in a C. C. C. camp?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe under that plan they will give you some spending money and send home as much as \$25 a month for the support of your dependents. Have you ever thought about applying for that?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I did think about it; yes. I tried to get in while I was in Indiana. I tried twice, but both times something slipped up. I failed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe there has been some considerable enrollment in the last few months.

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It might be a little easier to get in now.

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are interested in music. Have you ever thought of getting into the Army and into some part of the band?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I have thought of it, but I never did seriously consider joining the Army, or enlisting in the Army, because I don't like that kind of life.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you ever talked with the N. Y. A., the National Youth Administration?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No; I have not.

Mr. SPARKMAN. About the possibilities of that?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No. I have not talked with them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have any mechanical turn at all?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Well, my father is a mechanic, and I helped him. I helped him for about 3 years and a half after school and at different times like that. I have a rather mechanical turn.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I noticed that only recently the navy yard in Washington, and I presume it is true in navy yards in other parts of the

country, are taking in quite a number of young men as apprentices, to teach them the trades. I believe the N. Y. A. is planning to teach trades to young men. It seems to me it might be well for you to think about those things and investigate some of them. You might find some real possibilities there. The State headquarters of the N. Y. A. is in the Merchandise Mart here in Chicago. It might be well for you to go up and make inquiry. They may be able to help you.

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long have you been in Chicago?

Mr. MENDENHALL. About 4 months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You came from Indiana here?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long since you left Lyons, Kans.?

Mr. MENDENHALL. It has been nearly a year now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that the first time you had ever been away from home?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes; for any length of time like that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The folks are still back in Kansas?

Mr. MENDENHALL. My father—I don't know where he is. He is somewhere in Illinois, but I don't know just where.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is he migrating too?

Mr. MENDENHALL. No. He works in the oil fields.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In the oil fields?

Mr. MENDENHALL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He is probably down in southern Illinois.

Mr. MENDENHALL. That is what I imagine.

Mr. OSMERS. Is he contributing to the support of the family?

Mr. MENDENHALL. I believe he is, when he can. He is in poor health. He was gassed in the war. He does not have any health left. He works when he can.

Mr. OSMERS. Does he receive any veteran's compensation for that?

Mr. MENDENHALL. He did, up until 12 years ago; 12 years ago they quit sending compensation. He didn't need it at the time, though. They stopped sending it.

Mr. PARSONS. He probably received that under the disability-allowance clause. It probably was not service connected.

Mr. OSMERS. It would have to be service connected if he were gassed.

Mr. PARSONS. That is probably true. Are there any other questions? [No response.] You are excused, Mr. Mendenhall. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon Mr. Mendenhall was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF BEN DEMING, STATE SUPERVISOR, FIELD OFFICE OPERATIONS, UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION DIVISION, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Deming. Congressman Osmers will interrogate you, Mr. Deming.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Deming, I will ask you to give your full name and address and your occupation, for the record.

Mr. DEMING. Ben Deming, State supervisor for field office operations, Indiana Unemployment Compensation Division.
(Statement submitted and made part of the record.)

STATEMENT CONCERNING CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL LABOR PROBLEM IN INDIANA

(By Ben Deming, State supervisor, field office operations, Unemployment Compensation Division, Indianapolis, Ind.)

The limitations of this report relative to migratory agricultural labor in Indiana should be pointed out in the beginning. It is based upon the experience of the public employment service during the last 7 years. The limitations of this experience are indicated by the fact that during 1939 local employment offices referred and placed only 2,354 persons in agricultural employment as compared with a total of 83,683 other persons who were referred and placed in commercial, industrial, and service occupations with private employers. An inventory of local office application files taken April 1 this year shows that there were registered approximately 6,000 persons whose last regular job had been in agriculture as compared to the total of some 150,000 other persons whose last regular job was in fields other than agriculture.

There are several reasons why the employment service has not played a more active part in this field:

1. Much of the farm produce in Indiana, such as corn and hogs, does not create a demand for large numbers of workers for planting, harvesting or tending, as in the case of large agricultural crops in Western States, such as cotton in Texas. This is due partially to the increased use of farm machinery in recent years which has caused some displacement of labor and to the small size of individual farms in Indiana compared to Western States. In the case of most farm products, it is an exceptional farm in Indiana which normally requires the services of more than one or two farm hands. These are usually employed on a year-around basis, and are normally recruited in the vicinity of the farm. Wages average about \$20 a month with board and room, although in the more prosperous farm areas wages sometimes reach \$30 to \$35 a month.

2. The local employment offices in Indiana are established in the 25 largest cities and are not especially located strategically insofar as farm labor is concerned.

3. In the case of certain special crops, notably tomatoes, the conditions of employment in many cases are such that the employment service has not felt justified in assuming responsibility for the referral of the workers.

Under these circumstances, the employment service is not in as good a position as some other agencies in Indiana to report factual data concerning farm labor, with one exception, to which this report will be largely restricted; that exception has to do with the tomato crop. The harvesting and canning of this crop, however, probably involves the most serious problem in Indiana so far as the interstate migration of destitute citizens is concerned.

TOMATO CROP IN INDIANA ¹

There are normally under cultivation in Indiana each year approximately 100,000 acres in tomatoes. The average yield is about 5 tons of tomatoes per acre. Their value is estimated at \$10 per ton, which means that the total value of this crop in Indiana in a normal year is approximately \$5,000,000.

There are four primary classes of people who have a direct financial interest in this crop. They are the growers, the canners, the laborers employed by both the growers and the canners, and those manufacturers who supply the canners with tin cans. The growers are largely financed by the canners, who in turn are frequently largely financed by the tin-can manufacturers.

This is a highly competitive business and entails many hazards which create serious financial risks. For example: A canner's profit depends upon his ability

¹The data which follows is based upon a survey made by the employment service in 1939, in which State and local officer personnel contacted 22 leading canners, several hundred growers, numerous local public officials, Purdue University, and the Indiana State Canners' Association.

to contract acreage, industriousness and honesty of his growers, weather conditions, insects and plant disease, availability of labor, the efficiency of his plant compared with his competitor's, and finally the market price of his product.

A major cost for both the grower and canner is labor and the strenuous competition gives both of them a powerful incentive to keep the cost of labor to a minimum. Some of the canneries are now covered by the Federal wage-and-hour law, which automatically establishes a minimum price for labor. No such a minimum exists, however, for the tomato pickers employed by the growers, and it is here that the most serious problems arise relative to labor migration, wages, hours, and living conditions. In order to appreciate the problems, it is necessary that certain facts concerning the nature of this work be understood.

HARVESTING TOMATOES

The harvesting of tomatoes is done by hand and requires the services of several thousand tomato pickers in the early part of August until about October 1. Tomato picking is undoubtedly extremely arduous physical labor, requiring constant stooping and the carrying of heavy crates under a boiling hot sun. The pickers are required to work from daybreak until dark in vines that are, in the early morning, wet with dew and possibly rain that has fallen during the night.

The tomatoes are graded according to quality, and the workers are paid a piece rate which varies according to the grade picked. The grades are as follows:

1. U. S. Grade No. 1: This consists of tomatoes which are firm, ripe, well colored, well formed, free from molds and decay, and free from damage caused by growth cracks, worm holes, catfaces, sunscalds, freezing, and other injury.

2. U. S. Grade No. 2: This grade consists of tomatoes which do not meet the requirements of the U. S. Grade No. 1 but are ripe and fairly well colored and free from serious damage from any cause.

3. Culls: These are tomatoes which do not meet the requirements of the foregoing grades.

On the average, 68 percent of the crop will be U. S. Grade No. 1 and will remain that grade for about 6½ days. Tomatoes which are wet from rain or dew appear redder than when dry and are, consequently, misleading as to grade. The bruising or breaking of tomatoes from careless picking, overfilling the baskets, or improper loading of tomatoes in trucks will likewise affect the grading. Since the assignment of grade is affected by these factors and since it is a subjective rating in the end, the grading process offers an opportunity for disputes with the pickers.

Wages and living conditions.—Tomato pickers are normally paid a piece rate which varies from 2½ to 6 cents per basket. The basket holds, theoretically, a slightly less quantity than a bushel, but in actual practice no standard basket is used by growers. They may use wooden boxes, bushel baskets, or hampers of any kind. The range in piece rate varies between growers and also varies with the grade of tomatoes picked. The amount of tomatoes that a worker can pick varies not only with his physical ability and energy, including his judgment of quality or grade, but also with the condition of the field. Such factors as the fertility of the field, the time that has elapsed since it was previously picked, condition of the vines, weather conditions, distance from the field to the loading platform, etc., have a direct bearing on his earnings. The statements of growers and workers contacted vary widely, but a reasonable estimate seems to be that an experienced, energetic, able-bodied male worker would average approximately \$1.50 to \$2.50 in a 12- to 14-hour day, provided the condition of the field was favorable. Women and children would normally earn a proportionately less amount.

It is reported that the growers, in some instances, do not have the money to pay the pickers until the crop is completely harvested and they are paid by the canners, although they sometimes arrange to get the necessary money advanced by the canners. Some growers follow the practice of holding back one-half cent on the basket and then paying the worker in full if he stays the entire tomato-picking season. By and large, it can be said that the method of wage payment is inconvenient and unsatisfactory so far as the worker is concerned.

Usually the tomato acreage is located some distance from town so it is not convenient for the workers to commute daily. As a result, many growers attempt to provide living quarters by making available barns or other outlying buildings or by merely permitting the workers to camp out in the open on their land. In some communities public parks or land is made available to the workers for camp

sites. As a result, living conditions for these workers are usually very unsatisfactory from the standpoint of sanitation and public health.

The eating facilities are also unsatisfactory because of the withholding of wages and the normally poverty-stricken condition of these people. They attempt to spend only the barest minimum amount of cash for groceries. On the basis of housing and food standards, it can be said that a vast majority of the workers exist under definitely substandard conditions.

Because of these substandard working conditions and wages, the majority of local residents refuse to accept this type of employment. For this reason, in the localities that have large acreage, it is usually impossible to secure sufficient labor even though hundreds of local people may be totally unemployed or receiving public funds for their subsistence. As a result, large numbers of workers either come into Indiana on their own initiative or are imported each year from surrounding States. The largest group comes from southern Kentucky, and a lesser number normally comes principally from Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio. A few hundred Mexicans normally come into this State each year, both for the tomato picking and for the sugar-beet harvesting, which takes place in the northeastern part of the State. Many of these migrants travel in family groups and, in such cases, wives and children normally seek employment along with the head of the family. This is particularly characteristic of the Mexican labor and is frequently true of the people from Kentucky. In addition to finding employment as tomato pickers, many of these persons attempt to find other agricultural employment or to work in canning factories. When the season is over, many of them return to their original homes, but a significant residue usually remains.

There are no reliable statistics available in regard to this situation, but a report made by the State planning board for Johnson County in 1935 probably furnishes a typical example. This report notes that whereas Johnson County is relatively a prosperous farming area, the relief population averages about 10 percent. The report claims that this condition is due to the canning industry and truck-crop raising, including tomatoes. It estimates that the influx of migratory labor each year from Kentucky alone is approximately 1,000, and that a certain number of these people remain and are normally unemployed throughout the rest of the year. This influx of labor from Kentucky takes place regularly, even though there are easily enough unemployed people in Indianapolis to fill all these jobs, and Indianapolis is only 25 miles away. The report states that at least one employer in Johnson County advertises each year in Kentucky newspapers, which has been directly responsible for scores of persons from that State coming to Johnson County. The following statements are quoted directly from this report:

"Vegetable canning, the principal industry, is a seasonal occupation and therefore has created serious economic and social problems attendant upon seasonal employment. Migration from Kentucky is responsible for a large part of the relief population. Housing among relief clients, especially those originating in Kentucky, is extremely bad and violates minimum standards of living, legal and otherwise, although rural housing is generally above the average for the State.

"Pay rolls are loaded with transient Kentuckians, while many employable citizens of Indiana are on relief rolls because of lack of employment.

The public employment service in Indiana receives numerous requests each year for tomato pickers and, because of the unsatisfactory circumstances surrounding this type of employment, has found it necessary to formulate a special referral policy so far as local offices are concerned. This policy is outlined below, and I believe it represents reasonable minimum standards:

1. Orders will not be filled unless: (a) Prevailing rate is offered; (b) average qualified workers can earn at least 30 cents per hour; (c) wages are paid in full and at least semi-monthly (as required by State law for most employment); (d) working conditions and housing, if required, meet reasonable standards; (e) transportation is furnished, or extra compensation is paid to cover cost of transportation on jobs requiring same.

2. Orders will not be cleared outside the locality unless: (a) All conditions set out under point 1 are satisfied; (b) no local qualified labor is available; (c) transportation is furnished; (d) a minimum daily earning is guaranteed.

3. Information regarding jobs not complying with the above-mentioned minimum standards will not be given to applicants, newspapers, or transient workers.

The full force of employment-service facilities will be exercised to fill the jobs meeting the specifications set out in this policy.

The application of this policy has made it necessary for local offices to reject practically all orders received for tomato pickers.

Possible remedies.—The foregoing description indicates certain unfortunate labor conditions that prevail in the harvesting of tomatoes in Indiana. Modern labor trends furnish a basis for the belief that eventually some remedy will be found to alleviate this undesirable situation.

The history of employer-labor relationships and the experience of other States where similar conditions have prevailed indicate that corrective action might be taken along one or more of the following lines:

1. ACTION ON THE PART OF THE CANNERS' ASSOCIATION

Because of the close financial relationships that exist between the canners and growers, it would be possible for the former, through their association, to exert considerable influence on working conditions relative to tomato picking. The association faces a serious problem, however, in taking effective action along this line, since any increase in the labor costs of its members might place them at a serious disadvantage with their out-of-State competitors.

2. ACTION ON THE PART OF THE WORKERS THEMSELVES

Experience in other States indicates that an effort might be made to organize the workers for the purpose of securing better wages and more favorable working conditions through collective action. In other parts of the country such efforts have been strenuously resisted by the growers and frequently labor disturbances, and even civil disorder, have resulted. The number of migratory workers and the temporary nature of the work has likewise handicapped the work of labor organizers. Developments in other parts of the country, however, indicate the possibility of such a movement.

3. ACTION ON THE PART OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT

Some States have attempted to correct similar situations through legislation or executive decree. This has sometimes taken the form of erecting State barriers which prevented the entrance of migrants unable to establish their financial responsibility. Conversely, through emigrant labor laws, some States have regulated the recruitment of labor by out-of-State contractors. State minimum-wage laws have likewise attempted to protect certain classes of workers by establishing minimum-wage rates. In the case at hand, it might well be argued that any legislation which required the payment of higher wages than those paid in adjoining States would place Indiana canners at a serious competitive disadvantage.

4. ACTION ON THE PART OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Federal wage-and-hour law illustrates a type of Federal action designed to protect workers by establishing certain provisions in regard to wages and hours. This legislation applies to a portion of the canning industry and eliminates the competitive advantage that accrues from individual State legislation. While certain administrative difficulties are apparent, some persons have urged that the provisions of the law be extended to agricultural workers.

There are doubtless other measures that could be applied to this situation. The experience in other States both as regards agricultural workers and those whose employment has created similar labor problems appears to indicate, however, that a solution of the problem in Indiana might be expected to follow one of the lines described above.

TESTIMONY OF BEN DEMING—Resumed

MR. OSMERS. Mr. Deming, you have submitted a statement which we have put into the record, and we are going to base our questions somewhat on that. Will you tell the committee something in reference to the tomato crop in Indiana?

MR. DEMING. That is one of our problems there in Indiana, Mr. Congressman. Through the southeast and on up through the east

central and northeastern sections of Indiana, a rather large tomato crop is grown every year.

Mr. OSMERS. How many acres of tomatoes are there?

Mr. DEMING. I am sorry. I cannot remember the exact figure offhand.

Mr. OSMERS. I have a copy of your statement here.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. I believe you show in your statement there are 100,000 acres.

Mr. DEMING. Yes. There are normally some 100,000 acres planted in tomatoes, with a value of about \$5,000,000, or something like that.

FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF TOMATO PRODUCTION IN INDIANA

Mr. OSMERS. Would you tell us just what groups are interested in the production of tomatoes in Indiana?

Mr. DEMING. The actual growers themselves, the canners, and the sellers of tomato cans; and, of course, also a certain group of laboring people who earn their livelihood in raising the crop, harvesting it, and so forth.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the financial structure of the tomato business in Indiana?

Mr. DEMING. The growers are pretty largely financed by the canners. The canners are in turn to quite an extent financed by the manufacturers of tin cans.

Mr. OSMERS. I just wanted to get that straight.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. The grower—by “the grower,” do you mean the farmer who owns the land?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. He is financed by the man who places the tomatoes in the cans?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. The man who does the canning operation is financed by the man who makes the cans?

Mr. DEMING. Very frequently.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. DEMING. Not entirely, but in many cases; yes.

TOMATO-PICKING SEASON

Mr. OSMERS. Tomatoes are a highly perishable crop, as we all know. Because they are so perishable, does that bring any special problems into the production of tomatoes?

Mr. DEMING. It does. It makes it a very hazardous business in that the yield per acre, and so forth, varies tremendously from year to year, due to weather conditions, due to the ability and skill of the grower himself, how well he takes care of his crop, and due also to the availability of labor at the time the tomatoes should be picked and the skill of the workers in picking them properly.

Finally, it depends upon their ability to sell them to the canners, which again depends upon market conditions which vary from year

to year, as to the price of the crop, which determines back down the line what the canner gets, and, in turn, the grower.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the length of the tomato-picking period?

Mr. DEMING. It starts about the first part of August, or the latter part of July and runs through to about the 1st of October.

LABOR SOURCE

Mr. OSMERS. In round numbers, how many people are engaged in picking tomatoes?

Mr. DEMING. That I do not know. There have been, here and there, some estimates made. The State planning board at one time made an estimate in terms of one of the counties which happened to be one of the smaller ones. They estimated some two or three thousand there.

Mr. OSMERS. Two or three thousand for that one county?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That would not give us a total figure for the State?

Mr. DEMING. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Where does the labor come from? You say it is sort of peak-load labor that comes in to pick tomatoes?

Mr. DEMING. A large share of it comes in from outside of the State. They do not use local labor entirely. Probably at least 50 percent of it comes in from outside of the State.

DISPOSITION OF LABOR BETWEEN SEASONS

Mr. OSMERS. Where does the labor go after the season is over?

Mr. DEMING. Some of them return to their homes; part of them.

Mr. OSMERS. When you say "return to their homes," you mean they leave the State of Indiana?

Mr. DEMING. Yes; and go back where they came from. Part of them move on, following other crops, on up north into Michigan. However, a certain residue of them every year remains in Indiana, at the site of their last employment.

Mr. OSMERS. What sort of a problem does that constitute for the authorities of Indiana?

Mr. DEMING. It makes a very serious problem. These people are, by and large, unskilled. They cannot very readily find other types of employment after the picking season is over. It means they settle down there and are unemployable until the following year, when they pick tomatoes again. During this time it means they must be supported by public funds; public relief, in other words.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have any settlement laws in the State of Indiana that would make that type of relief unavailable?

Mr. DEMING. I believe the technical requirement is 1 year's residence, but in actual practice when the people are there somebody has got to take care of them either through local agencies, or in some other way.

Mr. OSMERS. Charity?

Mr. DEMING. Township trustees, and so forth. When they are there, they actually do take care of them. After they have been there

the first season, they then would become eligible under the law, when they have fulfilled the 1-year residence requirement.

Mr. OSMERS. There is not any clause in your 1-year residence law that requires you to live for 1 year in the State without receiving public assistance?

Mr. DEMING. Not that I know of.

Mr. OSMERS. In most of the States we have studied, residents on public relief does not constitute residence at all. You have to live without public relief for a specific period.

Mr. DEMING. I see.

Mr. OSMERS. In our travels, Mr. Deming, we have found in many States where there are migrant workers left over, so to speak, at the end of the season, an effort is made by the State in which they are left to send them back to the State whence they came. Does Indiana make any such effort?

Mr. DEMING. Yes. There have been from time to time such efforts made. It is rather involved. The other State naturally resists such effort, but they have actually exported them, you might say, from time to time. It is fairly expensive in itself to pay their transportation and so forth back home.

Mr. OSMERS. Aside from the pickers, how about the canning industry? Are they local Indiana workers?

Mr. DEMING. Yes. They are to a much greater extent. Some of these people have come in from outside of the State and, after the picking season is over, they attempt to find work in the canning factories. They are frequently able to do so. By and large, most of the labor employed in canning factories is local, the reason for that being that the wage scale is relatively much higher in the canning factory than for the picking, and local people are willing to accept employment in the canning factory.

Mr. OSMERS. In the canning industry in Indiana at the conclusion of the tomato-canning season, is there any other canning that continues through the year? I am trying to establish the fact as to whether this is an annual business, or a seasonal business; that is, the canning business?

Mr. DEMING. Well, that varies with the canner. They have some smaller canners located out in the tomato-picking area that can only tomatoes. Many of the larger ones, however, go right on through the fall, canning pumpkins and that sort of thing. They open up in the spring and start canning peas and corn, and they will go right on through to pumpkins in November or December. I believe pumpkins are about the last crop they can.

WAGES

Mr. OSMERS. I wonder if you would give the committee the benefit of your knowledge of the labor conditions and the wage conditions in the tomato-picking work.

Mr. DEMING. Yes. That is the crux of the problem here. By and large, the wages paid in the tomato picking, in terms of hundreds of people involved within one county, are so low the local

unemployed people are unwilling to accept that type of work, even though we may have in the county several thousand people unemployed. They are able-bodied, physically able to do the work. They refuse to accept that type of employment because of the low wages and the hard working conditions.

We have a strange situation. On the one hand we have a considerable number of local unemployed people registered with the relief agencies, W. P. A., and so forth, and at the same time we have an influx of hundreds of outsiders who accept that type of employment. It is a very difficult thing to pin down, as to what is exactly the average wage paid, for the reason that it is based on a piece rate. They pay them so much a hamper. The size of the hamper varies, and from time to time the growers will use boxes or bushel baskets, pails, or anything they can get hold of. They get paid so many cents a basket or a hamper. There are so many variables it is impossible to tell what their earnings will be. For example, weather conditions affect it. If it has rained the night before, and the vines are bent down, they can't pick nearly as fast as otherwise. It depends on how recently the field has been picked, the condition of the field, how fertile it is, and so forth.

They will pay them 4 or 5 cents for grade 1 tomatoes, for example. It is very difficult at times, due to the condition of the field in the early morning when there is dew on the tomatoes, to decide readily whether to pick them, and to pick them very readily. In the end, when they bring in their Hampers and check them, there is frequently a dispute as to what grade they have picked, and so forth.

As nearly as we can tell in the employment service in Indiana, an able-bodied man working from 14 to 16 hours a day in a normal fertile field averages from \$1.50 to \$2.50. That is not the highest amount he may make, but the average for the season would tend to show they would make \$1.50 to \$2.50.

Mr. OSMERS. Let me interrupt you right there.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Does that include anything else aside from wages? Does it include housing and food?

Mr. DEMING. It will include some provision for housing. Housing may only consist of permission to sleep in the field. It may consist of any sort of shack available on the land. That is ordinarily included, where they live far enough away so they do not commute every day out to the farm. It would include provision for housing. Normally, the season is so short it would not include provision for cows, chickens, or anything like that.

LIVING AND HEALTH CONDITIONS

Mr. OSMERS. Have you had any difficulties of a political nature on the part of local growers when they have had to go outside of the State to get labor to pick their tomatoes?

Mr. DEMING. Yes; we have, in Johnson County, Ind.

Mr. OSMERS. I am talking now about a man who is a taxpayer and contributing to the support of the local relief clients.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Then he must employ people from Kentucky or Mississippi, or some place to do work around his place.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. We have a very similar condition in my State of New Jersey. I know it has created something of a problem.

Mr. DEMING. It has been rather the other way. The nongrowers and the general public resent the action on the part of the growers being willing to hire these out-of-State people, and in many instances actually encouraging out-of-State people to come in, when there are plenty of unemployed people already there. The growers' answer to that is that if they will work, they will be glad to give the local people the jobs. The feeling seems to be there is something wrong with it.

Mr. OSMERS. We found in New Jersey there were two contributing causes to the fact that the relief client would not take this picking work. One was laziness. The second cause was a lack of physical equipment to do the work. In other words, a physical inability to spend a 14-hour back-breaking day in the field.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That would be impossible for an unemployed store clerk, or something of that sort.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say those were governing factors in Indiana also?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Some are lazy and some are not equipped to do it?

Mr. DEMING. That is true.

Mr. OSMERS. Indiana, I presume, has a State department of health.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Does the State department of health exert any control at all over living conditions of these workers?

Mr. DEMING. No; they have not so far.

Mr. OSMERS. They have not investigated?

Mr. DEMING. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Have they checked the individual health of the pickers?

Mr. DEMING. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Have they blood-tested them or anything of that sort?

Mr. DEMING. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Is there any movement on foot leading in that direction?

Mr. DEMING. Not that I know of. The State planning board did report that their housing conditions did violate the law of Indiana, but so far as I know no action has ever been taken.

Mr. OSMERS. Again referring to my own State, we have investigated the situation there very carefully. We blood tested nearly every migrant worker that came into the State, into the potato-picking fields. We found they averaged more than 40 percent syphilitic. I wonder if a similar condition exists in Indiana, whether that amount of syphilis is being brought into the State each year?

Mr. DEMING. It doubtless runs high above the State average.

Mr. OSMERS. Unquestionably.

Mr. DEMING. I would not know whether it would be that high or not.

Mr. OSMERS. In your statement you refer to a report on one of your counties that was made by the State planning board.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the State planning board?

Mr. DEMING. It is a board set up and supported by Federal and State funds, and it is largely a research unit. I believe they are associated in Washington with the National Resources Board. It is a Government research unit investigating various phases of relief, labor conditions, agricultural conditions, and natural resources of the State, the need for public works and things of that kind.

Mr. OSMERS. The name of this county they reported on, I believe, is Johnson County?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. What did the planning board say about conditions in Johnson County?

Mr. DEMING. I believe, perhaps, I ought to read that excerpt.

Mr. OSMERS. I think the committee would like to hear it.

Mr. DEMING. These two paragraphs are excerpts from the official report made by the State planning board with respect to Johnson County:

Vegetable canning, the principal industry, is a seasonal occupation and therefore has created serious economic and social problems attendant upon seasonal employment. Migration from Kentucky is responsible for a large part of the relief population. Housing among relief clients, especially those originating in Kentucky, is extremely bad and violates minimum standards of living, legal and otherwise, although rural housing is generally above the average for the State.

Pay rolls are loaded with transient Kentuckians while many employable citizens of Indiana are on relief rolls because of lack of employment.

LABOR EMPLOYMENT

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say that is a statement that would apply to the rest of the agricultural parts of Indiana?

Mr. DEMING. No. I would say it would be pretty much limited to the tomato-picking section.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. DEMING. It would apply generally throughout that area.

Mr. OSMERS. I wanted to delineate that area.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. You say there are no accurate figures as to the number of these migratory laborers that come into the State?

Mr. DEMING. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Could you answer this: Do these people, upon their own initiative, come there, or are they brought there by labor contractors, or perhaps foremen of the growers whose tomatoes are to be picked?

Mr. DEMING. To some extent they come on their own initiative. I know there are growers who advertise in newspapers in Kentucky.

Ordinarily the ad takes the form of announcing that they will have a truck down there at a certain hour on a certain date, and everybody who wants to come up and work there will be transported by them. They send the truck down. The people will gather in the village square, the courthouse, or some place down there, and they bring them up.

Mr. OSMERS. This is certainly of great interest to this committee, although it may be aside from your knowledge: Do you happen to know what most of these tomato pickers do for the remainder of the year?

Mr. DEMING. Down in Kentucky, for example?

Mr. OSMERS. In Kentucky, or wherever they come from.

Mr. DEMING. They live in those little rural sections down there. I do not mean Louisville, or any of those cities. They are from the southern part of Kentucky. They live out on little farms. They farm. Most of them are farm people.

Mr. OSMERS. More or less subsistence farmers, as we call them?

Mr. DEMING. Yes. They are tenant farmers and sharecroppers. The children, the sons and daughters, come and work for a couple of months, and then return to the old folks, having picked up a little cash.

Mr. OSMERS. Right on that point, do they have women and children working in these tomato fields?

Mr. DEMING. Yes. Some of these growers do employ women and children.

Mr. OSMERS. Does the State of Indiana attempt to do anything about enforcing child-labor restrictions?

Mr. DEMING. We have no child-labor laws that cover the employment of children in agriculture. There are some applying to the mining industry, but not agriculture.

Mr. OSMERS. These pickers that come for the tomato season are not annual migratory workers; that is, they do not follow the crops from the extreme South up to the North, and go back?

Mr. DEMING. No. A large part of them come up for this one crop.

Mr. OSMERS. A large proportion of them come up just for the tomato-picking season?

Mr. DEMING. Yes; and then return.

Mr. OSMERS. They get a little cash, and go back?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. You are with the employment service?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Therefore, you might be expected to have a part in placing these people. Does your employment service go into the placing of these workers or not?

Mr. DEMING. No; we do not. We faced this problem 2 or 3 years ago when we did get a large number of orders from the growers for tomato pickers. In this region hundreds of people registered with us for work. As we got into it, through our local offices, and attempted to refer them, and place them, more and more we got to the point where we decided that, with rare exceptions, it was a substandard

job, and therefore involved the type of employment which from a public relations standpoint, we should avoid.

Our standard rule is that we do not refer people to substandard jobs, substandard in terms of wages, living conditions, or health conditions.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you feel it is within the jurisdiction of your agency to pass upon the working conditions, or not?

Mr. DEMING. I believe it is to the extent of determining whether or not a job is, as I say, substandard, if it is a pretty clear-cut case—beyond that, no.

Mr. OSMERS. Carrying it to the extreme, if it was clearly a case of substandard working conditions, do you feel it would be within the scope of the agency with which you are connected to become, shall we say, almost a law-enforcement agency? After all, you would be enforcing the State health laws of the State of Indiana, yet you are the State employment service.

Mr. DEMING. Yes. That is true. We would refuse to send applicants.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. DEMING. I believe we have that responsibility.

Mr. OSMERS. I might express my own opinion that I do not believe your agency has the power to do that, but that is just my own personal opinion.

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. What is your procedure, presuming that I am operating a farm on substandard wage conditions and living conditions out 100 miles from your offices, somewhere? How would you be aware of that?

Mr. DEMING. We would not get involved in it at all until such time as you came to our office to obtain workers.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. It would be after I did that?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you then investigate me?

Mr. DEMING. Yes. We would want to find out something about you; what your reputation had been the year before, and that sort of thing. That can very easily be done through the people there in town, the canners, or that sort of thing. If nothing else, we might send out a half a dozen people to try it out and see how they came out.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, it would be word-of-mouth testimony. If some dissatisfied worker said he had been employed at my place, and I had been very unfair to him the year before, you would feel it within your province to refuse?

Mr. DEMING. No. It would have to be considerably more than that. It would have to be a case where a great number of workers unanimously singled you out, and refused to work for you. In other words, there would have to be a number of them who would say, "I will work for you and you and you, but not one single one of us here in town would work for him." We would think there must be some pretty good reason then.

Mr. OSMERS. What I want to get at is, do you feel the present law under which your employment service was established should be

changed so the things you are now doing, in my opinion, illegally, could be done legally, so that you would then have some opportunity for observing working conditions and checking on hours and wages?

Mr. DEMING. Well, only to this extent: I think we are within our rights in turning down jobs that involve anything that is illegal. For example, if we, as one governmental agency, should place an applicant in employment that later developed to be illegal, such as placing a 14-year-old in a mining job, which the State labor law strictly forbids, we would be in a defenseless position when the State labor department came to us. The employer would use us as an alibi. He would say, "Well, the employment service recommended this employee," and we would then be in a defenseless position.

We believe we can defend that kind of action. It must be definitely illegal employment in terms of actual State statutes, or definitely substandard, and then in the public interest we believe we are justified in refusing to refer people to that type of employment.

Mr. OSMERS. What part of this agricultural industry, so to speak, is under the provisions of the wage-and-hours law?

Mr. DEMING. The principal canning factories are, the larger ones, located in the larger towns. As I recall, the provisions of the wages-and-hours law, it is determined partly by whether they can produce outside of the immediate area of production, and partly by the size town in which they are located. The canning factories in Indianapolis are subject to the wages-and-hours law. In many of our other towns a good many of them are subject to the Federal wages-and-hours law.

Mr. OSMERS. Are any of these migratory workers organized?

Mr. DEMING. No. There has been practically no activity along that line in Indiana.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you feel it would be helpful if they were?

Mr. DEMING. It might be one possible solution. I think it would be an extremely difficult undertaking for anyone to organize them.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean there would not be much money in it?

Mr. DEMING. I think that is true. It would afford such a small amount, the monthly dues and that sort of thing, you could not offer much of an inducement.

Mr. OSMERS. It is rather a fluid group to work with, with respect to forming any organization?

Mr. DEMING. Yes. I would not say that was very likely to happen.

Mr. OSMERS. Probably not. The employment does not exist long enough to justify it.

Mr. DEMING. That is true.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. OSMERS. What would your recommendations be to improve conditions for migratory workers in the State of Indiana?

Mr. DEMING. We have had many sessions with various State departments and agencies on this very subject. We run into one stone wall, and that is this: Any action on the part of the State government that would tend to raise the cost of production of tomatoes, for

example, a minimum-wage law requiring growers to pay a certain minimum wage of 25 or 30 cents an hour, it is claimed—I do not question it at all—would put Indiana canners at such a competitive disadvantage that the result would undoubtedly be not to raise wages among the pickers in Indiana, but the result would be to do away with the tomato-raising industry in Indiana, because they can raise them in the surrounding States very readily.

In most of these canning factories they have not such a big investment that they could not move the thing in a couple of days over into Ohio, Kentucky, and so forth. The argument that is continually raised by many well-informed people is that that would be the inevitable result of any minimum-wage legislation or any strict control over housing, necessitating them to furnish one farmhouse for so many people in the same family, or that sort of thing, which would definitely increase the cost to the grower, forcing him to go out and build homes for them, and so forth.

Mr. CURTIS. I would like to ask a question right there, if I may interrupt, Mr. Osmers.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes; certainly.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it not true, in dealing with the producer of agricultural products, that when you raise wages and other costs it does not raise the price of tomatoes or corn or anything else that is paid to the grower, but it really is deducted from that?

Mr. DEMING. Yes. That is the net effect.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. DEMING. Because, by and large, the canners in the end are still competing, and they feel that they could not pay the grower anything beyond a certain price. If this labor cost increases, that is more or less his problem. They still are going to pay them about the same price.

Mr. CURTIS. If the price of tomatoes and other agricultural products is up high, then you do not have a great deal of quarrel with those growers to pay adequate wages, do you?

Mr. DEMING. Well, there would certainly be a tendency in that direction. The wider the margin they have to work on, in other words, the more ready they are to pay higher wages.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. DEMING. It is difficult. They are squeezed down to where they do not see how they are going to come out, anyway.

Mr. CURTIS. They do often reach a point where the price of their crop is very near to what they have to pay out?

Mr. DEMING. That is very true.

Mr. CURTIS. In wages and other items?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Sometimes just a little bit more will put them out of business?

Mr. DEMING. That is very true.

Mr. OSMERS. I would like to ask one more question. Do you have a canners' association in Indiana?

Mr. DEMING. Yes; we do.

Mr. OSMERS. Is it an important, powerful, and effective group?

Mr. DEMING. Yes; it is. It is rather important there. They send their representatives down to Washington for long periods of time, and claim to do considerable good. It is a rather important group.

Mr. OSMERS. Are they a forward-looking group of citizens? Are they interested in working conditions? And are they interested in labor standards?

Mr. DEMING. I believe they are a little bit more interested in marketing arrangements and in the wages-and-hours law as applied to their own canning factories, and in taxation, State taxation and things of that kind, rather than conditions pertaining to labor.

Mr. OSMERS. They have very little to do directly—

Mr. DEMING. They are one step removed from the grower.

Mr. OSMERS. They have very little to do directly with the employment of this migratory labor?

Mr. DEMING. That is true; but I would say they deal with at least 90 percent of all the tomato growers, so it would be a very representative association, pretty well financed.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say the wages-and-hours law should be extended to agriculture?

Mr. DEMING. I do not believe I would be qualified to answer that question directly. That would have the one advantage of eliminating this argument that no one State can afford to raise their cost of production, because of the unfair competitive advantage. That would remove that objection, if it were a national scheme. If the tomato raisers in Ohio and Michigan had to pay the same labor costs, I am sure the Indiana people would have no objection to paying 20 or 25 or 30 percent higher wages, or whatever it would be, as long as everybody else is going to pay the same thing.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you anticipate you would have some difficulty in enforcement, because of the varying benefits that are given to the workers in addition to the cash they receive?

Mr. DEMING. That is true. It would be extremely difficult.

Mr. OSMERS. We have found every extreme, where they receive just cash, where they receive cash and substandard housing, where they receive cash and good housing, and where they receive cash, housing, and food. It might make it a pretty difficult problem to enforce it effectively.

Mr. DEMING. I think it would be extremely difficult.

Mr. OSMERS. But you feel it would eliminate the competitive argument?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Where one State might have it and not the others?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all I have.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions?

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION—LOCAL AND INTERSTATE

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have a question. Mr. Deming, I was just wondering, with reference to your referring these people to the growers, or your refusing to refer them, if you found out it was a substandard

job. I have read over your requirements, and I was just wondering if, instead of insisting upon the letter of those requirements, you could not work out some kind of a satisfactory arrangement with the growers themselves? For instance, down at Montgomery we found that instead of the employment service applying a definite rule—of course, that was with reference to cotton pickers—the pickers themselves often applied the rule. In other words, the word got around that over on this plantation they do not receive the right treatment, and therefore they will not go over there. The pickers just would not go.

He said that the net result of that was that all of the plantation owners came to pretty much the same scale of operation in order to remove that competitive feature. I was just wondering if perhaps conditions could not be gradually lifted up——

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Through some kind of cooperative effort?

Mr. DEMING. Yes. That is very possible. This standard is not quite as arbitrary as it sounds. What we ask our local office managers is, "Under what conditions can you refer local unemployed people? You tell us you cannot handle these orders, because it means you have to send down to Kentucky to obtain laborers and that everybody is going to be on your neck if you bring up Kentuckians, when you have these local people registered in your offices."

There were conditions under which they could not get local people to take the work. We felt that we could not consistently clear those orders and go outside of the State, when we had plenty of local qualified people who refused to take the job, because, in their judgment, at least, it was substandard, and they were unwilling to take it. We would place ourselves in the employment office in a bad light if we were responsible for bringing in hundreds and thousands of out-of-State people when they had at the same time these local unemployed people.

Mr. OSMERS. Have any people been removed from relief in Indiana because they refused to accept labor of this type?

Mr. DEMING. No.

Mr. OSMERS. They have not?

Mr. DEMING. No. W. P. A. will not remove them from the rolls. They have ruled it is unsuitable employment.

Mr. OSMERS. One of the requirements here is to receive at least 30 cents an hour. Do W. P. A. workers received 30 cents an hour?

Mr. DEMING. It is about \$45 a month for 130 hours.

Mr. SPARKMAN. With respect to these people in Indianapolis, I notice you say you have a sufficient number within 25 miles of this area to do the work?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They do not do it because of the fact that they regard it as substandard?

Mr. DEMING. Yes; because of the low wages.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does the question of experience have anything to do with it?

Mr. DEMING. Yes. Of course, your industrial workers in Indianapolis, even if the wages were a little bit higher, would not take this

work on a piece-work basis. They wouldn't go out and work 14 or 16 hours during a day, work all day in the hot sun carrying hampers, crates, and so forth. We have plenty of people in Indianapolis who have migrated in from the rural areas. We could easily pick up several hundred people who had worked on the farms up until the last year or two and had done that type of work, who were farmers, farm hands, and so forth. We have plenty of people available, limited strictly to men who have been raised on the farms as boys, or who have had work on the farm up until the last year or two.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe you said that not many of these people remain; most of them go back home?

Mr. DEMING. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They just come and stay during the season?

Mr. DEMING. I would say by far the majority do go home. There is some residue, but the majority do go back home.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe you stated your State department of health does not exercise control over housing and sanitary conditions?

Mr. DEMING. No. So far as I know, they have never made an investigation or a public statement on this situation.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have county health units in each county?

Mr. DEMING. Well, yes. They represent a county official, responsible for the county, a health officer or something along that line. They have protested frequently, but nothing has ever come of it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that is all.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions? [No response.] Thank you very much, Mr. Deming. Your paper has been made a part of our formal record. You are excused.

(Whereupon Mr. Deming was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF LEANDER TUNGATE

Mr. PARSONS. The next witness will be Mr. Tungate. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you, Mr. Tungate.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Tungate, give your full name and address to the reporter, please.

Mr. TUNGATE. Leander Tungate, Greenwood, Ind., route 1.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you married?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Any children?

Mr. TUNGATE. Five.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where are you from, originally?

Mr. TUNGATE. Kentucky.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How did you happen to come to Indiana?

Mr. TUNGATE. Well, my wife had a brother up there. He had a tomato crop that he wanted picked. I wanted to help pick the tomatoes. I came up here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When was that?

Mr. TUNGATE. 1932 or 1933. I don't know which.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, then, did you stay?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes. I didn't stay exactly at all times, though. Through the summer and fall I would stay and then go back to Kentucky a couple of months through the worst of the winter.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then come back up in the spring?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is the tomato-picking season? When does it start in Indiana?

Mr. TUNGATE. You mean, picking, setting, or which?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Whatever work you do. Did you do all of the work?

Mr. TUNGATE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you do?

Mr. TUNGATE. Well, I have set, and I have picked.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, I presume they use regular workers for preparing the ground, setting them out and cultivating?

Mr. TUNGATE. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And then they have an influx of workers that comes to do the picking?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When is the picking season?

Mr. TUNGATE. Well, it is now. It is starting now, and runs until about frost, or something near that. I have picked them after they froze.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does your wife work in the tomato fields?

Mr. TUNGATE. Once in a while.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Any of your children?

Mr. TUNGATE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old is your oldest child?

Mr. TUNGATE. Well, I believe she is 10 or a little over.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you own your own home?

Mr. TUNGATE. No. I don't own nothing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have a cow?

Mr. TUNGATE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have a garden?

Mr. TUNGATE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Any chickens?

Mr. TUNGATE. About six, I think.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you do in Kentucky before you came up here?

Mr. TUNGATE. Well, I farmed a little bit. I just worked on wages part of the time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. On the farm?

Mr. TUNGATE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As a farm laborer?

Mr. TUNGATE. I didn't own no farm.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I did not mean that. You said you worked for wages.

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. On the farm?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Were you a farm laborer?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of a house do you live in?

Mr. TUNGATE. Not much.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you mean? Do you rent a house?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What rent do you pay?

Mr. TUNGATE. \$2 a month.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many rooms?

Mr. TUNGATE. One.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You and your wife and how many children?

Mr. TUNGATE. Five.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You all live in that one room?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you cook in that room?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You sleep there?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is there any other room in connection with it, any outside room, or anything?

Mr. TUNGATE. No. That is just one room.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have running water?

Mr. TUNGATE. No. We have got a well.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you make per year, about what income?

Mr. TUNGATE. Well, that would be kind of hard to say. I wouldn't know. Of course, it varies from year to year, according to conditions.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was just wondering what it would amount to in round numbers.

Mr. TUNGATE. I just wouldn't have no idea.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much can you make a day during the picking season?

Mr. TUNGATE. Around 3 or 4 dollars, in what time I get to work at that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is the work pretty regular during the season?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes, it is; during the season.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The season will not last more than 2½ or 3 months, will it?

Mr. TUNGATE. Something near that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you ever worked at the cannery?

Mr. TUNGATE. Very little.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do migrants have any trouble coming into the county? Do they try to keep them out, or run them out, or anything like that?

Mr. TUNGATE. Well, they have a little trouble, I have heard. I don't know nothing about it, as far as I am concerned.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have never been disturbed?

Mr. TUNGATE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As a matter of fact, you are an old resident over there now yourself, are you not?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How do tomato pickers live when they come up into Johnson County? Are their living conditions pretty much the same as yours, or not so good?

Mr. TUNGATE. Not so good.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They live outside, do they?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In tents, shacks, or what?

Mr. TUNGATE. Just in school-bus bodies, tents, or anything they can get to stay in.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just anything they can find?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of sanitary facilities do you have? Are there any sanitary closets of any kind?

Mr. TUNGATE. I put up myself.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You put up one yourself?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. With respect to these migrants who come in, do they have any sanitary facilities?

Mr. TUNGATE. I don't think so.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where do they go after they finish tomato picking in Johnson County?

Mr. TUNGATE. Most of them goes back.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Back to Kentucky?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is where most of them come from, is it not?

Mr. TUNGATE. Kentucky, Tennessee, and Florida is where most of them come from.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you know how many acres of tomatoes are usually grown in Johnson County?

Mr. TUNGATE. I wouldn't have no idea.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you know how many people it requires to harvest the crop each year?

Mr. TUNGATE. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that is all.

Mr. CURTIS. How large a family did you say you had?

Mr. TUNGATE. Five.

Mr. CURTIS. How long have you been in Indiana?

Mr. TUNGATE. I have been there 6 years, off and on.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you sought public relief at any time?

Mr. TUNGATE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Did they consider you a resident of Indiana for that purpose?

Mr. TUNGATE. They ought to. I voted.

Mr. CURTIS. You had no trouble getting it from the residence standpoint?

Mr. TUNGATE. No. I didn't have no trouble.

Mr. CURTIS. With reference to this one-room house you spoke of, what is the size of that room?

Mr. TUNGATE. I believe it is about 16 by 18, or something near that. I wouldn't know exactly.

Mr. CURTIS. What part of Indiana is this located in?

Mr. TUNGATE. Johnson County.

Mr. CURTIS. Where is Johnson County?

Mr. TUNGATE. Well, it is south of Marion.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you any questions, Congressman Osmer?

Mr. OSMERS. No, thank you.

Mr. PARSONS. Thank you very much, Mr. Tungate. We appreciate your coming before us.

(Whereupon Mr. Tungate was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM G. MURRAY, PROFESSOR OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, IOWA STATE COLLEGE, AMES, IOWA

Mr. PARSONS. The next witness will be Mr. Murray.

Mr. CURTIS. Give your full name to the reporter, please, Mr. Murray.

Mr. MURRAY. William G. Murray.

Mr. CURTIS. What is your occupation?

Mr. MURRAY. Professor of agricultural economics, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.

Mr. CURTIS. You are out where the tall corn grows, are you not?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Murray, you have made a very interesting study here. I have your statement before me, and I find it very interesting. Your entire paper will be made a part of our record. Because this is a Nation-wide hearing, eventually in our report we must rely upon the printed page.

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY WILLIAM G. MURRAY, PROFESSOR OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, IOWA STATE COLLEGE, AMES, IOWA

The farm financial situation in the Middle West and especially in Iowa may be summarized briefly in four points:

1. The large reduction in farm-mortgage debt during the last 15 years has been brought about chiefly by foreclosures and other forced sales.

2. Although less than one-half of the farm land is mortgaged, the land under mortgage is heavily mortgaged. Owner-operated land is more frequently mortgaged than land of absentee owners.

3. Foreclosures and other forced sales have been concentrated in certain areas. Drought, soil erosion, and overvaluation have been the principal reasons for the distress in these problem areas. Corporate ownership of land is heavy in these areas.

4. The trend in farm size is toward more large farms and more small farms, and toward less farms of medium size. Modern tractors and equipment are responsible for this two-way pressure.

Recommendations for improvement of the situation, particularly in the problem areas, include the following:

1. Increased use of the sale contract by corporations in selling their farm land to tenants;

2. Expansion of the tenant-purchase program of the Farm Security Administration through the use of Federal Land Bank and Land Bank Commissioner loans; (use of these loans would make appropriated funds cover more than twice the present number of tenants);

3. Increased use of variable payments on principal by lending agencies, the payment varying with the crop or livestock returns;

4. More emphasis on appraising land in terms of what it will produce; and

5. Provision of small, part-time or self-sufficing, farm units for people crowded out by increasing size of farm.

Mortgage indebtedness declined in the Middle West and in Iowa almost continuously between 1925 and 1939. The largest drop took place during the years 1931-35. These were the years when foreclosures and other forced sales were the highest. Most of the debt reduction was accomplished, as the data indicate, by cancelation through forced sales. (See exhibits A, B, C, and D.)

One of the striking facts in the financial situation is the large number of farms without any mortgage debt. Almost two-thirds of the farms in the United States in 1935 were clear of mortgage. But this favorable fact has two qualifications. First, the situation is less favorable on the owner-operated farms; 25.1 percent of the tenant farms are mortgaged and 41.5 percent of the owner-operated farms. Secondly, those farms that are mortgaged are heavily mortgaged. Evidence on these points is presented in exhibits E, F, and G.

The depression has hit some areas much more seriously than others. These distress areas are indicated by the maps showing the location of land owned by corporations (exhibits H and P). In Iowa, insurance companies have more farm land than any other lending agency (exhibits K and L). In Iowa and other Middle West States drought and soil erosion have been an important cause of the financial distress (exhibits M and N). The distribution of Farm Security Administration standard-loan cases in Iowa bears out the concentration of financial distress in certain restricted areas (exhibit O). The effects of the drought are evident in the reduction in land values which has occurred in the drought States (exhibit Q).

Tractors and modern equipment are causing a steady expansion in the size of farm most profitable to operate. As a result, the 160-acre family-sized farm is growing into a 200- or 240-acre family-sized farm. Adjoining farms or parts of farms are being rented or bought by farmers in order to keep their tractors and equipment busy. Many of the tenants who are displaced in this process are locating apparently on small part-time, or self-sufficing farm units. This two-way movement toward more larger and more smaller farms is indicated, for Iowa, in exhibit R. A similar tendency is evident in other middle west States.

The depression, with its concentration of foreclosures and other forced sales in certain problem areas, created a tenancy problem in these areas. Soil erosion and heavy cropping, which accounted in part for the foreclosures, continue to be major obstacles as long as the land is on the market. Tenants who are farming this land cannot be blamed for taking a short-sighted view when they know the farms may be sold at any time. Those lending corporations who are selling to tenants on contract with a small down payment are assisting materially in relieving the tenant problem in areas where foreclosures have been high.

Another means of assisting able tenants into ownership would be an expansion of the tenant-purchase program of the Farm Security Administration. On January 1, 1940, the Farm Security Administration reported only 466 tenant-purchase loans in the east north-central States and 804 in the west north-central division. In Iowa the total number of borrowers was 198. Since funds for these loans must come from direct appropriations, it would appear desirable to arrange Federal Land Bank and Land Bank Commissioner loans to the tenant-purchase borrowers and to use the appropriated funds for the amount not covered by these loans.

Financial distress in the Middle West and the Great Plains region could be greatly reduced if arrangements were made in advance for handling mortgage delinquencies caused by drought and exceptionally low prices. The farmer's peace of mind and his attitude toward the mortgage-lending agency would be improved measurably if the principal payment on his mortgage varied with his income or with his crop returns. In the past, mortgage agencies have been operating as if farmers in the Great Plains could pay cash rent each year, whereas, as most landlords agree, a share of the crop is the better arrangement where yields and prices are highly variable. What is needed is a plan whereby the farmer makes a payment on his mortgage similar to the crop-share payment to the landlord. The Farm Security Administration has been using this plan in some cases.

Two other recommendations include better appraising and provision of small part-time or self-sufficing farms for those farmers who are unable to obtain average-sized farms. Better appraising means more emphasis on the income-producing ability of the land and less on what it will bring in the market.

EXHIBIT B

TABLE 1.—*Estimated farm-mortgage debt and number of farm-mortgage foreclosures in Iowa, 1915-38*

[Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station]

	Estimated farm-mortgage debt	Estimated number of farm-mort- gage fore- closures		Estimated farm-mortgage debt	Estimated number of farm-mort- gage fore- closures
Year, as of Jan. 1—			Year as of Jan. 1—Con.		
1915.....		200	1928.....	1,395,000,000	1,875
1916.....	\$685,000,000	190	1929.....	1,350,000,000	1,500
1917.....	760,000,000	110	1930.....	1,310,000,000	1,500
1918.....	865,000,000	170	1931.....	1,280,000,000	3,400
1919.....	960,000,000	110	1932.....	1,190,000,000	6,400
1920.....	1,070,000,000	150	1933.....	1,020,000,000	3,700
1921.....	1,500,000,000	790	1934.....	920,000,000	4,100
1922.....	1,610,000,000	1,950	1935.....	810,000,000	2,000
1923.....	1,600,000,000	1,875	1936.....	770,000,000	1,450
1924.....	1,620,000,000	2,260	1937.....	740,000,000	1,375
1925.....	1,605,000,000	2,325	1938.....	720,000,000	550
1926.....	1,530,000,000	2,160	1939.....	710,000,000	-----
1927.....	1,470,000,000	2,300			

EXHIBIT C

TABLE 2.—*Estimated farm-mortgage debt of East and West North Central States, 1925-39¹*

	East North Central ²	West North Central ³	Total
Year, as of Jan. 1—			
1925.....	\$1,939,000,000	\$4,278,000,000	\$6,217,000,000
1926.....	1,887,000,000	4,009,000,000	5,896,000,000
1927.....	1,855,000,000	3,808,000,000	5,663,000,000
1928.....	1,881,000,000	3,779,000,000	5,660,000,000
1929.....	1,918,000,000	3,735,000,000	5,653,000,000
1930.....	1,884,000,000	3,570,000,000	5,454,000,000
1931.....	1,819,000,000	3,474,000,000	5,294,000,000
1932.....	1,758,000,000	3,342,000,000	5,100,000,000
1933.....	1,658,000,000	3,082,000,000	4,740,000,000
1934.....	1,523,000,000	2,761,000,000	4,284,000,000
1935.....	1,535,000,000	2,694,000,000	4,229,000,000
1936.....	1,518,000,000	2,611,000,000	4,129,000,000
1937.....	1,471,000,000	2,467,000,000	3,938,000,000
1938.....	1,433,000,000	2,376,000,000	3,809,000,000
1939.....	1,409,000,000	2,291,000,000	3,700,000,000

¹ From Agricultural Finance Review, U. S. Department of Agriculture, vol. 2, No. 2, November 1939.² States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.³ States of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

EXHIBIT D

TABLE 3.—*Voluntary sales and forced sales per 1,000 farms in East and West North Central areas, 1926-39*¹

	Voluntary sales		Forced sales	
	East North Central ²	West North Central ²	East North Central	West North Central
Year ending Mar. 15:				
1926.....	25.8	23.0	18.9	30.8
1927.....	25.8	24.3	20.4	32.0
1928.....	24.0	23.9	20.7	32.4
1929.....	21.0	22.4	19.1	25.9
1930.....	20.8	22.9	22.3	27.5
1931.....	18.6	18.9	24.0	31.3
1932.....	16.8	14.2	34.3	52.5
1933.....	15.6	13.8	43.9	72.0
1934.....	16.5	15.5	32.0	50.9
1935.....	18.7	17.7	23.5	40.6
1936.....	23.9	22.5	22.1	38.0
1937.....	33.9	28.1	19.0	31.7
1938.....	29.0	26.9	13.5	27.0
1939 ³	27.1	26.3	13.5	26.9

¹ From Farm Real Estate Situation, U. S. Department of Agriculture (Various circulars.)² For States included, see table 2.³ Preliminary.

EXHIBIT E

TABLE 4.—*Farm-mortgage debt in Story County, Iowa, 1925-39*¹

	Number of mortgages	Total mortgage debt outstanding	Land mortgaged as percentage of all land	Debt per acre of land mortgaged
Year as of Jan. 1:				
1925.....	2,396	\$23,520,000	60	\$110
1930.....	2,064	19,435,000	59	93
1931.....	2,043	18,682,000	59	90
1932.....	1,984	17,038,000	59	81
1933.....	1,947	16,115,000	59	77
1934.....	1,805	14,458,000	54	75
1935.....	1,860	13,729,000	54	71
1936.....	1,808	12,900,000	53	68
1937.....	1,785	12,464,000	53	67
1938.....	1,778	11,902,000	51	66
1939.....	1,777	11,960,000	51	67

¹ For data prior to 1932, see Res. Bul. 156, Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station. Figures for 1932 are revised.

EXHIBIT F

TABLE 5.—*Mortgaged farms as percent of all farms according to tenure, 1935, in selected areas*¹

Areas	Owner-operated farms	Tenant or manager-operated farms	All farms	Areas	Owner-operated farms	Tenant or manager-operated farms	All farms
	Percent	Percent	Percent		Percent	Percent	Percent
United States.....	41.5	25.1	34.5	Indiana.....	44.8	28.0	39.4
East North Central.....	45.1	23.0	38.4	Illinois.....	41.0	18.9	31.0
West North Central.....	54.7	25.2	42.0	Iowa.....	57.8	29.6	43.6
				Nebraska.....	61.0	26.1	43.6

¹ From Farm Mortgage Indebtedness in the United States, cooperative survey, U. S. Department of Commerce and U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1937.

EXHIBIT G

TABLE 6.—*Estimated percentage of owner-operated farms mortgaged, 1920, 1930, and 1935, for selected areas*¹

Area	1920	1930	1935	Area	1920	1930	1935
United States.....	41.1	44.6	41.5	Illinois.....	42.6	44.0	41.0
East North Central.....	45.8	48.1	45.1	Iowa.....	59.1	60.9	57.8
West North Central.....	56.9	57.1	54.7	Nebraska.....	56.6	61.0	61.0
Indiana.....	41.3	48.0	44.8				

¹ From Agricultural Finance Review, U. S. Department of Agriculture, vol. 1, No. 2, November 1938.

EXHIBIT L

TABLE 7.—*Land holdings of corporations by type of corporation,*¹ 1933-39

Type of corporation	Acreage (000 omitted)				Percent of all farm land in Iowa owned by corporations			
	1933	1935	1937	1939	1933	1935	1937	1939
Insurance companies.....	1,343	2,044	2,510	2,752	3.9	6.0	7.4	8.1
Deposit banks, open and closed.....	536	499	388	347	1.6	1.5	1.1	1.0
Federal land bank ²	76	129	189	232	.2	.4	.6	.7
Joint stock and banks.....	256	276	253	253	.85	.8	.7	.7
Land, investment, and mortgage companies.....	332	317	290	241	1.0	1.0	.9	.7
Miscellaneous.....	145	166	181	219	.4	.4	.5	.7
Total.....	2,683	3,431	3,811	4,044	7.9	10.1	11.2	11.

¹ Data for 1933 center approximately on September, for all other years center on January.² Includes Land holdings of Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation.

EXHIBIT Q

TABLE 8.—*Form real estate: Estimated value per acre, in terms of pre-war acreage value, by selected areas, Mar. 1, 1920, 1930, 1935, 1940*¹

Areas	1920	1930	1935	1940	Areas	1920	1930	1935	1940
United States.....	170	115	79	85	Illinois.....	160	91	61	75
East North Central.....	160	96	68	78	Iowa.....	213	113	67	74
West North Central.....	184	109	68	67	Nebraska.....	179	113	72	65
Indiana.....	161	80	61	74	South Dakota.....	181	93	54	45

¹ From press release, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Apr. 17, 1940.

EXHIBIT R

TABLE 9.—*Farms in Iowa classified according to size, Federal census, 1925, 1935*

Size group	Number		Percentage		Size group	Number		Percentage	
	1925	1935	1925	1935		1925	1935	1925	1935
Under 20 acres.....	13, 125	18, 812	6.2	8.5	250 to 499 acres.....	23, 503	25, 619	11.0	11.5
20 to 49 acres.....	12, 593	13, 813	5.9	6.2	500 to 999 acres.....	1, 789	2, 047	.8	.9
50 to 99 acres.....	34, 528	34, 285	16.2	15.4	1,000 acres and over.....	104	151	-----	.1
100 to 174 acres.....	86, 373	84, 917	40.5	38.3	Total.....	213, 490	221, 986	100.0	100.0
175 to 259 acres.....	41, 475	42, 342	19.4	19.1					

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM G. MURRAY—Resumed

Mr. CURTIS. There are a few things about it I would like to make some inquiry on.

Mr. MURRAY. I will be glad to answer any questions you may wish to ask.

FARM DEBT SITUATION

Mr. CURTIS. You have discussed the situation with regard to farm mortgages. We know there has been a decline in the total farm indebtedness from 1925 to 1939. To what do you attribute this decline?

Mr. MURRAY. The main reason is the cancelation of debt through foreclosure and through the forced deeding over of land to creditors. A large amount of the so-called debt reduction has actually been liquidation, and has resulted in farm owners becoming farm tenants.

Mr. CURTIS. Does that mean that fewer families or more families are making their homes and securing their living from the land in general?

Mr. MURRAY. That in itself has very little to do with the number of families that are making a living on farms. It has meant chiefly that men who were farm owners are now farm tenants. Of course, farm tenancy, as far as we can gather, in Iowa, and to some extent in the Middle West, is not increasing. We will have to wait, however, to get the 1940 census returns to be sure that our estimate is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. Is the owner-operated land more frequently mortgaged than the land of absentee owners?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; it is quite definitely so in practically all the areas where we have made any investigation. It is also shown by all the statistics of the Federal census and Department of Agriculture that owner-operated farms are more frequently mortgaged. That is more true now, because a great many of the absentee-owned farms are insurance company, Federal land bank, and other creditor agency farms.

Mr. CURTIS. Is the land occupied and farmed by tenants heavily mortgaged, usually, or clear of mortgage?

Mr. MURRAY. It is more often clear of mortgage. If a farm is owned by an absentee owner there is a greater chance of its being without a mortgage than the other way around.

Mr. CURTIS. That is especially true if it is corporately owned?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; and more especially in recent years since the first-mortgage holders, such as the insurance companies, the Federal Land Bank, and so forth, have had to take over a large amount of land.

Mr. CURTIS. This committee is studying the interstate migration of destitute citizens. With respect to this farm owner and mortgage situation generally, what relation has that to keeping people on the farms, and particularly the youth?

Mr. MURRAY. The terrific personal tragedy resulting from the foreclosure and the deeding over of land to mortgage holders has broken home ties, and has made it much easier for people to give up their idea of remaining in a community and becoming attached to the soil. We find many young men who previously would have become farmers and farm owners, and would have been interested in staying in the community, now feel otherwise, because they have seen their fathers lose all that they had, because they did farm, and during the depression the father was unable to hold on to the farm.

PREVAILING TREND TO LARGER FARMS

Mr. CURTIS. What does this situation that you have described have to do with the trend toward larger farms or smaller farms?

Mr. MURRAY. The debt situation itself has not contributed much to the size of farms. The main factor which has disturbed the size of farms is modern equipment and to some extent other minor functions of technological improvement. The increase in the capacity of the tractor, and modern equipment, makes it possible now for one man to operate much more land than he did previously.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MURRAY. That has forced many farmers to increase the size of their farms if they could. We find it quite common for a farmer on 160 acres to look around for a spare 40 or 80, or to pick up another farm, so as to get enough additional land to make it profitable for him to use this modern equipment.

Mr. CURTIS. That situation prevails in Iowa?

Mr. MURRAY. I think it also prevails in other States, such as the State of Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. The point I was coming to is this: It is more marked when we come to the semiarid land?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. Because of the high cost of machinery and other things, they must go into farming on a larger scale?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. I think you will also find—I wonder if you will agree with me—that in the more semiarid land, when the mortgagee takes this land over, if he has two or three farms and can locate one outstanding tenant, he is more apt to rent all of that land to one person, while before they were foreclosed, each one of them maintained a farmer?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. By diversifying the use of gardens and that sort of thing it was possible for each one of them to maintain a farmer?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes. I think there is good evidence on that which bears out your point. As you go through some of the Great Plains area, and also even in Iowa, you will find abandoned farmsteads, but not abandoned land. The farmsteads are abandoned because, as you suggest, some of the better tenants with modern machinery are farming this land which was previously farmed by three or four tenants. It is now being farmed by one or two.

Mr. CURTIS. I have observed from the census reports that some of the counties in my district have lost 25 percent of their population. They were farming counties.

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it true that the Extension Service has issued publicity material in Iowa encouraging farm units of 250 acres or more?

Mr. MURRAY. I have no knowledge that we have advocated units of that size. We have pointed out the fact that farms are working out in two different directions. We are having more small farms, and also more large farms, but the general average, however, is staying about

the same. People refer to the 160-acre farm as the average. That has been true, and still is true.

The thing that is going on, but is not seen by many people is that some farmers are being forced out, and in the process of being forced out are not going to larger farms. They are forced to get a small acreage around some town, the result being that our census statistics reveal more small farms and more large farms. It means in the process someone is being forced out.

Mr. CURTIS. With respect to these small farms, are they large enough to provide complete income for a family?

Mr. MURRAY. I would hesitate to say they provide a complete income. They are probably a part-time self-sufficient type of farm, in many instances.

Mr. CURTIS. Where are these people going that formerly lived in these farmsteads? Have you made any observation of that?

Mr. MURRAY. We have not followed any of them around. At least, I have not seen any studies made where they have followed these people who have left these farms. We hear that they go different places. Some of them go West. Some go South. Some of them go to towns nearby.

Mr. CURTIS. I see.

Mr. MURRAY. They are moving, however. They are not stable.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, you have not only analyzed the situation for the committee, but you have made some definite and concrete suggestions of remedy.

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What are those suggestions?

NEED FOR RETURN OF INDIVIDUAL FARM OWNERSHIP

Mr. MURRAY. We feel that the first problem that must be tackled is that of the man who lost the farm and is now a tenant, and as a tenant is not a stable part of the community, we feel we need to reprovide him with a part in ownership, not only he himself, but his son and others of the family.

We feel that the efforts made by the creditor agencies are only a beginning. With the opportunity they have, with large numbers of farms, both private agencies, such as insurance companies and Federal agencies, like the Farm Credit Administration, and Federal land banks, have a wonderful opportunity to set up these previous owners as new owners, if they can find these men and give them a contract.

Many of them have not the necessary funds, but many of them could buy farms now for half of what they paid for the farms they owned 15 or 20 years ago. If some of these private agencies would make an aggressive campaign to sell on a contract basis with a small amount down, a large part of this problem would be avoided, and I think a number of people who now have very little hesitation about moving from one place to another in the hope of finding greener pastures would find that green pasture right at home, if there were more energy put in to make it a possibility for them to have their home there.

Mr. CURTIS. How do you think the Federal Land Bank should dispose of the land it has taken over?

Mr. MURRAY. The Federal Land Bank in our area has made a very intensive campaign, and, according to the latest reports, have been very successful in selling farms on contract. Their down payment may be a question of whether it is as much as it should be. It is interesting that the Farm Security Administration is going probably a step further than the Federal land bank, and wisely so, in my opinion, although there is a difference of opinion as to how much a man should have to pay down; but it is interesting to note that the Federal land bank has made more headway than some of the private agencies.

We are interested, when insurance companies, who own farms, come into the State, in asking them, "Why don't you take some of your farms and make contracts with your tenants, if they are good ones, for ownership? When you get a man on there who thinks he is going to own that farm some day, he is going to do a better job, and take better care of it than when he realizes that any day he might get a notice that the farm is sold and he has to move off. Where is he going to move?"

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF FEDERAL FARM AID

Mr. CURTIS. You make some distinction between a tenant purchasing a farm through the Farm Security Administration and the Federal Land Bank. Which seems to be the more practical and the better-working method where you have observed it?

Mr. MURRAY. I think there is no reason for the distinction between the two agencies, but I do feel that there should be more cooperation, and that many of the farms which the Federal Land Bank owns could be taken over by the Farm Security Administration and set up on the basis of a tenant-purchase contract to help the tenants, in many cases, to get farms.

It seems to me that the bottleneck in our re-ownership campaign is largely a question of funds in the Farm Security Administration. Every time the Farm Security Administration wants to set a farm up, or set a farmer up on a farm, they have to get a complete appropriation from Congress for the entire purchase price of the farm. It does not seem to us reasonable that that should be true. It seems reasonable to us that the Federal Land Bank, or Federal Land Bank Commissioner could either provide farms which it owns, or at least could provide a large part of the money necessary to purchase the farm, so the tenant purchasing the farm under the Farm Security Administration would get a loan through the land bank, which would make the tenant purchase funds go two or three times further than they are going today.

Mr. CURTIS. In other words, instead of a money appropriation by Congress to buy farms, use the farms that another Government agency already has and, by an appropriate interchange of securities and so forth, let the Farm Security Administration sell them?

Mr. MURRAY. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder if I might interrupt right there?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. MURRAY, I wonder if you are familiar with the Peterson bill that has been pending in Congress for some time and came up in the House last week for action? I assume it passed. I do not know.

Mr. OSMERS. It was not passed. It was defeated.

Mr. MURRAY. I am not acquainted with that bill. I will look it up.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You might be interested in looking it up. Without trying to give you the details I might say that it is really aiming in the direction you mentioned.

Mr. OSMERS. I think one of the reasons—now that the Peterson bill has been mentioned in the record of the committee—one of the reasons why the bill was not favorably acted upon by the House was, it was felt in a period of years the amount of money involved would run into billions and billions of dollars. That was the fact that prompted its defeat in Congress.

Mr. CURTIS. The Farm Security present set-up for selling farms provides more liberal terms than the Federal Land Bank?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. What about the rate of interest?

Mr. MURRAY. The rate of interest is also more favorable if a man is selected through the farm-tenant purchase program of the Farm Security Administration.

Mr. CURTIS. Here is a very practical situation we meet: The present set-up of the Farm Security Administration in my State provides for the purchase of one farm in each county, approximately, for some tenant. Rate of interest, I believe, is 3 percent.

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct—plus an amortization charge.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. MURRAY. Which brings it to about 4½ percent.

Mr. CURTIS. We have one Government agency picking out one farmer in a county and giving him very liberal terms and another Government agency foreclosing upon his neighbors who are facing harsher terms. It has made a rather unsatisfactory arrangement.

Mr. MURRAY. That is true.

Mr. CURTIS. I think your suggestion has great value and should be definitely considered. Are there any other suggestions you have to make, other than liberalization and working together of the Federal Land Bank, Federal Land Bank Commissioner, and the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. MURRAY. In addition to that, it seems to me that there is a move on now to make more provisions in the loans and in the arrangements for ownership in areas like the Great Plains and parts of the Middle West where the income each year is so variable. The previous contracts that have been set up by the Federal Land Bank have been unsatisfactory. One reason, I think, why we have had as much foreclosure and other types of distress as we have had has been because our loan provisions and our whole debt structure was made on a national basis rather than a regional basis.

There is one difficulty with the Farm Security Administration and the insurance companies. They have always felt they have been better off to have a contract which specified payment on October 1 of a

definite number of dollars, rather than to have a contract that provided for a certain payment in terms of the crop raised. They insist upon those contracts calling for a fixed payment, but they are not nearly as secure, if they only knew it, as if they had had contracts which provided for a portion of the crop.

Mr. CURTIS. In lean years the farmer would have less than he would have to pay?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. In years of good crops he would be reducing his debt more?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct. In the surplus year, the year of good crops or good prices, it is reasonable that the man can pay and should pay more. But we have cases on file where insurance companies refused to accept payment in a surplus year because they were worried as to what to do with the funds. Later on they would have been very anxious to have gotten those same funds.

Mr. CURTIS. By making that in crop units, such as bushels or tons, and so forth, that he pays, you would cushion the owner against a very low price?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. In bad years?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You also give the mortgagee the benefit of high prices in good years?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct. I would like to also say that the Farm Security Administration, as I understand it, is making definite progress along these lines in areas in which some such arrangement would be helpful.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you any further suggestions?

REVISION OF VALUATION OF FARMS

Mr. MURRAY. There are one or two other suggestions. There is one suggestion with respect to the valuation of farms. We can notice a great deal of improvement in our State, those of us who have been studying the problem at the experiment station, in the way in which the lending agencies have been appraising farms. They are becoming more conscious that the farmer cannot pay enough if he does not have income, and in the process of valuation in the future, more emphasis is being placed on income, and wisely so. If you are going to make a loan out in Nebraska, western Iowa, certain parts of Minnesota or South Dakota, the income of the farmer, the fact that it varies, and also its amount, are the important things to consider, and not just what a man paid for a farm.

We feel that is a definite step in advance that has happened in the last 5 or 6 years. I might say in connection with contracts, some of the local insurance companies—insurance companies whose home offices are in the Middle West—worked out plans for selling farms to tenants on a small down payment, and these companies have been far in advance of those companies whose head offices are back East. It is largely because of the fact that the companies back East do not realize

yet the problem that exists in the Middle West and the Great Plains area.

Mr. CURTIS. They are further removed from their investment?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you feel that the Federal Land Bank should resell the farm, the same farm, to the same man they foreclosed upon?

Mr. MURRAY. That is a problem which the Farm Security Administration will have a good deal of difficulty in handling. So many times the farmer who owned the farm is now older, or is not interested; but in many cases I believe they are making an attempt to find and give the owner a chance to repurchase that farm. I know of one farmer in Nebraska, by the way, who did not want to repurchase his old farm. He wanted to purchase another farm. That is a problem, of course, of Federal Land Bank policy, which we do not feel we are competent to make a recommendation on, although we do think the general policy that the Federal Land Bank is adopting is sound—of trying to get the farms out on contract to farmers.

Mr. CURTIS. Insofar as age, health, and general attitude would permit, you would say the Federal Land Bank should go just as far as possible in giving the individual who had lived on the farm many years and who had to fight to save it, the same advantage of protection as they would a stranger?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

MECHANIZATION

Mr. CURTIS. With regard to mechanized farming, have you any suggestion with respect to that?

Mr. MURRAY. That is a problem which is very serious. The manufacturers in some cases are meeting the issue, trying to help by producing smaller tractors, baby tractors, to fit the size of the farms. We cannot very well stop progress. What we have to do is to keep our plants going at economic size, if possible, and make arrangements for those who are unable to meet the competitive struggle on the size which tends to be most profitable.

Mr. CURTIS. During good times there is a tendency for the farmer, when he abandons the horse and goes to the tractor, to at the same time abandon his milk cows, chickens, and the family garden, perhaps, and not live on the land. Is not that true?

Mr. MURRAY. I would not be able to speak so much with respect to that, because we have not made any survey of that particular type of activity. We do know, of course, there is less of the self-sufficiency on the farm than there used to be. We are raising less oats and more soy beans. We are raising more things for market and producing fewer things for the household. That again is the development of the country in terms of making more efficient certain types of specialized farming.

Mr. CURTIS. I think, Mr. Murray, you have made a very valuable contribution to our Nation-wide study. I think it is well to bear in mind that we have not begun to exhaust the possibilities of the State legislature in dealing with farm ownership. The title to real estate

is a matter of State government. They define what a deed is, a contract, and a mortgage. They have vast and unused powers over legal ownership of farm land by corporations.

Mr. MURRAY. That is true.

Mr. CURTIS. I think some of the States in the future are going to give some attention to that. It is a national problem. You have made a very valuable contribution, for which we thank you. That is all I have.

Mr. PARSONS. Do any of the other members of the committee have a question?

INSURANCE COMPANIES AND FARM OWNERSHIP

Mr. OSMERS. I would like to ask a question. You testified, Mr. Murray, about private agencies controlling a good deal of these farms that have been foreclosed.

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. I presume you mean insurance companies, large and small, and banks?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct.

Mr. OSMERS. Are there any other groups?

Mr. MURRAY. Mortgage companies.

Mr. OSMERS. Mortgage companies?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes. There are also some educational institutions who have loaned money on farms and unfortunately found that they had them on their hands.

Mr. OSMERS. You have made what I consider some extremely valuable suggestions as to the way the Federal Government can straighten out their procedure with respect to the Federal Land Bank problem. Is it not possible to form some kind of a conference of the so-called private agencies, some sort of group, so they can in turn also adopt a policy which would meet with local conditions, such as you say a few small middle western insurance companies are trying to do?

Mr. MURRAY. I think you have made an excellent point. At one time during the last few years we actually made the suggestion from the experiment station on the basis of our records that the insurance companies get together and plan some way of getting this land back into the hands of the owner-operators. Because they were not doing it was one reason why the Federal Land Bank and Farm Security Administration were having to do it.

The insurance companies owned approximately, as of January 1, 1939, 8 percent of the whole State of Iowa. It was concentrated in few enough companies so they could easily have gotten together and said, "We have that responsibility of getting this land back into the hands of the owner-operators," but they did not do anything. Each one followed a course of his own. The result has been that some of the companies have done a fine job, a few of them, particularly our middle western companies; and some of the eastern companies have not awakened yet to that responsibility, or possibility.

Mr. OSMERS. I come from way back East. I know that our insurance companies, however large or small, have no desire to own farms in the Middle West, because that is not their function at all.

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. From what you say, they have been doing a pretty poor job with their farm ownership.

Mr. MURRAY. I would not want to say they have been doing a poor job with their farm ownership, Mr. Congressman. They have been waking up slowly to the problem they have. The insurance commissioner in the State of Iowa has helped to wake them up by saying he will not renew their licenses unless they make a satisfactory showing that they are getting rid of these farms. That is speeding up the process.

Mr. OSMERS. I think the sooner some set of rules is adopted whereby the farmer that has been either removed from his farm, or reduced to the status of a tenant farmer, will know that if he meets certain requirements he can move back onto the farm, let us say under some such arrangement as the F. H. A. where a 10 percent down payment is made, with amortization over a period of years—I am not necessarily saying we should adopt that particular procedure—but do you not feel it would go a long way toward solving the problem, if these people were joined together in some sort of organization and had a policy with respect to all of their properties, and if they could make that policy somewhat parallel to the Federal Government's policy with Federal Land Bank properties, you would actually see a liquidation of the problem?

Mr. MURRAY. I think you would, and I think you would also help out this migration problem to this extent, that very many of the tenant farmers on these insurance-company farms have no idea when they are going to get a notice that they cannot remain on the farm. Any year they may have to move off.

Mr. OSMERS. I think your situation in Iowa and through neighboring States is one of the most important sources of migration of destitute citizens. I think you have offered some extremely valuable testimony here, which goes to the very root of the problem. Now, are there at the present time any efforts being made to join these private agencies together and to form some sort of conference? Is there anything being done in that direction, or is there anyone in that field who is assuming the problem of leadership to call them together, or their representatives?

Mr. MURRAY. There is a farm-mortgage conference of a number of insurance companies—the larger group. As I understand it, they have never tackled the problem and provided uniform handling, or developed a policy which would bring about improved conditions in this field.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say it might be advisable for all of these private agencies to get together and pool all of their farms together, set up a corporation, exchange the stock of that corporation for the present farm ownership in their portfolios, and then go ahead as a single unit to tackle and liquidate this problem?

Mr. MURRAY. That might be desirable, although it would be difficult, because these insurance companies disagree on so many things. The lawyers of each company will have a different slant on what they can or cannot do. However, we do know this: They could all get

together on a general policy and exchange information on a general policy and probably if they came out here and saw what some of the middle western companies were doing, they would come closer to solving our problem.

Mr. CURTIS. Let me ask one question, right at that point.

Mr. OSMERS. Surely.

Mr. CURTIS. Would it not be a very desirable step if they adopted a policy of having qualified agricultural experts as their field men and gave them considerable leeway in the way of recommendations?

Mr. MURRAY. Your last statement was particularly appropriate, the question of allowing some leeway. We have often heard the complaint or heard the criticism that they could not build a fence until they wired back to New York, and by the time they got the wire to New York, the fence would either have to be fixed, or the cattle would have taken all that was left in the field.

Mr. CURTIS. But it is true that the agricultural agent, we will call him, employed by the mortgage company in many instances is rendering a fine service, not only to the farmer, but to his company?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct. We will go a long way in solving the problem if, every time they put a tenant on the farm, they put the tenant on the farm with the idea in the mind of the tenant that if he makes good, he is going to buy that farm.

Mr. CURTIS. And also supervise him and advise him as to better methods of farming?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct. There are a number of our graduates, graduates of our institution who are doing the job. The only difficulty they have is, they have so many farms to manage, they cannot do very much.

DECREASING AGRICULTURAL POPULATION

Mr. OSMERS. I have one more question. With the increased industrialization of agricultural activities, do you feel that as a nation we are heading toward a smaller farm population or not?

Mr. MURRAY. I would carry my answer to that through the previous analysis, that our population may stay the same, but we will have more of the subsistence part-time group getting jobs from industry during part of the year and doing a little farming the other part of the year, and fewer of the so-called family farms of the average size. They will grow larger, so there will be less of those, but there will be more of the other.

Mr. OSMERS. But with respect to the proportion of population engaged solely in agriculture, there will be a smaller number as time goes on and industrialization increases?

Mr. MURRAY. I would say yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Thank you.

Mr. MURRAY. I might add for the record that my recommendations that I have made would hardly be classed as the result of my work, necessarily, nor would they represent the recommendations of the experiment station, but would represent, rather, my own generalizations from the data which I gathered as a representative of the experiment station.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all I have.

FARM PRICES AND PRICE FIXING POLICY

Mr. PARSONS. Professor, if we had some way of bringing to the farmer a much higher price for his product, that would take people back to the soil, would it not?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; it would. It might, however, if prices were too high result in too much scrambling to buy farms, but we see nothing of that kind yet.

Mr. PARSONS. There was something of that during the World War period when wheat was \$2.25 a bushel and corn was \$1.50. The bankers went out and went into the farming business. We had lots of agriculturalists, but there were not very many experts.

Mr. MURRAY. That is true.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you believe the so-called parity price is sufficient for farm commodities based on the 1909-13 level?

Mr. MURRAY. It will make it possible for most of the farmers who are now equipped with machinery to meet present conditions. The only difficulty is, the parity price does not help the wheat farmer in western Iowa or in Nebraska or South Dakota. He does not have any crop.

Mr. PARSONS. That is right.

Mr. MURRAY. It does not help to meet his fixed interest payment or fixed principal payment.

Mr. PARSONS. But if the parity price was increased 15 percent for farm commodities of the 1909-13 average, then farming would begin to be slightly profitable, would it not?

Mr. MURRAY. It would be very profitable for many farmers on the top.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you believe in trying to fix the price of farm commodities?

Mr. MURRAY. That is a question that is out of my sphere, as far as any data I have is concerned. I would say the fixing of prices of commodities is very difficult, but the present program of controlling production along with the semiprice fixing of the price loan which we make, like 57 cents a bushel on corn, is a step in advance of the old Farm Board plan of making a loan without any control of production. To set a price without any control might be fatal; unless you had some kind of zoning, they would open up new areas and the market would be flooded with additional produce.

Mr. PARSONS. If we were so minded to adopt strict policies in this country as they adopt them in other places, we could regulate prices?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct.

Mr. PARSONS. And regulate production?

Mr. MURRAY. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. But we would be destroying what a lot of folks call "freedom" or "liberty"?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. But the individual would be a lot better off if it were done in the case of agricultural production, would he not?

Mr. MURRAY. He would be.

Mr. PARSONS. He would be better off?

Mr. MURRAY. If he had higher prices, and other farmers' production was controlled; yes.

Mr. PARSONS. But he would kick about it terribly, would he not?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; he would. They even kick to me.

Mr. PARSONS. The trouble with America is, it has too many liberties, and a little too much democracy.

Mr. MURRAY. Well, we hate to give up any of it.

Mr. PARSONS. That is right. The manufacturer always controls his price, though, pretty well, does he not?

Mr. MURRAY. He controls his price, but he does not take care of his unemployment problem.

Mr. PARSONS. All the automobiles run in certain classes, with three big concerns. Their prices are always set. If they manufactured three times as many automobiles as the country needed, you could buy a Ford for \$150?

Mr. MURRAY. That is right. That would take care of the unemployment problem. But they prefer to leave the unemployment problem to make a problem such as your committee is faced with today.

Mr. PARSONS. Practically all commercial prices are set and maintained from one year to another, but not with agriculture. That is what is the matter with agriculture. We could put people back to the farms if it was profitable.

Mr. OSMERS. I think one reason—I would like to ask Mr. Murray's opinion on this—I think in your manufacturing operations you find a great many more factors present than you do in farming. In farming you have fewer costs, principally taxes and labor, while in the manufacturing operations in addition to much higher taxes and an entirely different labor set-up, you have other factors such as distribution, sales expense, overhead, clerical help, stockholders, and a great many other things to consider, and, of course, the purchase of raw materials.

What is your opinion with reference to that, Professor Murray?

Mr. MURRAY. I look at it this way: The industrial problem is largely what you suggest, with unemployment as its big problem. Agriculture has as its big problem not unemployment, because every farmer who has a farm, or is a tenant, has a job, but the price problem.

Mr. PARSONS. Whereas industry does not have the price problem, but it does have the unemployment problem and distribution problem?

Mr. MURRAY. It is principally a problem of distribution. If they cannot get distribution, they cannot employ their men.

Mr. PARSONS. If we had higher than parity price for agricultural commodities, that in itself would raise the earning power of the farm population, and they would buy a lot more things from the city.

Mr. MURRAY. If you could have high prices for farm products and low prices for everything else, it would be fine for the farmer.

Mr. CURTIS. Let the record show that I support both theories.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It would not do any good to authorize parity payments unless we raised the money to pay them, would it?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct. It has to come from some place.

FARM PRODUCTION IN RELATION TO PRICES

Mr. OSMERS. While we are spending a moment here on broad policies, do you believe in the so-called policy of controlled production, what has been referred to as the policy of scarcity, or do you believe in wider production and greater consumption at lower prices?

Mr. MURRAY. I subscribe to the last view if we can provide for that without having problems such as unemployment and other things which would mean that the Government would have to step in. The difficulty is, we have depressions as a result of allowing uncontrolled production. What we have to say is that since we cannot allow things to go on without regulation, we cannot step out here and say we are going to help prices in any industry unless we have, not scarcity, but controlled production. If we raise the price of corn or the price of wheat, we must keep from having other people produce such a terrific surplus that it just rots, and the surplus rots on our hands.

Mr. OSMERS. Certainly we have found in the United States, that during periods of our greatest production—let us take agricultural commodities, because we are dealing with that for the moment—we have had more starvation and more substandard eating conditions in the United States than at any other time in our history?

Mr. MURRAY. That has partly been responsible because of the distribution. I think the food stamp plan which has come in has been an effort to meet that criticism. We have got the food, and we have got the people who need it.

Mr. OSMERS. I really think the Government should lend itself to some plan, instead of destroying and controlling this great agricultural surplus, when people are—I will not say starving, but greatly in need; some system should be developed. The food stamp plan has its good points and its bad points. It is a step in the right direction. Of course, people engaged in industrial activities feel that their great future lies in producing more and more through better methods at lower prices and with increased wages, and it has always been worked that way.

Mr. MURRAY. We feel the same is true in agriculture, but we feel this way: Until we can get a situation that will make that profitable, in the interim, this price raising and control was necessary.

EFFECT OF FOREIGN TRADE POLICY ON FARMERS

Mr. OSMERS. Just one more question along that line: What has been the effect of the foreign trade policy of this country upon the farmers of Iowa?

Mr. MURRAY. The foreign trade policy?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes; reciprocal trade policies with other nations with respect to agricultural commodities.

Mr. MURRAY. It has helped a small amount. We are definitely interested in foreign trade, because we produce lots of lard. We would like to see more trade, because it means that we will have better prices for hogs, our principal means of income.

Mr. OSMERS. Has any specific trade agreement that has been entered into by this Government aided the exporting of agricultural products from the State of Iowa?

Mr. MURRAY. I believe it has. I believe there was an agreement with Cuba—I am not sure of this—but there was a report prepared by the Farm Bureau Federation, to which Dr. Schultz in our department contributed, and the conclusion was it had helped a small amount.

Mr. OSMERS. You produce some corn in Iowa, do you not?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct.

Mr. OSMERS. I could cite an instance where one of these agreements, namely, the one with the Netherlands, will allow the importation of the sago root on the free list, which has caused considerable misery to the corn farmers of Iowa. It has permitted an increase in the importation of that product from 2,000,000 pounds a year at the beginning of the program to 450,000,000 pounds a year at the present time. That will not do the Iowa farmer much good.

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct, although we feel this way: We cannot look at one phase of the reciprocal-trade agreement. We have to look at getting our lard out, and sometimes to get our lard out, we have to give a little some other place. We cannot always increase our selling, unless there is some increase in our buying. We do not want to have it hit us, of course.

Mr. OSMERS. There is a lot to be said for reciprocal trade. Reciprocal trade is like good weather. It is a fine thing. It has seemed that the total net effect of the reciprocal-trade policy has been to allow for the importation of greater quantities of agricultural commodities and the exportation of an increasing volume of manufactured goods such as automobiles, taking them as one example.

Mr. MURRAY. I would not be able to comment on that. I really would not be able to comment very much on that.

Mr. OSMERS. The figures speak for themselves.

Mr. MURRAY. I can see your point. There is a problem there.

Mr. PARSONS. The importation of farm commodities into the United States is such a tiny portion of the total consumption, that after all it does not amount to a great deal. Our domestic trade is from 88 to 92 percent of the total, but it is that 6- to 12-percent export from which we really get the net profit from other people brought to the United States converted into dollars, out of the soil and out of the mines and out of the air.

Those three things form the basis for everything we have. It is from that top part, that last 6 percent that we export, that we really make a profit for the American people. Now, the importation of a few commodities is such a small, tiny fraction of the total consumption in the United States, that while it looks large when it is enumerated in pounds or bushels, when it comes to the total consumption, it amounts to practically nothing. Are there any other questions?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Murray, I think you have made a very valuable contribution. I would not feel discouraged if I were you, because you cannot get this committee to agree on tariff and reciprocal-trade agreements. I will extend my speech in the record.

Mr. PARSON. Is there anything further?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not want to enter into any discussion of reciprocal-trade agreements which, I believe, both Presidential candidates have endorsed. I do want to ask one question, as far as the farm-migrant problem is concerned, and that is what we are particularly concerned with. Your whole argument is that the proper relief is to give as many as possible a land tenure that will root them to the soil; is that correct?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; either through long lease or ownership; you are right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Some interest in the soil that will hold them there?

Mr. MURRAY. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Thank you.

Mr. PARSONS. Thank you very much, Mr. Murray.

(Whereupon, Mr. Murray was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JOHN HART AND ANNA HART

Mr. PARSONS. The next witnesses will be Mr. and Mrs. Hart. Will you state your full name and address for the record, please, Mr. Hart.

Mr. HART. John Hart, Whiteland, Ind., Rural Route 1.

Mr. PARSONS. State your name for the record, please, and your address, Mrs. Hart.

Mrs. HART. Anna Hart, Rural Route 1, Whiteland, Ind.

Mr. PARSONS. How long have you been in Indiana?

Mr. HART. Off and on for 15 years.

Mr. PARSONS. Where were you born?

Mr. HART. Zanesville, Ohio.

Mr. PARSONS. Where were you born, Mrs. Hart?

Mrs. HART. Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. PARSONS. From the record we have here, it is my understanding you started migrating some 10 or 12 years ago?

Mr. HART. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. Where have you been? In what States have you been? Just tell the story of your life, the last of 10 or 11 years since you have been migrating.

Mr. HART. Well, we were farming in Bourbon, Ind. We lost the farm through the poor onion crop and Jew prices. We had \$2,400 to pay, as the balance, and we couldn't pay it, so we lost the farm.

Mr. PARSONS. That was when—11 or 12 years ago?

Mr. HART. Eleven years ago.

Mr. PARSONS. How large a farm was it?

Mr. HART. Around 40 acres.

Mr. PARSONS. Who held the mortgage?

Mr. HART. Jim Macknich.

Mr. PARSONS. He was the local banker?

Mr. HART. That is correct.

Mr. PARSONS. The price of onions, of course, was very low?

Mr. HART. The price of onions dropped from \$2.50 a hundred to 75 cents per hundred. It didn't pay the labor on the onions at all.

Mr. PARSONS. Then you left that place?

Mr. HART. Then we left that place, and we started running around, trying to find work. We went to Ohio and West Virginia. We was selling post cards, needles, and stuff like that to make a living, all over the country.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. HART. We came to Illinois. I got 2 or 3 weeks down here at the mill. Then they shut down. They throwed us out again.

Mr. PARSONS. I understand you were in Ohio.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. What region were you in there? Tell us of your experiences there.

EXPERIENCE AS SHARE-CROPPER ON CORPORATE FARM IN OHIO

Mr. HART. That was the Ohio Farms Co., Willard, Ohio. We were there. She found a piece in the newspaper when we were on the road. They wanted to sell farms. Half of the year's crop was to go to you, and the other half was to go to the company, the Ohio Farms Co.

Mr. PARSONS. For furnishing everything?

Mr. HART. For furnishing everything. They furnished a little four-room house, kind of a chicken-coop-like affair, only it was new. They furnished grub, up until the crop was ready to harvest. When the crop was ready to harvest, they shut down the commissary. They shut down everything, all over the country, so you couldn't get nothing to eat, so they could take the farm away from you. There was 77 families on the farm at the time. She and me had the only car that was in running order. They were putting all the rest of them on the bum. She went out abegging milk for the babies and food for them.

I went to Frank Britton, general manager of the farm. He was field manager. I told him I was going to take my stuff out of there and sell it, because they was stealing it.

Mr. PARSONS. Who was stealing it?

Mr. HART. I don't know. It was somebody the company had. We couldn't catch them. We had to do guard duty at night to keep them out of our onions. We would harvest 20 or 25 bushels a day. We would stack them up in crates, and we would go over there the next morning and they would be gone. We had a big search on the farm, trying to find out who did it, but we couldn't. We finally had to take these onions and hide them from the men on the farm. Then we had to do guard duty with shotguns. That stopped them.

They shut down the commissary, and then they unscrewed the pumps, the top of the pumps, so we couldn't get no water. They was trying to starve us out, so they could get our crop. I told Britton, "You put them pumps back." He wouldn't do it. We got the crowd together and told them what they was doing to us. They tacked a receivership, a friendly receivership, on each and every one of them little houses and forbid the people to go out in their own land and harvest the crop.

I said they would have to give us our rights or we would have them arrested. They wouldn't, so I goes to Norwalk, Ohio, and files suit, me and two of the other boys. They brought Arthur A. Willoughby.

They had him arrested and brought him over to court. When Arthur A. Willoughby got up there, he didn't want to go through court. Judge Carpenter said Willoughby was ready to square up with us, with the three of us, and give us our rights.

Then they sent a bunch of niggers down in there to pick my beans. I had to take a shotgun and threaten to shoot them, to keep them out of the beans. We were picking them beans to take them to market. They came in there and started to pick the beans. They stole everything from everybody on the farm, but us three fellows. The law gave us the right to harvest our crop, our half, and we took it over to Cincinnati, Ohio—I mean Cleveland, Ohio, to sell it.

Mr. PARSONS. After that experience, you did not stay with them but the 1 year?

Mr. HART. That is all, 1 year. We stayed there until March. During the time we stayed there, we got enough money out of our crop to carry us through until March. The county man there that had the poor farm, named Clay, he turns around, and he wouldn't feed nobody. He wouldn't give nobody nothing to eat. There they all was, children being wrapped up in coffee sacks—using coffee sacks for clothes. There were 77 families. She went out with our car and begged milk and food among the farmers, to feed the children.

Mr. PARSONS. How many children did you have?

Mr. HART. I have my two children. It went on like that. They threatened to kill us if we didn't leave, but we stayed. One night they came up, two or three of them guys came up. I happened to be out getting some tobacco—

Mrs. HART. I believe I would like to tell that part of it, John.

Mr. HART. All right.

Mrs. HART. I believe I know that better than you do.

Mr. HART. Go ahead.

Mr. PARSONS. You may proceed. We will be glad to have you tell it.

Mrs. HART. John had never gone away from home after dark. This night he ran out of cigarettes. He said he was going out somewhere on the farm and find a cigarette. About 8:30 that night Mrs. Britton, the field manager's wife, came upstairs with their young baby to visit with me. We lived in the upper flat, and they lived downstairs.

Frank Britton had taken a liking to us and had told us to take his upper flat, you know, off of the marshes, in the fall. He said that he was supposed to take over the place, Mr. Willoughby's place, in the spring and he would put John in Frank Britton's place as field manager, because he had done all the planning and supervising and understood the work.

She came upstairs. She was kind of nervous. I said, "What is the matter with you tonight?" She said, "Well, I am going to tell you. They are coming here to murder you people tonight." "Well." I said, "I have begged for these people and fed these people, and have begged clothing for them. What do they want to murder us for?"

Well, there was two or three men on the place. It seems like there was two factions in the company, one working against the other. Frank Britton had a lot of money coming from the com-

pany. He wanted to keep on the good side of the men, yet he was working under cover for the company. He was keeping on the good side of both sides. When the men were hungry, and came and demanded food, he made excuses that he lost the keys and couldn't find the truck license to take the truck out and get some wood, to keep them warm. He made all kinds of excuses.

Mr. PARSONS. Did they come that night?

Mrs. HART. Yes. I heard singing, and it sounded like a couple of men that had been drinking. I said, "They're not coming up here." She said, "Yes, they are." The front apartment downstairs was empty. There was a glass window about so large [indicating]. Then we come through the front room, and through to the stairs. He had put a glass door at the top for more privacy. They broke the glass out of the door downstairs, reached in, and turned the key and came through there.

Mr. OSMERS. How many were there?

Mrs. HART. Two of them. I still didn't believe they were coming up there, but when I heard them start, someone in the dark, up the steps at the bottom of the steps, I realized she knew what she was talking about. Otherwise, they never had been up there before.

I took our little girl, and it just happened that I went into a little closet, so that when they broke the door open at the top of the stairs and pushed that door back, that door shielded us and protected us going into the cupboard behind that door. Mrs. Britton grabbed her baby and ran in the back bedroom and got behind the door. These men stood within arm's reach of me. They broke the glass out of the top door, too, and broke the lock. I could have reached out of that hole in the glass and touched both of them. They stood there, and I heard one of them say, "They must be sleeping. Don't make any more noise. We'll wake them up. If we can get rid of them we will hide them, and we will lay here and wait for him to come. Nobody will know the difference, but what they all pulled out in the night."

Well, I had my daughter's head against my heart, and had to hold with all my strength to keep her teeth from chattering, she was that scared, and I was scared, too. Frank Britton's mother-in-law came to the bottom of the stairs then, and she says, "Boys, come down out of there. The Harts aren't home. Come on down and go on home and wait until they come back."

Mr. PARSONS. Who was it that said that?

Mrs. HART. Frank Britton's mother-in-law.

Mr. PARSONS. I see.

Mrs. HART. His wife's mother.

Mr. PARSONS. I see.

Mrs. HART. They came downstairs after a little coaxing. I heard them go in his flat downstairs. I grabbed my daughter by the hand and rushed out to the marsh to find him. It was just beginning to rain. I ran down two or three houses near there. It was pretty dark in the marsh, and I couldn't find him in there. I talked to several people I

knew, but I couldn't find him. I started back and made a circle of the house. I was afraid to go in the front way, see? They were all in the kitchen in the back. There was no shades or curtains. I could see where they were all congregated. I thought I would go around the back way until they had gone away, or until they came to warn him, but I passed along, and at the next place there was two Mexican boys who had done chores around there for the different men. I heard him kind of "huh-huh-huh-huh," like he has a habit of doing and I recognized. I opened the door and told them what they had said and done. We had no protection. We didn't have a gun or anything like that.

Mr. PARSONS. Did they come back and molest you further after that?

Mrs. HART. Yes.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mrs. HART. We went home, and just as we got to the end of the house, they were coming down the road. They were coming back. They hollered back and told Frank Britton that they would come back later. We went in, and John told Frank Britton—he said: "Frank, you had better tell your friends not to come back here tonight. Whoever the company officials of this place is that wants me out of here, are going to be badly fooled, because we have got our daughter in school on this place, and we aren't going to leave here until spring, until school is out."

He said, "I didn't have anything to do with it." John says: "I simply made a statement. I mean what I say. It is going to be too bad for them. I am going to protect my family." We went upstairs, and there was no lock on the door then. You see, the only thing we had, we had a wood stove there, that we used for cooking and heating. He picked two clubs up, about that big around [indicating] and that long [indicating]. They had knots on them. He whittled them down, you know, each club. He laid one on one end of the room—it was a long room, across the end of the house upstairs—and one on the other end. He said "You two stay over there and don't move."

One stumbled up the steps and hollered, "Hey, Hart, are you home?" John said, "Yes. What do you want?" Both of the men's name was Cole, but they weren't no relation.

Mr. HART. They weren't no relation.

Mrs. HART. "Well," he said, "I have got orders to kill you off, tonight." John says: "Well, now, listen. You are drunk tonight, and in the morning you are going to be sorry for this. You go on home and get to bed. You are a young man, and engaged to be married soon. You ought to be ashamed of yourself." "No," he said, "I have got orders to kill you tonight."

His partner at the bottom of the steps told him—he says, "Go ahead, Johnnie. Get him cornered. I am coming." Then the young fellow got him by the front of his clothes and kept pushing him back into our house. He finally got him back into the front room. John realized he was being ganged. There was only one thing he could do to protect himself. They finally was back to the corner where he had that club. The one that grabbed John pretty hard on the front of the clothes hollered, "Come on. I have got him cornered." Then John reached and got him by the front and reached back and got his club

and gave him a couple of whacks beside the head. He says, "I'll go down now." John says, "You'll go down when I send you down." He dragged him to the top of the stairs and kicked him down the steps.

The other fellow who came up, he says, "I can finish him off if you can't." He reached down into his pocket and pulled out a long knife, like Mexicans carry. John said, "Jesse, if you come into my house, I will try my level best to kill you. Don't come in here." He did come in there. He came in there and started wrestling with John. John really started to work on him in earnest. He took him to the top of the steps and gave him a couple of good bats on the head, and I guarantee you whenever he goes to comb his hair and looks in the glass, he will remember it. He kicked him downstairs and he laid there as dead.

They started the Kentucky war whoop downstairs, meaning that he was dead. At 4 o'clock in the morning, daylight, I walked 4 miles to Willard, Ohio, and reported it to the police, that they had broken into our house. They came down and saw the mess. In the meantime someone had taken the two men out in the marsh and hidden them. The authorities at Willard had motorcycle police out for 10 days and nights looking for them on motorcycles with floodlights, and they couldn't find them.

It finally got so cold, and their heads became so badly infected, that they had to have medical attention, and they came out on the highway and gave themselves up.

Mr. PARSONS. Did the authorities there do anything with them for breaking into your home?

Mrs. HART. The authorities bound them over to the grand jury after the trial was over.

Mr. HART. They had a trial.

Mrs. HART. The mother and father of the young lad and the intended wife and the other man's seven or eight children came and cried and begged us, saying that the men had had enough punishment, and it would make it so hard on the families. They begged us not to press the charges. They said they were sure they had been cured of breaking in any man's house again.

Feeling that maybe they were right, and not wanting to make hardships on their families, we agreed we wouldn't appear against them when the grand jury was called.

Mr. PARSONS. How long ago was that?

Mr. HART. 1930 or 1931.

Mrs. HART. We went there in May, May 10, 1930, and left there the next spring, in March.

Mr. PARSONS. That would be 1931?

Mrs. HART. 1931.

Mr. PARSONS. Where did you go from there?

Mr. HART. From there we started back and went up to Chicago Heights, Ill. I got 4 or 5 more weeks' work in a glasshouse. I got a chance in my trade. I worked maybe 4 or 5 weeks. They work you 4 or 5 weeks on a job the machine can't do, and then they put the machine back to work and throw you out.

Mr. PARSONS. That was in 1932?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. When did you go to Indiana?

Mr. HART. We went down to Ohio, but the place we had there, the water came in. There was floods, and you couldn't make nothing there. The water came in and took both crops. The water came in and took everything, and we had to get out of there.

Then we come back to Indiana, over to Mahoneysville. I paid \$150 down on a little place over there.

Mrs. HART. He got that out of the soldiers' bonus.

Mr. HART. I got that out of the soldiers' bonus. The Indian Creek came in and took that. Then I came up to Johnson County to work in the tomato fields, and we have this place we are on now.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that in or near Johnson County?

Mrs. HART. In Johnson County.

Mr. HART. In Johnson County.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you in the tomato business?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. The growing of tomatoes?

Mr. HART. Yes; we picked tomatoes up there, and finally we rented a 40-acre farm. The Farm Security have backed us.

Mr. PARSONS. How much did they loan you?

Mr. HART. Nine hundred and some dollars.

Mr. PARSONS. How much did you pay for the farm originally?

Mrs. HART. We rented it.

Mr. HART. We didn't buy it. We are renting.

Mr. PARSONS. You are renting the farm now?

Mr. HART. Yes; we are renting it.

Mrs. HART. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. On a fifty-fifty basis?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. They furnish you everything?

Mr. HART. No. We furnish everything.

Mr. PARSONS. You furnish everything?

Mr. HART. We furnish stock, tools, and everything.

Mr. PARSONS. You only get half of the tomato crop?

Mr. HART. They pay for half of the labor and we pay for the other half. After what the canning factory steals, and what they grade down on us, we don't have nothing left. They offer you \$18 a ton for tomatoes when you put them in the ground, but when you haul the tomatoes over to Stokely Bros., they give you \$6.50 or \$7 a ton for them. They tell you they are No. 3's, or culls, or something.

Mrs. HART. But still they use those same tomatoes in the same tank in which they use the No. 1's.

Mr. HART. They use every excuse they can think up to rob you.

Mr. PARSONS. How much money do you think you made, or do you think you have coming in, from the tomato crop last year?

Mr. HART. On 15 acres of tomatoes we made \$350. I got \$150.

Mr. PARSONS. What do you raise on the other acreage?

Mr. HART. Corn and some vegetables.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you market any vegetables locally?

Mr. HART. We try to market some over at Indianapolis, but you can't make enough over there. We take cabbage over there. We haul it 20 miles and pay a dollar to get in on the market. It costs you supper and breakfast and you have to stay all night, and still they won't give you but 20 cents a bushel for the cabbage, and they charge a dime for 3 pounds on the street. That is what the peddlers charge, and the storekeepers. They charge the same thing.

Mr. PARSONS. You say the Farm Security Administration loaned you \$900?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mrs. HART. To buy stock and pigs.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you been able to meet the payments on that?

Mr. HART. We paid the payments the first year in full. The second year we fell down a little bit. We didn't have the money. The canning factory took our whole crop.

Mr. PARSONS. You have a tomato crop again this year I assume.

Mr. HART. Nine acres.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you started picking?

Mr. HART. We have started picking; yes.

Mr. PARSONS. How is the price of tomatoes this year?

Mr. HART. The price of tomatoes is \$12 a ton.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that kind of a medium price?

Mr. HART. That is better than average.

Mrs. HART. The price is all right.

Mr. HART. The price is all right, but they grade you down in grading tomatoes, and they don't give you nothing. On sweet corn you have got to have select sweet corn or they won't take it.

Mr. PARSONS. You still have the hope of being able to survive on this place, though?

Mrs. HART. No.

Mr. HART. My place is too small. The Government has done all they can for us on that farm, but it is too small. We need more land. We have gone as far as we can go. We have too much stock for the place now. It is increasing. We could live there. We can eat, but can't go any further now.

Just like I said: You take cabbage to Indianapolis, and they buy it for 20 cents a bushel. The peddler sells it for \$1.30, when he only invests 20 cents in a bushel of cabbage. If I could get \$1.30 a bushel for cabbage, I could buy that farm and pay it out in 2 years.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you grow sweet corn for the market?

Mr. HART. I grow sweet corn for the market and the canning factory.

Mr. PARSONS. So you really farm the entire 40 acres?

Mr. HART. Every bit of it. On hay, the boy goes out and makes it on shares. He makes 50 loads, to get 10 loads.

Mr. PARSONS. On someone else's land?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions, gentlemen? (No response.) Thank you very much, Mr. and Mrs. Hart. We are very glad you came. You have had some rather unusual experiences, but no doubt there are many, many people on the road who have had at least some experiences similar to those you have had.

(Whereupon Mr. and Mrs. Hart were excused.)

Mr. PARSONS. The committee will stand adjourned until 2 p. m. (Whereupon, at 1 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was reconvened at 2 p. m.)

TESTIMONY OF SILAS LOWDEN

Mr. PARSONS. The committee will please come to order. The next witness will be Silas Lowden. State your name and address for the record, please, Mr. Lowden.

Mr. LOWDEN. Silas Lowden, 2936 Prairie.

Mr. PARSONS. Congressman Curtis will question you.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are you?

Mr. LOWDEN. Twenty-three.

Mr. CURTIS. Where were you born?

Mr. LOWDEN. Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you married?

Mr. LOWDEN. Single.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have relatives living in Tennessee?

Mr. LOWDEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Your mother and your father—are they living?

Mr. LOWDEN. They are dead.

Mr. CURTIS. How long have they been dead?

Mr. LOWDEN. My mother died when I was 3 weeks old and my father died in 1924.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you any brothers and sisters?

Mr. LOWDEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. How much schooling have you had?

Mr. LOWDEN. First grade.

Mr. CURTIS. First grade?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you go to school?

Mr. LOWDEN. I went to school in Mississippi, and went to school in Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you live in Tennessee?

Mr. LOWDEN. Well, I couldn't exactly tell.

Mr. CURTIS. How old were you when you went away?

Mr. LOWDEN. I think about 18.

Mr. CURTIS. About 18?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Then where did you go?

Mr. LOWDEN. I came to move out of Memphis, but I was still in Tennessee. I went to Cableville, Tenn.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you go from there?

Mr. LOWDEN. When I left there, that was in 1937. I came here.

Mr. CURTIS. You have not lived in Mississippi very much?

Mr. LOWDEN. No, sir; not very much.

Mr. CURTIS. Who raised you after your mother died?

Mr. LOWDEN. My uncle raised me up until I left home. When I left home, then I went to live with my godmother, and she died.

Mr. CURTIS. How old were you when you left your uncle?

Mr. LOWDEN. I couldn't exactly say. I left him in 1926.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did your godmother live?

Mr. LOWDEN. In Memphis.

Mr. CURTIS. How long were you with her?

Mr. LOWDEN. I was with her from 1926 until—well, anyway she died in 1928.

Mr. CURTIS. After she died, Silas, then you went out on your own?

Mr. LOWDEN. Then I went out on my own.

Mr. CURTIS. What work do you know how to do?

Mr. LOWDEN. I can cook and wait on table; work as a porter.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you had any jobs cooking in public eating places?

Mr. LOWDEN. Not here, but in Tennessee.

Mr. CURTIS. Was it a hotel or restaurant?

Mr. LOWDEN. A restaurant.

Mr. CURTIS. How large a restaurant was that?

Mr. LOWDEN. Well, it was pretty good sized. I would say it was half as large as this place here, this room.

Mr. CURTIS. How many cooks did they have in the kitchen?

Mr. LOWDEN. Just only me.

Mr. CURTIS. You were the chief cook?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes. I would go to work at 7 o'clock in the morning and quit at 11 at night.

Mr. CURTIS. What did they pay you?

Mr. LOWDEN. \$7 a week.

Mr. CURTIS. And your board?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. But you did not get any room?

Mr. LOWDEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you able to find work all the time down there in Tennessee?

Mr. LOWDEN. Well, sometimes I would and sometimes I wouldn't.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you unemployed for any great length of time each year?

Mr. LOWDEN. No; not a great length of time.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you make enough money so you could live on it without going on relief?

Mr. LOWDEN. I darned near did, a little bit, but as it was, I could make it without getting relief.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have any relief when you were down in Tennessee?

Mr. LOWDEN. No relief at all.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you come up to Chicago?

Mr. LOWDEN. 1937.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you remember what month of the year it was?

Mr. LOWDEN. It was 1937, Christmas.

Mr. CURTIS. Christmas Day?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes; when I came here.

Mr. CURTIS. So you have been here in 1938, 1939, and this far in 1940?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you know anyone in Chicago when you came?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes. I had some friends here.

Mr. CURTIS. Some boys you knew back home that had come up to Chicago?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Did any of them write and tell you to come?

Mr. LOWDEN. No. I came myself.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have their addresses when you came?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes. I had their addresses when I came.

Mr. CURTIS. Did they have work?

Mr. LOWDEN. No. They weren't working when I got up here.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you been able to get any work in Chicago?

Mr. LOWDEN. Not worth anything. Just a job here and a job there. That is all I have been able to do.

Mr. CURTIS. How long would these jobs last?

Mr. LOWDEN. I would probably get one that would last 3 weeks. Maybe the next one would last a month and like that.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of work was that?

Mr. LOWDEN. Well, one time I was working at—well, I might call it a junk shop.

Mr. CURTIS. A junk shop of old cars?

Mr. LOWDEN. No; where they keep paint and stuff—rags and stuff like that.

Mr. CURTIS. Where they keep what?

Mr. LOWDEN. Paper, rags, and things like that.

Mr. CURTIS. Oh, yes.

Mr. LOWDEN. Then I left there and started working with a decorator.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of a decorator, painter and paperhanger?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. A colored boy or white?

Mr. LOWDEN. Colored.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you work with this decorator?

Mr. LOWDEN. I worked with him quite a while. In fact, I worked with him until about a month ago.

Mr. CURTIS. What did he pay you?

Mr. LOWDEN. Well, he paid me—for three walls he paid me \$1.50.

Mr. CURTIS. \$1.50 for three walls?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How much could you make a week doing that work?

Mr. LOWDEN. A week?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. LOWDEN. I could make around \$15 or \$20 a week.

Mr. CURTIS. Out of the little over two and a half years you have been here, have you had work half of the time, do you think?

Mr. LOWDEN. No. I have not had work half of the time.

Mr. CURTIS. Why did you leave down South where you were getting your food and some wages?

Mr. LOWDEN. Well, I just got tired of it all down there and decided I would come here; and from now on, if I get tired, I will probably go some other place.

Mr. CURTIS. Had you heard about higher wages in the northern cities?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes. I heard about that.

Mr. CURTIS. You wanted to come up and try it?

Mr. LOWDEN. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you ever been broke and without money or food since you got to Chicago?

Mr. LOWDEN. I have been without money, but I haven't been without food.

Mr. CURTIS. You stayed with some friends when you were broke?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you tried to go on relief?

Mr. LOWDEN. I tried to go on relief; yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What success did you have?

Mr. LOWDEN. I didn't have no success at all. I couldn't get on.

Mr. CURTIS. What did they say was the reason?

Mr. LOWDEN. They said I hadn't been here long enough at the time.

Mr. CURTIS. You are supposed to be here 3 years, are you not?

Mr. LOWDEN. Three years.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you worked with any employment agency or any organization trying to get a job?

Mr. LOWDEN. The Urban League.

Mr. CURTIS. The Urban League?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. They have been trying to help you find something?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that a colored employment agency?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you ever been fired from any job because you did not do your work?

Mr. LOWDEN. No. I haven't never been fired.

Mr. CURTIS. When you did get some money, what did you spend it for?

Mr. LOWDEN. I bought clothes, and spent it for what I needed.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you ever need much liquor?

Mr. LOWDEN. I don't drink at all.

Mr. CURTIS. That is fine. There are just more people hunting work than there are jobs, is that not so?

Mr. LOWDEN. You are mighty right.

Mr. CURTIS. How did you come up from Tennessee? Did you come on a train?

Mr. LOWDEN. On a bus.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you pay your fare?

Mr. LOWDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How much money did you have when you arrived?

Mr. LOWDEN. \$40.

Mr. CURTIS. If you do not find work here, what are you going to do?

Mr. LOWDEN. I don't know. I feel if I live and get something to eat, I am going to find a job here some day, if I keep my health and strength, maybe.

Mr. CURTIS. If you do not find one here, what are you going to do?

Mr. LOWDEN. I will go somewhere else.

Mr. CURTIS. I think that is all.

Mr. PARSONS. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon Silas Lowden was excused.)

**TESTIMONY OF W. A. ROWLANDS, DISTRICT EXTENSION LEADER,
PROFESSOR OF LAND ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN;
AND M. W. TORKELSON, SECRETARY AND EXECUTIVE OFFICER
OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PLANNING BOARD**

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Rowlands, will you give your name and address and your official position to the reporter?

Professor ROWLANDS. W. A. Rowlands, University of Wisconsin, district extension leader, professor of land economics.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Torkelson, will you give your name, address, and official position to the reporter?

Mr. TORKELSON. M. W. Torkelson, director of the State planning board and chairman of the Northern Lake States Regional Committee, address State Office Building, Madison, Wis.

(Statements of W. A. Rowlands and M. W. Torkelson are as follows:)

STATEMENT BY W. A. ROWLANDS, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

A STATEMENT ON RURAL ZONING AND LAND USE IN WISCONSIN

Twenty-four northern and central Wisconsin counties have planned, developed and enacted rural zoning ordinances. Under these rural zoning ordinances, close to 5,000,000 acres of land, much of it tax delinquent and most of it non-agricultural, have been officially closed to future agricultural settlement and year-long residence. These restricted lands will best serve the State and their owners in forestry, recreation, game, and in special industrial uses, thus leaving the better agricultural lands in already established communities open to unrestricted development and use. The restriction of an area of such size in Wisconsin is an undertaking of no small proportions and a tremendously significant one to all Wisconsin people.

Rural zoning an economic necessity.—In the sparsely settled areas of northern and central Wisconsin the need for controlling land uses grew out of sheer economic and financial necessity. These counties were burdened with abandoned farms, tax-delinquent lands, and a shrinking tax base on the one hand and increased per capita costs for local government services, such as roads and schools, on the other hand. This reduction of income, which became most acute in the latter part of the decade 1920-30, together with counties owning millions of acres of land acquired by tax deed, worked financial havoc on already badly depleted treasuries.

Out of the shattering realities of this period, three observations became increasingly clear to the county officers and interested citizens.

1. That uncontrolled and unregulated settlement and development of the land results in increasing demands on the town in building and maintaining new roads and on the school district in transporting, boarding, or providing

special school facilities. Such demands had already cost the town, the school district, the county, and the State many times the amount of taxes paid by the settler. In the interests of sound governmental economy, it was evident that a curb should be placed on the establishment of new governmental services.

2. That a substantial area of land throughout all of northern Wisconsin should be used for both public and private forestry purposes, for recreation, and for the development of game resources because it is submarginal for agriculture and because we need forests. Local people realized that to provide for permanent employment, permanent industry, and permanent business it was vital that the nonagricultural lands produce raw material for local wood-using industries.

3. That definite assurance be given the State and the more populated counties that State aids will be wisely administered and wisely used. Many town and county officers felt strongly their responsibility in seeing that State aid for roads, for schools, for fire protection, for forest development purposes, and for public health be carefully husbanded. Under a system of unregulated development this was impossible. Fostering the old spirit of free pioneering, as exemplified by Daniel Boone, at the same time attempting to provide Government services to any family regardless of location, inevitably resulted in extremely heavy costs to the local and State treasuries.

Many State agencies having administrative responsibility throughout Wisconsin recognize the benefits of an orderly control in land use and give it their moral support. Officers of the State board of health have repeatedly pointed out the danger that lurks in abandoned buildings in remote areas. Such buildings are constantly occupied by a succession of squatters who stay for perhaps a season and then move on. Under the sanitary conditions that prevail around such places, it is practically impossible to clean up the premises adequately following the outbreak of a communicable disease. Numerous serious outbreaks of contagious diseases have been traced to these places. Further, it is contended by officers of the State board of health that their general health work is hampered by the inaccessibility of remote settlers. It is clear then that the sooner this type of settlement is eliminated the easier it will be to build a higher standard of health for the region and the State.

The State conservation department likewise manifests an active interest in land use and in the adoption and enforcement of county zoning ordinances for forestry, recreation, and agriculture. Fire protection, game protection, and forestry development constitute important activities in the work of this department. Certainly it needs no extended discussion to make obvious the hazard to forest and to recreation areas incident to land clearing by a remote settler.

Local residents—old settlers and particularly county and town officers—in every county and in almost every town can readily relate incidents which lend reality to the reasons for the interest of the several State departments.

Objectives in rural zoning.—In zoning rural areas there are two strong motivating forces behind the movement today. One features zoning as a means of protecting property values; the other as a strong element of government designed to curb the cost of all too frequent wasteful governmental services. One force recognizes the stability in values which attaches to a community of usage, particularly when certain aesthetic values are incorporated into the community plan. The second seeks so to direct land development that maximum usage is made of existing public services before newer and only partly used ones are inaugurated. A third force, more evident in some areas than others, is the necessity of protecting certain social values which may become blighted through unregulated expansion.

Creating an enlightened public opinion.—The Wisconsin county zoning law (sec. 59.97 of the Wisconsin Statutes) is definitely a "home rule" law. Authority to zone is given to the county board of supervisors subject to the approval of the town board of the town or towns involved. The initiative in the enactment of a county zoning ordinance rests with the county board. The county board may draw up the provisions of the zoning ordinance including:

1. The creation of specific use districts and designating the boundaries of the districts on an official zoning map.

2. The permitted and prohibited uses of land for each district.

3. Provisions for changes and amendments.

Further, it is the agency charged with the responsibility for administering and enforcing the ordinance after it is enacted. The town board, on the other hand, is given the power to approve or reject the ordinance and the boundaries of the use districts.

It has been a fundamental principle in zoning procedure in Wisconsin that residents in rural communities should be considered and consulted in the development of plans which affect them most. To that end, local educational meetings, arranged by the county committee on zoning, assisted in a purely advisory way by a representative either of the college of agriculture of the University of Wisconsin or of the Wisconsin Conservation Department, have been held in school houses, town halls, and even in private homes in numerous communities of all zoned counties. The greatest merit in this procedure is that it has won the support and respect of settlers and taxpayers throughout the several zoned counties. Rural people were much more concerned with the spirit in which their elected representatives enacted the ordinance than they were in the technical aspects of procedure.

The job of rural zoning in Wisconsin is not completed with the enactment of a zoning ordinance. It will never be completed—because—after enactment comes administration and enforcement. As the result of experience, population growth, or changing conditions, amendments have already been made in many of the Wisconsin ordinances.

A rural zoning ordinance is only part in the development of land-use program. Since the enactment of rural zoning ordinances northern Wisconsin counties have been actively and productively engaged in:

1. Establishing and maintaining definite policies with respect to the sales and disposals of county-owned lands for agricultural, recreational, and other uses.

2. Relocating isolated settlers from nonagricultural lands in restricted districts to good farm lands in established communities close to roads, schools, markets, and community centers or in the case of nonfarm families or those too old or physically handicapped to farm relocation to urban centers where they may "be taken care of" with less expense for relief and public health.

3. Blocking forest lands for better administration through exchange or purchase.

4. Entering tax-reverted lands in restricted forestry districts under the Wisconsin forest crop law in cooperation with the State conservation department to develop forests.

5. Reserving recreational lands and water for recreational use. By restricting the agricultural use of close to 5,000,000 acres of land, these Wisconsin counties have accomplished watershed protection and flood control insofar as this can be accomplished through proper utilization.

6. Demolishing abandoned shacks and structures on public (county) land to eliminate fire hazards and to improve the health standards of the region.

7. Consolidating the smaller units of Government made obsolete through land planning, land zoning, and the relocation of isolated settlers.

With the assistance from the State and Federal Government there has already been a real achievement in all of these programs. With continued financial aid from the Federal Government in the relocation of isolated settlers, the ultimate objectives of rural zoning can be achieved.

During the past several years some 400 isolated tracts of land have been purchased by the Federal Government. On many of these tracts families were attempting to eke out an existence. The purchase of these lands has made possible the closing of some 14 rural schools. It has saved several thousand dollars annually in expenses for school transportation; likewise, road costs have been reduced by eliminating the necessity for maintenance and snow-plowing. Relief costs have been materially cut by voluntarily relocating many of the families in settled areas in which they have a chance to obtain a reasonably satisfactory standard of living.

Area of restricted and unrestricted districts, of operating farms, nonconforming-user farms, and land open for settlement in the 24 zoned counties of northern Wisconsin, March 1938

County	Land area		Restricted area ²				Unrestricted area				
	Total ¹	In farms 1935 ²	Total	Percentage of total land area	Forestry district	Recreation district	Acreage in nonconforming uses ⁴	Total	Land in farms	Land open to settlement	
										Total	Percentage of total land area
	Acres	Acres	Acres	Percent	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Percent
Ashtland	673,306	141,654	314,120	46.7	314,120	---	8,900	359,186	132,754	226,432	33.63
Bayfield	957,727	225,682	537,888	56.2	534,848	33,040	20,532	419,839	205,150	214,689	22.42
Burnett	535,539	242,949	135,600	25.3	128,618	6,960	5,390	399,939	237,559	162,380	30.32
Clark	778,592	549,144	126,800	16.3	126,800	---	8,320	651,792	540,424	110,968	14.25
Chippewa	660,723	500,958	225,680	3.4	225,680	560	7,795	638,043	499,163	138,880	21.02
Douglas	849,440	205,029	230,400	27.1	230,400	---	7,457	619,040	197,572	421,468	49.62
Eau Claire	411,296	307,335	55,880	13.6	55,880	---	2,980	353,416	304,355	51,061	12.41
Florence	312,864	58,332	219,360	70.1	203,320	16,040	7,494	93,504	50,838	42,666	13.64
Forest	655,712	91,278	340,560	51.9	340,560	---	7,505	315,152	83,773	231,379	35.29
Iron	504,512	52,336	348,720	69.1	348,720	---	3,075	155,792	49,261	106,531	21.12
Jackson	638,531	381,286	21,120	3.3	21,120	---	1,720	379,566	379,566	237,845	37.25
Lanlade	554,816	217,516	249,400	45.0	246,520	2,880	12,919	305,416	204,597	100,819	18.17
Lincoln	572,589	216,024	222,900	38.9	213,160	9,740	3,329	343,689	232,685	136,994	23.93
Marquette	906,534	334,110	50,060	5.5	50,060	---	9,546	856,474	324,564	531,910	58.68
Monroe	582,918	485,480	56,257	9.7	56,257	---	23,594	526,661	461,891	64,770	11.11
Oconto	713,485	353,659	203,640	28.5	203,640	---	6,049	509,845	347,610	162,235	22.71
Ondaga	730,150	120,515	354,737	48.6	354,737	---	11,695	375,413	108,820	266,593	36.51
Price	816,230	224,761	245,320	30.1	232,760	12,560	6,906	570,910	353,052	33,25	43.25
Rusk	591,514	261,528	62,120	10.5	57,200	4,920	4,320	529,394	257,186	272,208	46.02
Sawyer	837,427	136,149	237,480	28.4	237,480	---	6,435	599,947	199,714	470,233	56.15
Taylor	631,188	311,954	122,160	19.4	122,160	---	6,107	509,028	305,847	203,181	32.19
Vilas	559,776	52,279	466,438	83.3	298,503	167,935	3,568	93,338	48,711	44,627	7.97
Washburn	531,213	215,316	149,400	28.1	149,400	---	4,407	381,813	210,909	170,904	32.17
Wood	521,664	374,794	38,480	7.4	23,120	15,360	1,320	483,184	373,474	109,710	21.03
Total	15,527,746	6,060,076	4,811,520	31.0	4,541,525	269,995	175,363	10,716,226	5,884,713	4,831,513	31.12

¹ As calculated by the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture and Markets.

² U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1935.

³ Calculated from official zoning ordinance maps.

⁴ From list of nonconforming land uses.

EXHIBITS

Publications

1. Rural Zoning—Its Influence on Public Health and Schools.
 2. What Chance Has a City Man on a Wisconsin Farm?
 3. Rural Zoning Ordinance in Wisconsin.
 4. Rural County Zoning in Wisconsin.
 5. What Does Northern Wisconsin Farming Need Most?
 6. Relocating the Isolated Settler.
 7. Wisconsin's Land Use Program in the Forested Areas.
 8. Bayfield County Zoning Ordinance.
 9. Selecting a Farm in Northern Wisconsin.
 10. Making the Best Use of Wisconsin Land Through Zoning.
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STATEMENT BY M. W. TORKELSON, SECRETARY AND EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE
WISCONSIN STATE PLANNING BOARD

STATEMENT ON POPULATION CHANGES IN THE CUT-OVER REGION OF WISCONSIN

In the performance of its duties under Wisconsin Statutes, the State planning board has made extensive studies of population and population changes, local government income and expenditures, tax delinquency, and other matters relating to the economic condition of all portions of the State.

The Northern Lakes States Regional Committee, a group composed of individuals selected because of their familiarity with conditions in the so-called cut-over region of the three lake States of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, and organized by the National Resources Committee (since July 30, 1931, the National Resources Planning Board) to study conditions in the region and propose measures for its rehabilitation, has worked intensively for 2 years. Its report, of which copy is filed herewith, has been submitted to the President. The President transmitted the report to Congress in a statement which read in part as follows:

"I am asking that the National Resources Planning Board keep in touch with the regional committee, which sponsored this report, to assist the regional committee in promoting correlation of activities of Federal, State, and local agencies concerned with bringing about the accomplishments desired. I commend the report to your careful study for whatever action may be appropriate."

In addition, the committee has submitted definite legislative proposals which have been considered by the National Resources Planning Board and transmitted to the President, accompanied by a statement by the Board that "the proposals are in harmony with the recommendations of the report of Northern Lakes States Regional Committee with which Board agrees in principle."

The net influence of migration on the 26 counties in Wisconsin which were designated by the Northern Lakes States Regional Committee as "cut-over" are set out in the attached tabulations and the explanatory statements which accompany these tabulations. These counties which are shown on the attached map entitled "Map No. 2, Population Map of Wisconsin, 1930," do not include all of the areas of poor agricultural land in northern and central Wisconsin but may be considered as presenting fairly the extent of the problem area since they contain very good agricultural areas which balance poor agricultural areas outside the boundaries of the designated region. The two tabulations presented here are intended to show the migration trends within the cut-over region of Wisconsin since 1910. The first of these (table I), based on United States census data, shows the net migration for the period 1910 to 1930. The second (table II), based on school census data, reflects migration in this area since 1930.

Between 1910 and 1930 21 of the 26 counties in this region experienced net emigrations. The area as a whole (including also those counties that experienced net immigrations) lost over 78,000 persons during this period as the

result of migration. Of this number, over 65,000 persons were between the productive ages of 20 and 44 years. Since this migration was a movement primarily of persons in their productive primes, it obviously resulted from a relatively prevailing scarcity of economic opportunity within the region. Declining forestry industries were basic in most of these counties. Some counties were overcome as a result of either depletions of mineral resources or the attainment of the point of submarginal production. Douglas and Ashland Counties, especially the cities of Superior and Ashland, became particularly depressed as the result of the declining resources of the area whose products passed through them for distribution through the Great Lakes.

Since 1930 the distressed economic conditions in the rest of the State, as well as in other States, temporarily halted the exodus of the population from this region. Between 1930 and 1933 there was even an immigration into this area which is illustrated by the increase in the number of its children of school age (table II). To a large extent this was a return of persons who had migrated to other areas which were now experiencing even greater economic distress. This movement was general throughout the State and continued through the worst part of the depression. However, this return to the region was only temporary, since after 1933 the normal emigration was resumed. This is illustrated by the decline in the number of children of school age since 1933.

The resumption of general emigration from this region in the face of uncertain economic opportunities elsewhere is again illustrative of the region's economic limitations. The generally poor condition of these counties was greatly aggravated by the temporary halt in the exodus of their populations. In many communities it has become difficult to maintain basic functions of local government and education without outside help. A large percentage of the population has become dependent on Government aid for sustenance. The necessary local budgets in many communities have swelled to a point where property tax levies are prohibitive even for normally self-sustaining taxpayers. Delinquencies are numerous. Land reversions have occurred in large numbers causing tremendous losses in the local tax bases. These, in turn, necessitate even higher tax rates in order to maintain the mounting governmental obligations with the shrinking tax base.

The substance of the legislative proposals of the Northern Lakes States Regional Committee, which are in harmony with the land-use policies set out in the testimony of W. A. Rowlands at this hearing, are as follows:

1. The purchase of the holdings of isolated settlers whose residence in the particular place demands inordinately high expenditures for public services such as schools, roads, and relief, where relief is necessary.
2. An amplification of the program of the Farm Security Administration whereby farmers properly located on potentially good farms, whose economic self-sufficiency is prevented by reason of an insufficient acreage of land in crops on their respective farms, may be aided in securing the acreage of land, cleared of stumps and in crops, that is necessary to make the farm a self-supporting unit in a self-supporting community.
3. An increased program of reforestation having a twofold objective: (a) The restoration of the forests, which are the basic natural resource of the region; (b) the provision of cash paid employment in useful work for residents of the regions, especially the rural residents, during the period in which they are in process of attaining economic self-sufficiency on their farms.

The supporting documents attached hereto are the following:

Exhibit I.—The report of the Northern Lakes States Regional Committee—"Regional Planning, Part VIII, Northern Lakes States."

Exhibit II.—The legislative proposals of the Northern Lakes States Regional Committee—"Revised Proposals for Federal Action Programs in the Northern Lakes States."

Exhibit III.—The Wisconsin State Planning Board Bulletin No. 7—"The Out-over Region of Wisconsin."

TABLE I.—*Population migration¹ in the cut-over area of Wisconsin, 1910-30*

	Migration by age groups			
	All age groups	0-19 years	20-44 years	45 years and over
Entire region.....	-78,506	5,602	-65,411	-18,697
Counties:				
Adams.....	-4,287	-902	-2,683	-702
Ashland.....	-5,483	-1,060	-3,168	-1,255
Bayfield.....	-6,636	-1,129	-4,412	-1,095
Burnett.....	-2,504	-106	-2,119	-279
Chippewa.....	-3,692	1,323	-3,570	-1,445
Clark.....	-6,729	479	-5,818	-1,390
Douglas.....	-6,992	-2,612	-2,254	-2,126
Eau Claire.....	2,826	1,011	650	1,165
Florence.....	-1,100	-98	-825	-177
Forest.....	2,013	2,055	-110	68
Iron.....	-1,370	350	-1,209	-511
Jackson.....	-7,054	-1,441	-4,429	-1,184
Juneau.....	-8,557	-2,393	-4,883	-1,081
Langlade.....	-434	1,648	-1,507	-575
Lincoln.....	-2,204	153	-1,746	-611
Marinette.....	-9,031	-1,351	-5,383	-2,297
Monroe.....	-9,424	-1,557	-6,173	-1,694
Oconto.....	-7,800	60	-5,893	-1,967
Oneida.....	1,466	1,250	123	93
Price.....	-884	1,348	-1,854	-378
Rusk.....	1,325	2,308	-1,172	189
Sawyer.....	-88	870	-989	31
Taylor.....	-876	2,044	-2,374	-546
Vilas.....	-932	248	-1,001	-209
Washburn.....	149	922	-922	149
Wood.....	-378	2,182	-1,690	-870

¹ The population migration for the period 1910-30 was determined by subtracting the computed population for 1930 from the actual census of 1930. The computed population for 1930 was obtained by applying the natural rate of increase to the census of 1910. Had there been no migration, the computed population for 1930 would have been identical with the 1930 census.

The figures in this table show the difference between the actual and computed population for 1930 and represent net migration. Minus signs indicate a net emigration; all other figures indicate a net immigration.

TABLE II.—*Children of school age in the cut-over area in Wisconsin for the years 1927, 1930, 1933, and 1936¹*

	1927	1930	1933	1936
Entire region.....	186,010	178,509	181,071	176,895
Counties:				
Adams.....	2,974	2,768	2,952	2,766
Ashland.....	7,702	7,247	7,462	7,535
Bayfield.....	6,268	5,656	5,441	4,924
Burnett.....	3,607	3,497	3,732	3,709
Chippewa.....	11,622	11,426	11,473	11,850
Clark.....	12,793	12,071	12,278	11,355
Douglas.....	15,277	14,249	13,615	12,971
Eau Claire.....	10,992	11,568	12,041	12,059
Florence.....	1,479	1,280	1,352	1,369
Forest.....	4,039	3,905	4,146	4,170
Iron.....	3,759	3,699	3,478	3,174
Jackson.....	5,605	5,505	5,394	5,126
Juneau.....	5,761	5,389	5,451	5,385
Langlade.....	7,523	7,470	7,713	7,559
Lincoln.....	7,637	7,015	7,096	7,078
Marinette.....	12,335	11,458	11,785	11,260
Monroe.....	8,898	8,754	8,866	8,794
Oconto.....	10,423	9,864	9,707	9,127
Oneida.....	4,715	4,705	5,118	5,446
Price.....	6,501	6,173	6,278	5,994
Rusk.....	6,323	6,075	6,231	5,867
Sawyer.....	3,220	3,179	3,395	3,576
Taylor.....	7,531	7,083	7,019	6,671
Vilas.....	2,226	2,043	2,392	2,448
Washburn.....	4,041	3,694	3,854	3,907
Wood.....	12,759	12,736	12,802	12,775

¹ Based on school census in the annual school district reports to the State superintendent of public instruction.

TESTIMONY OF W. A. ROWLANDS AND M. W. TORKELSON—
Resumed

Mr. PARSONS. Congressman Sparkman will question you, gentlemen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Gentlemen, your prepared statements will be made part of the record. I have read them over, and I am sure every member of the committee has. We would like to review some of the high spots of those statements, if we might, and have any further thoughts or suggestions you might have to offer us.

This is Mr. Torkelson [indicating], is it not?

Mr. TORKELSON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are chairman of the State planning board; is that right?

Mr. TORKELSON. I am not chairman. I am the director and executive officer.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Tell me what the duties of the planning board are, how they apply to interstate migration, and in what way you are connected with it.

Mr. TORKELSON. The duties are to make studies with respect to the various factors which may influence the development of the State, report the results, and to cooperate with local governments and civic groups in planning activities.

Among such factors are transportation in all its forms, housing, work opportunities, and especially the natural resources, among them water resources involving flood control and hydro power.

The purpose is to promote well-coordinated development. Such studies have disclosed the relation of problems which may arise by the reason of migration. The standard of living in any area is dependent upon the ability of that area to support the population, and that is dependent upon the adjustment of the population to the resources. Such adjustment may be altered radically by changes in the population, and since migration may cause very great and very rapid changes in population, studies of resources with respect to population are very important.

OBJECTIVES OF RURAL ZONING IN WISCONSIN

Mr. SPARKMAN. Professor Rowlands, you are head of the rural zoning board?

Mr. ROWLANDS. I am specialist in land economics in the university and have been working with the counties in the development of their zoning ordinances. I have no official capacity in developing, enacting, or enforcing zoning.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is Wisconsin, Professor Rowlands, rather a pioneer in this type of work?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Wisconsin did develop the first distinctly rural State enabling act for zoning. California and some other States permitted county zoning under a charter system, I believe, and while it was county zoning, it did not regulate and restrict all land within the county outside the incorporated limits of cities and villages to any of these special uses permitted in the ordinance.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Would you tell us just what the objectives of rural zoning are in Wisconsin?

Mr. ROWLANDS. In Wisconsin there are a number of objectives but the four that stand out, that are dominant, are the promotion of Gov-

ernment economy in the development of roads, snowplowing maintenance, and so forth; in schools; in relief; in public health; in forest protection, fire prevention; the promotion of Government economy by preventing the development of farms on land that is unfit, that is isolated, and that is worthless for agriculture.

The second reason was that the people in the north felt the need to develop a basis for the right kind of land use such as forests, recreation, water control and wildlife development where the resources and environment are fitted for it.

The third was perhaps peculiar to Wisconsin. That was to merit and maintain the principle of State aid, because in Wisconsin our northern counties get from three to five times as much from the State in the form of State aids as they pay into the State in the form of State taxes. We have State aid for roads, schools, relief, public health, fire protection, and forest development. The counties feel they should put their own house in order if they are to merit and maintain that assistance from the State.

The fourth reason, which was not apparent originally, but which is now becoming more and more apparent, is the protection given to prospective settlers by preventing settlement on lands that are isolated and that are worthless to agriculture. Tax-delinquent land in Michigan reverts to the State. In Minnesota—Dr. Zon can correct me—each unit of the government had a stake in the uncollected taxes. In Wisconsin tax-delinquent land reverts to the county and becomes a problem of the county. Those were the four basic reasons why the counties wanted to develop zoning ordinances.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was most of that land you speak of as being submarginal land suited or not to agriculture in what is known as the cut-over region?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Most of it was not suited to agriculture.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was it the cut-over region that posed the principal problem for you?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Resulting in the establishment of this kind of work?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Yes; the cut-over region, or the former timberlands of northern and central Wisconsin are the major land-problem regions of the State.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did that produce a migration problem with your people, or in what way did it tie up with the migration problem?

Mr. ROWLANDS. In the cut-over region, we have many separate nationality groups. We have, for instance, migration into parts of Forest County. This has taken place in the towns of Nashville and Alvin. In northern Wisconsin we have many small communities of Polish, Croatian, Finnish, Czech, German, French-Canadian, and so forth.

We also have migration into a group of northwest counties such as Douglas, Bayfield, Burnett, and so forth, from the Dust Bowl.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF LAND

Mr. SPARKMAN. With respect to most of these lands, these sub-marginal lands, to whom do they belong? Do they still belong to the individual, or had they been lost through tax delinquency?

Mr. ROWLANDS. When the zoning ordinances were first enacted in the north, the counties owned anywhere from 100,000 acres to 300,000 acres of land, from which they got no return, and had to pay for all of its protection, roads, schools, and so forth. Much of it had reverted to county ownership at the time of enactment of the zoning ordinances. The owner, in some cases a real-estate group, in some cases lumber companies, in some cases the State, and in some cases individuals, saw no possible hope for getting out of it what they had put into the land already, so they dropped them for taxes.

The county took land in place of cash taxes. The county had the problem of owning, managing, and administering more land than any single owner or any group of owners of that kind of land in the county. We have acted to prevent any further expense. The first step was zoning. Then about eight other steps followed that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You speak of this land as zoned. I gather from your use of the term, and also from other statements you have made, that the real purpose is to divide it up and classify it?

Mr. ROWLANDS. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Some of it is suitable, and some of it is not, for agricultural or for resettling purposes?

Mr. ROWLANDS. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Or for whatever purpose you might have in mind?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Take the land that is not suitable for agricultural purposes: To what use is it being devoted? Is it being reforested?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Yes. We have a total of approximately 5,000,000 acres restricted by these self-imposed restrictions enacted by the counties through zoning ordinances either to forest or recreation districts. Most of it is restricted to forestry districts. The establishment of a legal residence and the agricultural use of that land is prohibited by the county zoning ordinance after the enactment of the zoning ordinance. People who are in there may remain, but no new residence may be established in that district after the enactment of the zoning ordinance.

It is in that area where we have national forests, county forests, State forests, and also some private forests. I would say that perhaps today 70 percent of the land that is at present restricted is in some form of public ownership, use, and management, either Federal, State, or county, for forestry.

Mr. PARSONS. You mean the land was forfeited to the State?

Mr. ROWLANDS. To the county, in Wisconsin.

Mr. PARSONS. They do not have the system of putting it up and selling it?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Yes; they do.

Mr. PARSONS. At public auction, for the taxes?

Mr. ROWLANDS. They do; but when nobody else takes it, buys it or bids for it, the county takes deed to it.

Mr. PARSONS. I see.

Mr. ROWLANDS. They have been taking deed to the good land and the bad, to get rid of the fictitious tax base.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They are just using that method to charge it off their books?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Yes. Many counties have established a definite policy covering the sales and disposals of those lands. Once they get this class of land into their ownership, then they can begin to block it up for best administration by exchange with other lands.

Mr. PARSONS. It left you with a lot of surplus labor when the lumbering business ran its course in Wisconsin, did it not?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Where did those people go?

Mr. ROWLANDS. A number of those people have just left. Some have gone to cities. Some have moved into villages. They had land in the early days. I think the paradox in Wisconsin is that settlement ceased—the bulk of settlement ceased—when logging stopped, because they had a little land they were developing and getting a winter's work in the woods with their teams, and that sort of thing—getting enough money to go back on the farm and do clearing and developing and building. However, when the outside employment was gone and when the lumber industry went out, it left a lot of dead sawmill towns, straitened communities, and isolated settlers. This created a financial condition among the counties that was unprecedented.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are these public lands being patrolled?

Mr. ROWLANDS. They are protected and being watched. We have C. C. C. camps which are assisting in fire-suppression work, and in building roads, trails, and doing forest-development work, such as planting and timber-stand improvement.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Squatters are kept off?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Squatters have been kept off private lands, and in many cases squatters have been kept off of a number of the county-owned lands. As a matter of fact, we have had county officers destroy, burn, and demolish isolated abandoned shacks on county-owned lands that might have become a habitation to some itinerant family, resulting in health problems, road, school, and relief problems. As a matter of fact, we have had a number of cases where the county did not demolish such shacks soon enough. Marinette County in particular has had the experience of having families come in and inhabit these shacks and cause serious financial burden to the county. There was a total cost of \$800 due to the existence of one shack in 2 years.

PROPOSALS FOR LAND POLICY

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Torkelson, you have outlined for us some region proposals of the Lake States regional committee?

Mr. TORKELSON. The regional proposals are right in line with the land policy Mr. Rowlands has explained. It is a three-point program. The first is the continuation of the work of buying out these isolated settlers who are located on these unrestricted lands where they stand no chance at all of making a success.

The second step is a continuation of the work of the Farm Security Administration, together with some changes which would permit farmers who have adopted the Farm Security Administration plan, who are located on land where they stand a chance of success, where the man is all right, to get more acres of land in crops. Our studies showed that, in the best farming districts of the State, the average farm had about 62 acres of land in crops. In the intermediate section, about 52 acres of land in crops were farmed. But in the cut-over region, there were only 36 acres of land in crops per average farm.

In the arbitrary classification—it was somewhat arbitrary—there were some counties which had a lot of poor land, but also had a lot of good land. In some of those counties in the cut-over land, they averaged from only 20 to 25 acres of land in crops per farm.

Mr. PARSONS. What was that, broken land, in some places?

Mr. TORKELSON. It was broken land. In those cases we think the thing to do is to put the farmer on his feet, and provide him with more acres.

Mr. PARSONS. Is it loam soil?

Mr. TORKELSON. The best soils in that territory are what we call the silt loam, or light clay loam soil. For certain crops that is very good and very productive. If a man can get a minimum of 40 acres of land in crops, or better, 50 or 55 acres, he should be economically self-supporting, just as much as a farmer anywhere else.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Torkelson.

Mr. TORKELSON. The third point is the development of the reforestation program, that having a twofold purpose. The regional committee in the Northern Lake States feels that the Government should make an investigation of the forests, because the preliminary work of the development of forests will provide a field for labor. These fellows can be employed on very useful work in the forests while they are struggling to get started. They can earn the cash they need to supplement what they get off of their places, and after the forests are restored, there will be a permanent and continuing industry through the wise use of the forest resources.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all I have.

Mr. TORKELSON. May I make just one more statement?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

MIGRATION FROM CUT-OVER REGION 1910-1930

Mr. TORKELSON. What I am going to say is probably in our written statement, but you may not have read it. We made an estimate as to the extent of migration by taking the 1910 census for each of the counties and applying to that a figure which would represent the natural increase if there had been no migration. Then we took the 1930 census, and the difference between those two figures represents a very close approximation of the net migration. That shows that during that period there were about 78,000 people who migrated out of there.

Mr. PARSONS. Out of how large a region?

Mr. TORKELSON. Out of a region of approximately 16,500,000 acres, which would be—well, my arithmetic is not so very good—it would be something like 25,000 square miles. That was gradual, over a long period.

Mr. PARSONS. Over a 20-year period?

Mr. TORKELSON. Over a 20-year period. Then we also have some other figures. We took figures which gave the school census in those same counties, by counties for the years 1927, 1930, 1933, and 1936. There was an increase of 1933 over 1930, but a decrease of 1936 under 1933, which would indicate that there was a migration into the region between 1930 and 1933 and a migration out of it again from 1933 to 1936. That would seem to me, at least, to coincide with the change in the economic condition.

Mr. PARSONS. Where did these people go, these 78,000 people?

Mr. TORKELSON. Well, from 1910 to 1930, I think they went out into Minnesota and the Dakotas mostly, and to the western part of the country.

Mr. PARSONS. Were they, in the main, lumberjacks in the early days, and woodsmen?

Mr. TORKELSON. I think they were people who were dependent upon the lumber industry in one way or another.

Mr. PARSONS. Directly or indirectly?

Mr. TORKELSON. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Of course, we still had a little frontier in 1910.

Mr. ROWLANDS. Our logging mills were still running then.

Mr. TORKELSON. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes; especially going westward.

Mr. TORKELSON. The lumber business hit its peak about 1900. It had increased up to that time. After 1900 it decreased. There still is some lumber business up there, but it is very small in comparison with what it was.

Mr. PARSONS. What recommendations have you to make as a result of your studies, if you have any to make to us, that would be helpful to the committee in framing legislation to aid in the migrant problem?

Mr. TORKELSON. Well, speaking now primarily for that particular region, we feel that we will be able through the institution of these policies of which we have spoken, to take care of the population that is there. We do not believe any large amount of migration into there is desirable.

Mr. CURTIS. Is there any coming now?

Mr. TORKELSON. I think Mr. Rowlands is more familiar with that than I am, directly, from direct knowledge. I would prefer to have him testify on that.

Mr. CURTIS. Very well.

Mr. ROWLANDS. As I mentioned, the Kentuckians are coming into Forest County. Polish people are coming into Armstrong Creek.

Mr. PARSONS. Where are they coming from?

Mr. ROWLANDS. Chicago and Gary.

Mr. PARSONS. Why are they coming out there?

Mr. ROWLANDS. For various reasons. To get away from where they are, and get back on the land. Here is a community in settlement by

people of the same nationality, same beliefs, and so forth. We have had a little difficulty in the past with people, for instance, on W. P. A. in Chicago. As a matter of fact, Taylor County enacted a zoning ordinance for one specific purpose, and that was to prevent 40 families on W. P. A. in the city of Chicago from coming into the town of Rib Lake. We worked with them on their zoning program. They had set it aside temporarily. Finally, 2 years afterwards, zoning was proposed and discussed in Taylor County. One man came into the county; when the town chairman found out that he was there, he asked him why he selected land in that particular town. He said, "Well, I was on W. P. A. in Chicago. They said to come up here." He said that there were 39 other families coming up. The chairman asked him what he and the other 39 families were going to do on this land. He said, "Well, the Government can take care of us up here, just as well as the Government can take care of us in Chicago." The chairman wondered what government he meant—the Federal Government, State government, county government, or town government. However, the town chairmen of several adjoining towns met and called a special meeting of the county board and at a special meeting of the county board of supervisors, they unanimously enacted their zoning ordinance to prevent that kind of migration.

Mr. TORKELSON. May I finish my statement?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. TORKELSON. As to what policies we would recommend for your committee, it may be that this will not directly affect the matter of migration, but it will greatly aid in securing proper adjustment of the situation up there as it exists now. If the three-point program recommended by the Northern Lake States Regional Committee is carried out, it will assist tremendously. The first step toward that is this purchase of the isolated submarginal holdings of settlers, until all of those who can be moved and who should be moved, are moved out of where they are to some place where they would be better situated.

Mr. PARSONS. With respect to the land from which you would move these people, would you sell that to the Federal Government for forestry purposes?

Mr. TORKELSON. The Soil Conservation Service is already engaged in that program. A year ago, in the summer of 1939, I believe, when they had \$75,000 available for such purchasing, they made 75 of these purchases, which was at an approximate acreage cost of \$1,000 per purchase per family. This year there is only \$15,000 available. Here we have this splendid organization set up, just hitting its stride, and suddenly it stops—out of gas. We think we ought to continue that until the problem is settled, and then through Mr. Rowland's zoning ordinance as fast as the situation is cleared it is tied down and held there.

Mr. ROWLANDS. I should like to add one thing.

Mr. PARSONS. You may proceed.

Mr. ROWLANDS. In the Great Plains States, I understand from the Soil Conservation Service that where they have been buying these isolated or abandoned farms, nonagricultural lands, it has cost somewhere in the neighborhood of three or four thousand dollars per unit to buy it. In the South it has cost a little more. In Wisconsin it is about \$1,000 per unit.

The Federal Government can get more return on a dollar invested in land purchase in Wisconsin, for the reason that no one else can get in there and set up another habitation, because it is zoned. It is futile to buy out isolated settlers where there is no protection to prevent new isolated settlers from coming into that region adjoining the land purchased.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. ROWLANDS. That is, protection and preservation are established in these local ordinances.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions?

Mr. CURTIS. Did you say you had some people coming in from the drought area, the Dust Bowl?

Mr. ROWLANDS. There have been some coming into the northwestern counties in Wisconsin from the drought States.

Mr. CURTIS. Have they been able to work into your economy, or have they been on relief?

Mr. ROWLANDS. They have been able to work into our economy pretty well and the Farm Security Administration has been helping a lot in locating them. The county agricultural agents have been assisting in working out plans for them.

Mr. CURTIS. They come from the Dakotas, I take it?

Mr. ROWLANDS. The Dakotas, and some from Kansas and Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. PARSONS. Thank you very much, gentlemen. You have made quite a contribution to the committee. Your statements which you have submitted have been received as part of the formal record.

(Whereupon, Mr. Rowlands and Mr. Torkelson were excused.)

TESTIMONY OF RAPHAEL ZON, DIRECTOR, LAKE STATES FOREST EXPERIMENT STATION

Mr. PARSONS. The next witness will be Dr. Zon.

Will you state your full name and your address and your official position and who you represent for the record, please Dr. Zon?

Mr. ZON. Raphael Zon, Lake States Forest Experiment Station.

Mr. PARSONS. Congressman Osmer will interrogate you, Dr. Zon.

Mr. OSMERS. You have submitted a statement, Dr. Zon, covering conditions in the so-called cut-over region.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY RAPHAEL ZON, DIRECTOR, LAKE STATES FOREST EXPERIMENT STATION

A STATEMENT ON THE CUT-OVER REGION—BREEDING PLACE OF MIGRANTS

The problem of migratory destitute workers has two aspects:

1. The constitutional right of American citizens to migrate from one State to another to seek economic opportunities, and in this search for employment to be protected from uncontrolled exploitation.

2. Eliminating the causes of migration at their source by increasing the economic opportunities in the distressed area.

The first lies in the field of labor legislation; the second, in the field of economics.

This statement deals with the causes of distressed conditions in the cut-over region which makes it a potential reservoir of migration and offers some suggestions for improving the economic opportunities at home and thus eliminating the causes of migration.

The cut-over region.—The northern portions of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, comprising, roughly, 76 counties, are commonly referred to as the cut-over region. The name suggests that it was once a timbered region from which the timber has been removed. This is not entirely true. Mining of copper and iron, and to some extent farming, play an important part in its economic life and are also responsible for the present economic condition.

The region includes some 57 million acres (about one and one-half times as large as the New England States) and has a population of about 1½ million people.

The region is, for the most part, still "wild land area." Although some 16,000,000 acres, or more than one-fourth, are classed as land in farms, actually only 10 percent is in cropland. About 5,000,000 acres are in cities, villages, rights-of-way, and bogs and marshes. The remainder, between 40 and 45 million acres, is forest land of one kind or another. The cut-over region is therefore of very recent agricultural settlement and of low density of population. The population density ranges from 15 to 30 persons per square mile, and for most of the area there are less than 2 families per section of land. Its distressed condition, therefore, does not arise from overpopulation in relation to its resources.

The cut-over region once a land of opportunity.—The cut-over region has been richly endowed with natural resources—forests, minerals, lakes, and large acreages of soil suitable for agriculture. Barely 50 years ago, people from all parts of the East flocked into this region to work in the copper and iron mines and the lumber camps. In 2 decades, between 1880 and 1900, the population of the northern Lake States increased 245 percent. At its height the copper industry employed 16,000 workers in Houghton County, Mich., alone, and the population of about 75,000 was almost wholly dependent upon it. In 1910–11 iron mining employed about 35,000 men. In the early nineties, during the period of highest lumber production, there were some 155,000 men employed in the primary and secondary wood-using industries. About the same time there was started a land boom, largely stimulated by land companies.

Today the cut-over region—a distressed area.—In the course of three or four decades the economic picture has completely changed. The copper mines, which at their peak produced 96 percent of all the copper in the United States, in 1933 produced only 9 percent and employed less than 2,000 workers. The decline in copper mining antedates the depression, because while production of copper in the United States as a whole increased from 1933–34, that of the Michigan copper mines declined still further. Michigan copper mining is deep, high-cost mining, much more costly than in Utah and the Southwest, and cannot compete with the low-cost mines recently discovered in Africa and elsewhere.

The iron mines in the Lake States still produce about 88 percent of all the iron mined in the United States, and yet employ today fewer men. As a result of the mechanization of the mines and greater output per man, only 18,000 men were employed in 1937, against the 35,000 men employed in 1910, although 50 percent more ore was taken out in 1937 than in 1910. Some estimates place the number of miners who can never be reemployed at 5,000, who must be moved elsewhere or provided with some other work. For the most part, the men who came to the region to engage in mining were stranded there after the demand for their labor disappeared, because there was no other region to which they could move.

The most disastrous consequence, however, was brought about by the cutting out of the timber. Some 90 percent of the original merchantable timber is now gone, and most of the large sawmills have been closed. And in the course of the next 5 or 10 years, the few remaining large mills will exhaust their timber supplies. The number of workers employed in logging and sawmilling has shrunk from 117,000 in 1890 to 12,000 in 1933 and even this not on a full-time basis. Since lumbering was the prevailing industry of the region, a more detailed account of its rise and decline may be desirable. (The three charts present graphically the rise and fall in lumber production and employment.)

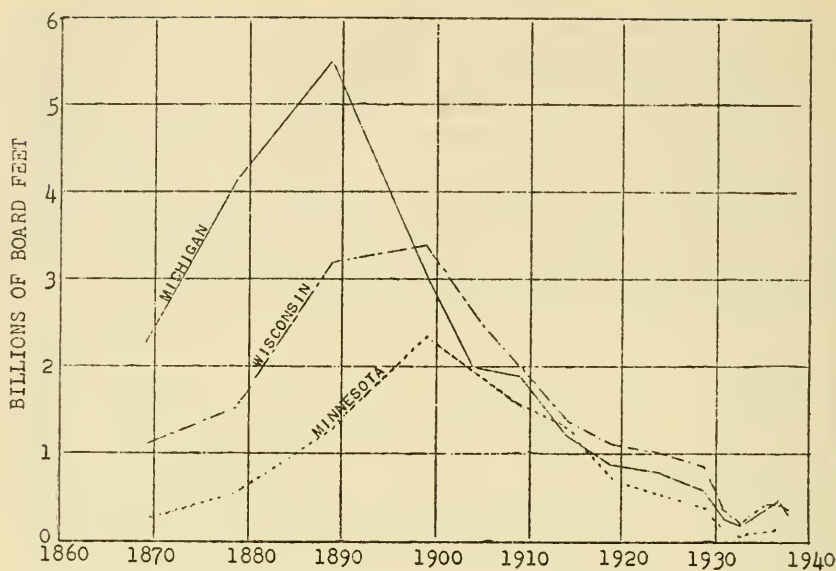


Figure 1.--Lumber production in the Lake States, by State,
1869 to 1938.

(Basis, U. S. Bureau of the Census data.)

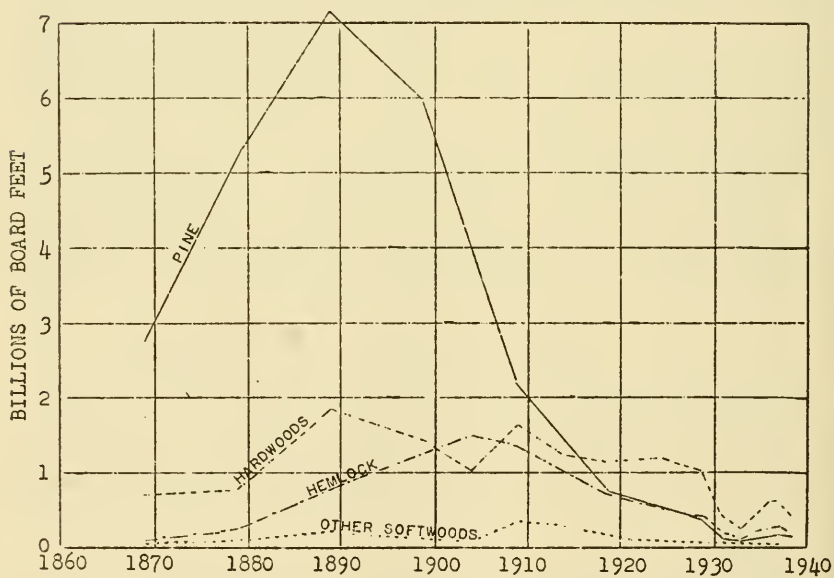
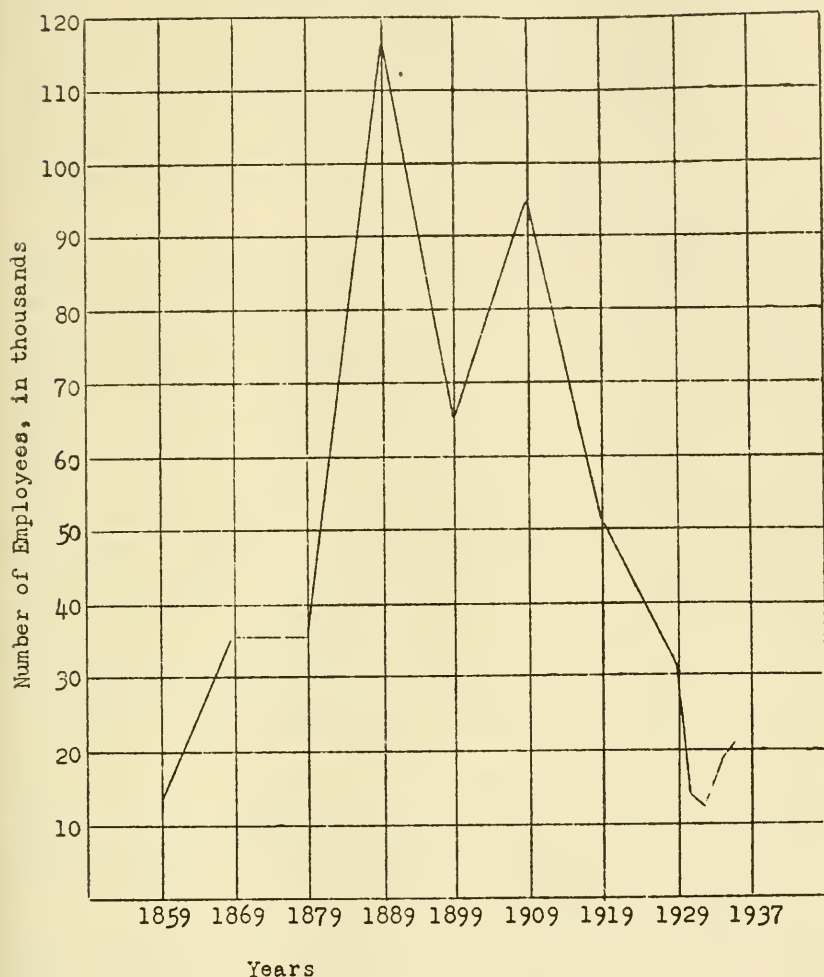


Figure 2.--Lumber production in the Lake States, by species,
1869 to 1938.

(Basis, U. S. Bureau of the Census data.)

Figure 3. Employment in logging and milling in the Lake States, 1859 - 1937.



Source of Data: U. S. Bureau of the Census reports for industrial group entitled "Lumber and timber products not elsewhere classified".

The rise and decline of the lumber industry in the Lake States.—Rapid exploitation of the vast timber supplies of the Lake States came as a result of demands for lumber for rural and urban construction throughout the Middle West, brought about by the unprecedented farm and industrial expansion which commenced after the Civil War.

Prior to 1860 there had been considerable land cleared for farming in the southern portions of the Lake States, and many small sawmills, mostly water-

power, were cutting lumber for local and even some Eastern and Central States markets. Between 1840 and 1860, the number of sawmills increased from 615 to 1,561. In the latter year, lumber production exceeded 500,000,000 feet. This was only a beginning. By 1870 the use of steam power in the sawmills made possible a tremendous increase in productive capacity, while railroad transportation increased the range of the lumbering operations and accessibility to markets. In 1870, 2,500 sawmills reported production of 3,500,000,000 board feet of lumber.

During the next three decades the lumber industry came rapidly into maturity and passed into old age. Peak production in Michigan was reached in 1889 at nearly 5,500,000,000 board feet. Wisconsin and Minnesota reported their greatest output in 1899 at over 3½ and 2½ billion board feet, respectively. Although in 1889 the peak of lumber production had not been attained in either Minnesota or Wisconsin, the combined total of the three Lake States was at a peak of nearly 10,000,000,000 board feet of lumber.

Just as the development of the lumber industry was the inevitable result of expanding demands for lumber in the Middle West, so the collapse of the industry was made inevitable by the pressure of an almost limitless market on a limited resource. The decline of lumbering was as catastrophic as the rise of the industry had been spectacular. In 20 years, from the peak of 1889, lumber production dropped nearly 45 percent. During these declining years of the pine industry, expanded markets for hemlock and hardwoods helped to cushion the fall in Wisconsin and Michigan. In Minnesota the progress of exploitation was somewhat behind that in the other two States, but there were no extensive forests of northern hardwoods to take up the slack when the pine was gone. The full effect of timber exhaustion in the Lake States was not felt until after 1929. Up to that time the development of other wood-using industries, notably pulp and paper and furniture, which utilized larger amounts of labor per unit of raw material in processing and production than does the lumber industry, helped to make up for the employment lost in the decline of lumbering. The census of 1890 indicates peak employment of 155,000 men in the primary and secondary wood-using industries, of whom 117,000 were employed in logging and sawmills. By 1929 the number reported employed in logging and sawmills had shrunk to 32,000, but there were still a total of 132,000 men employed in all kinds of wood-using industries. After 1929 the slump in employment, wages, and value of products was serious. In 1933 employment in all forest-products industries in the Lake States had fallen to 69,000 men. Salaries and wages dropped from \$182,000,000 in 1929 to a low of \$57,000,000 in 1933, and the gross value of products of all wood-using industries dropped from \$680,000,000 in 1929 to \$249,000,000 in 1933.

The consequences of forest destruction.—The most far-reaching effect of the disappearance of the forest was not so much in the drastic curtailment of the opportunities for labor as in profoundly changing the whole pattern of land use and the economic and social structure of the communities that were left behind. It gave rise to a new economic phenomenon, namely, tax delinquency on an unprecedented scale, brought about by the abandonment of millions of acres of cut-over land by its original owners.

Tax delinquency today is at the root of most of the economic difficulties of the region. The private exploitation of the timber resulted in the destruction of this valuable resource over a large area of the northern Lake States without replacing it by new timber growth or diverting it into permanent agriculture or other profitable use. The pioneering psychology of the early lumbermen, the belief that the forests were inexhaustible, the prevailing notion that all the cut-over land would eventually be needed for agricultural settlement, together with uncontrolled forest fires that swept the cut-over land year after year, left in their wake millions upon millions of acres of devastated land, and millions upon millions of acres covered with inferior forest growth. When the attempts to dispose of the cut-over land to settlers, after many tragic experiences on the part of settlers, had collapsed, the owners of the land began to abandon this land for nonpayment of taxes. The local communities, in the heyday of logging, had issued bonds to finance improvement of roads, schools, public buildings, and even drainage of swamps for future agricultural use. Today, with the decline of the lumber industry, the collapse of the land boom, many communities are left saddled with debts beyond their capacity to pay.

In earlier years, taxes were not burdensome on local residents, even though the population was sparse. Timberland and industries formed a broad enough tax base to absorb most of the load, but as the forest land was cut over and the land abandoned and stricken off the tax rolls, the tax base greatly diminished, speculative values of land disappeared. In the 14 northeastern counties of Minnesota, for instance, and this is characteristic of the entire cut-over region, the peak valuation occurred in 1920, when it was approximately \$235,000,000. By 1936 the valuation of the same properties declined to \$100,000,000, a shrinkage of 57 percent, and further decline is imminent. Land abandonment by timber owners and land speculators has left the farmer, home owner, and businessman to bear the burden.

While taxable values have been decreasing, governmental costs have not been reduced, but, on the contrary, new costs have been added for relief, old-age assistance, and emergency programs. To raise the minimum amount of funds necessary to operate the local governments, usually \$150,000 to \$600,000, requires a levy of 10 to 30 percent of the assessed value of the taxable property. All of the northeastern counties in Minnesota, except St. Louis County, have average tax rates of over 100 mills.

Tax delinquency, once started, forms a vortex into which other properties not yet delinquent are being constantly sucked in. As more land becomes tax delinquent, heavier taxes are shifted to solvent taxpayers, driving one after another into delinquency. Several counties have been able to collect no more than one-half of the taxes levied during the last 12 years. Some individual township and school districts reached a delinquency of over 90 percent.

In some counties of northern Minnesota, as much as 65 percent of their gross land area is found to pay no taxes to the support of the local government. This throws the full burden of running the local government on the remaining 35 percent of the land, and on the homes, industries, and business establishments. Part of even this remaining property is delinquent for 1 to 4 years of taxes and threatens to reduce even further the already meager tax base.

Of the forty or forty-five million acres of so-called wild land in the cut-over region, 21,000,000 acres, or nearly one-half, have become tax delinquent. Of these, about 13,000,000 acres have been purchased by the Federal Government for national forests, or have become State or county forests. The remaining 8,000,000 acres are practically no man's land. Without State and Federal aid, the local governments would be unable to carry on their functions.

Labor migration.—No other region illustrates the relation between migration and economic opportunity as does the northern Lake States. As has already been shown, when mining and lumbering were booming there was a great influx of labor into the region. During the 30 years between 1880 and 1910 the population had more than quadrupled. Beginning with 1920, when the output of the copper mines shrank almost to nothing and mechanization of the iron mines threw out more than half of their workers, and the sawmills began to close, there began a gradual exodus of workers from the region. As a result of this there was a decline in the population between 1920 and 1930 in most of the cut-over region. Beginning, however, with 1930, when the opportunities for employment in the cities as a result of the industrial depression had decreased, there became manifest a back-to-the-land movement. In northern Minnesota, for instance, some 17,500 people had moved to farms between 1929 and 1934. A slight increase in population has been noticed since 1930 in northern Wisconsin and northern Michigan. Some came from distressed agricultural areas in North and South Dakota, and a considerable group came from cities of over 10,000 population. This increase in the population of northern counties was due to a return to the land of people who had failed to find work in the cities and to the discouragement of the normal tendency of young people to drift toward the cities.

Most of the migrants were industrial laborers seeking refuge during the depression. A large number of these migrants are squatters and are past 45 years of age, and almost half of them are on relief.

The counties into which there is an influx of such migrants naturally resent their coming, since it increases their relief load and tends to create rural slums. Some of these migrants actually buy little farms with the hope that they can make a living. The result is that there are a great many small farmers who

must seek work off the farm to make a precarious living. Some of them are only farmers in name.

There are today in the cut-over region whole communities that are simply stranded—potential migrants for the first opportunity that presents itself, but at present immobile because they have no place to go.

Employment situation.—A survey made by the United States Forest Service in 1939 showed that within the 76 counties of the cut-over region there are 412,400 breadwinners. Of these, 337,000 have some regular work—in public forests, Federal and State, 500; in forest industries, 58,170; in farming, 111,010; in other industries, largely mining, 72,460; in other services and trade, 94,860. The remaining 75,000 heads of families are on relief of one kind or another. Of these, 15,000 are permanent relief cases, 45,000 are on W. P. A., and 15,000 are unemployed and in need of work. In other words, about 18 percent of the entire population is dependent on W. P. A., relief, or in need of work.

The road to economic independence.—The present economic plight of the people in the northern Lake States, in my opinion, must be ascribed not so much to lack of natural resources as to the lack of opportunities for the large mass of the population, misdirected land-use policies of the past, and the feeble efforts of today to correct these policies. The northern Lake States region has been used for a long time as a backward colony from which raw materials were exported without contributing to any extent to the permanent building up of the region itself. Although the cream of the natural resources has been largely skimmed, there are still ample resources left in the cut-over region to support a larger and more prosperous population than there is now, provided these resources are developed principally for the benefit of the people living in the region.

Here are some of the opportunities: Timber growing in most European countries is recognized as an economic opportunity, as agriculture, for instance, is in this country. From 50 to 100 acres of intensively managed forest give permanent employment to 1 man for a year. We cannot expect at present such intensive timber culture in this country, but let us assume that if we adopted some semblance of permanent forestry, a thousand acres could give employment to 1 person per year. This is from 10 to 20 times the size of the forest area which gives employment to 1 man per year in Europe. The 45,000,000 acres of forest land would immediately provide permanent employment to some 45,000 persons in addition to the 58,000 persons already gainfully employed in the woods, mills, and pulp and paper plants.

Seventy percent of the entire volume of commercial timber in the cut-over region is in industrial or speculative ownership (this does not include the farm woods). Half of this is in the form of large private holdings of 10,000 acres or more and is controlled by about 75 owners. Whoever controls these timber resources controls to a large extent the economic destiny of the region. Should they choose to adopt timber growing as a permanent policy, the economic stability of the people working in the woods, in the mills, and other wood-using industries could be more or less assured. If they choose to follow the old policies, as most of them do, of cutting out and getting out, the economic security of labor will be made still more uncertain.

Here is an actual concrete example of what management of forests on a permanent basis means to the lumber industry and the workers in it.

Sweden has a forest area of about 62,000,000 acres—not very much larger than the forest area in the whole Lake States, which is about 55,000,000 acres. Only for a few years, some 40 years ago, when we still had abundant forests, did the annual cut reach 10,000,000,000 feet, and it has been declining ever since. The annual cut today from these 55,000,000 acres is about 1½ billion board feet, including pulpwood. The Swedish forests, after more than a century of logging, are today producing 7,000,000,000 feet of lumber each year, and this yield is maintained and even increased from year to year; while in the Lake States, if the present destructive processes still go on, our 55,000,000 acres soon will not be able to maintain an annual cut of even 1,000,000,000 feet.

In Sweden today, with a forest acreage not much greater than ours, there are employed some 400,000 men in cutting and transporting logs, and in the manufacture of lumber and pulp, as against 69,000 in the forest industries of the Lake States.

Sweden, besides meeting all its own domestic needs, exports forest products to the value of \$45,000,000 a year. The Lake States not only do not meet their own domestic needs, but import some lumber and large quantities of pulpwood and pulp.

Take the mining industry. Millions of tons of ore are shipped out from the region to be smelted somewhere in Pittsburgh or Cleveland. Suppose at least some of this ore were processed into pig iron and steel within the region itself. What new opportunities would be created for the employment of local labor! At the same time it would enhance the prospects of utilizing the low-grade ore which at present remains unused.

The agricultural potentialities of the region are only scantily developed, since, as has already been pointed out, only about 5,700,000 acres are in actual cultivation. It is possibly risky to encourage expansion of agriculture in the old conventional way—an individual farmer on a little piece of land struggling to make a living through his individual efforts, when even farmers on good land farther south have a hard time of it. With cooperative farming, however, on land leased from the Federal Government, States, or counties, with no mortgages facing the settlers, with machinery bought cooperatively, and cooperative marketing of the products, with part-time work in the woods, mills, or some other industries, a new chapter might be written in the agricultural development of the region.

The recreational industry could be given a new impetus if facilities were created for the low-income groups to enjoy the summer climate, the woods, the lakes, and the fresh air of the northern Lake States region. At present, with half of the population of the United States earning less than a thousand dollars a year, these recreational facilities, except for those living in the immediate vicinity, are largely an inaccessible territory.

Most of all, however, the region needs some new industries utilizing the available raw materials. There are many small forest industries which could be built up in the cut-over region today if they were encouraged and even subsidized at first by the public itself. The slashings left after logging which feed the forest fires could be converted into a source of readily utilizable fuel. The souvenirs made of wood and offered to the tourists, now coming largely from Japan, could and should be all manufactured in the region itself. With wood-craft skill not yet entirely obliterated in the native population, especially among the Indians, many useful articles could be made of local wood.

While fuel wood for fireplaces is becoming a luxury in the larger cities, millions of cords of it rot in the woods only 100 or 150 miles away. With splendid highways and highly developed trucking, it is hard to believe that some way could not be found by which this large supply of fuel could be made available to a large number of people in the towns and cities. The possibilities of utilizing such species as aspen and jack pine in the manufacture of pulp, paper, and cellulose in general could be greatly increased, as well as utilization of these woods for construction purposes of all kinds. If private capital, because of the risks involved, is not attracted by these possibilities, the public has enough at stake to justify making the initial moves itself.

The moral of it all is that the present sparse population of the cut-over region, much of the unemployment, and the financial difficulties of the people are not due to lack of resources but to lack of opportunities, and man-made impediments for the natural growth of the region. No satisfactory solution can be attained except on the basis of wealth production, adequate support, and a reasonable standard of living within every area in which people live. It may be agricultural, industrial, or commercial, or a combination, so long as it is really productive. Under favorable conditions, I cannot see why the cut-over region could not support a density of population similar to that of Sweden, Finland, and Norway, and that means a population of from two to two and one-half million.

TESTIMONY OF RAPHAEL ZON—Resumed

Mr. OSMERS. I wonder if you would just tell the committee about the area, briefly, based on the statement which you have submitted and which is included in our record.

Mr. ZON. Yes.

AREA AND BACKGROUND OF CUT-OVER REGION

Mr. OSMERS. Would you tell us about the area and extent of the region, to begin with?

Mr. ZON. The cut-over region is confined to the northern portions of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. It embraces an area estimated at from 76 to 80 counties.

Mr. OSMERS. In those States?

Mr. ZON. In those States. It contains about 57,000,000 acres.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. ZON. About one and a half times the size of New England.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you describe briefly the history of the region when it was known as the Land of Opportunity?

Mr. ZON. Well, as we all know, these Northern States have been endowed by nature with very rich natural resources, lands, waters, forests, fish and what not. During the period of greatest development of those resources, there was a tremendous influx of population from the East.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. ZON. During the period between 1880 and 1900, in two decades, the population increased almost 250 percent. Everything was going fine. Then, because of the uncontrolled exploitation of the natural resources and some other economic factors that entered in, the whole thing again went down, and there started a great exodus of a great deal of the population.

Mr. OSMERS. Tell us this, Dr. Zon: What is the present economic condition of the cut-over region?

Mr. ZON. Pretty bad. Here is a land which I still consider to be very rich in natural resources. Of course, they cut out the pine. That was the basis of the early lumbering industry. We still have some other kinds of trees which in the old days were never considered economically important, which are coming into use now because of the development of the paper industry.

In Sweden and Norway the country would still be considered to be a country flowing with milk and honey, whereas we consider it a distressed area. We cannot consider a region which produces 88 percent of all the iron mined in the United States as a terrible country.

Mr. OSMERS. No. Obviously not.

Mr. ZON. And yet conditions are very bad.

RISE AND DECLINE OF LUMBER INDUSTRY

Mr. OSMERS. Would you describe for us the rise and the decline of the lumber industry, and what consequences that has brought with it?

Mr. ZON. Well, the lumber industry started in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and in the course of about 40 years, it ran its course. I think it reached its peak about between 1890 and 1900, or something like that. At that time there were 117,000 workers, lumberjacks, working in the sawmills and woods.

Mr. OSMERS. What was the number?

Mr. ZON. 117,000. In 1933 there were only 12,000, and those were working on a part-time basis. The worst part of it is not the shrinkage

in the number of people employed, but the destruction of the forests. This has changed the whole land's use. Most of this land was owned by large lumber companies. After they cut off the timber the land was burned, and they tried to pass it over into agriculture. For a decade or so, they tried to force land settlement, which collapsed.

Then they began to abandon this land. Today there are out of the 57,000,000 acres, 21,000,000 acres that are tax delinquent.

Mr. OSMERS. 21,000,000 acres are tax delinquent?

Mr. ZON. Yes. That means the owners have abandoned that land. When the owners abandon land, the remaining property which is still subject to taxation has to carry all of the cost of the government. That increases taxes tremendously. In Minnesota, some parts of Minnesota, it resulted in an increase in hundreds of mills. There are some counties in which 70 percent of the land is tax delinquent, and the remaining 30 percent has to carry all the normal costs of the county.

Mr. OSMERS. During the depression, was there an influx of labor into that land?

INCREASED IN-MIGRATION 1930-1935

Mr. ZON. During the period from 1930 to 1935 people who had gone to the cities began to flock back to the land. Every abandoned shack and every abandoned lumber camp was occupied. They were mostly people who had come from industrial cities, mostly cities over 10,000 population.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. ZON. Now, there has been a gradual increase in population, but that only increases the rural burden, because these people are chiefly squatters. They do not have any money. They become a burden on the county, and the county does not like that.

Mr. OSMERS. Some people consider the cut-over region as a stranded area, which raises the problem of migration. What are your views on that?

Mr. ZON. That is perfectly true. There are about 5,000 miners that would like to go somewhere, but there is no place to go. They are stranded.

Mr. OSMERS. What do the people in that area think of these migrants that come in there?

Mr. ZON. The counties do not like them, because they become a burden, a relief burden. They do not like it, because it is not bona fide settlement of any kind. If opportunities increase in the city, they will all go back to the city.

LAND OWNERSHIP

Mr. OSMERS. What is the present situation with regard to land ownership there? You touched on that briefly before.

Mr. ZON. Out of 51,000,000 acres, 21,000,000 acres are tax delinquent.

Mr. OSMERS. It is tax delinquent, but not publicly owned?

Mr. ZON. Not all of it. Some of it went to the National Government, for national-forest purposes. The States and counties got it back via the tax-delinquent route. In Wisconsin, tax-delinquent land reverts to the counties. In Michigan and Minnesota it reverts to the State.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. ZON. Some of this land that reverted to the State and counties was made into county forests and State forests, but a great deal of it, 8,000,000 acres out of the 21,000,000 acres, is practically no man's land.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. ZON. It is a very peculiar thing. The title to that tax-delinquent land is a very peculiar thing. In Minnesota tax-delinquent land reverts to the State, but the county retains a 90-percent equity of the taxes, and the State cannot do anything with the land until the State has extinguished the 90-percent equity of the county. The county does not do anything with it. It is no-man's land.

Mr. OSMERS. In your statement you have some rather sensible recommendations as to what steps can be followed in this area to eliminate it as a source of migration.

Mr. ZON. Yes.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FEDERAL ACTION

Mr. OSMERS. I wonder if you would tell the committee, particularly, of course, with respect to what the Federal Government can do, what can be done toward stabilizing that area?

Mr. ZON. Now, there are about 31,000,000 acres of land still privately owned, and I think about 15,000,000 acres are farm lands. The other 60,000,000 acres of the best land belongs to large lumber companies. About 75 large companies own practically all of the remaining virgin timber in the Lake States.

TIMBER CONSERVATION

If the bad results come as a result of this uncontrolled exploitation of the forests, it stands to reason that the reverse side of it is to stop that reckless cutting of the timber. I personally believe the first thing for the Federal Government to do, because I do not see how the State can do it, is somehow to prevent the devastation of the remaining marketable timber in that region.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean, under the heading of national conservation of resources?

Mr. ZON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Or in that spirit?

Mr. ZON. Yes. That could be worked out with the lumber companies and the Government. The Government could provide for fire protection, and they in return will undertake not to devastate their land, and not to cut it clean so the land may continue to produce.

Mr. OSMERS. In the State of Minnesota, would it be possible to take people and settle them on the land which they have acquired through tax delinquency?

Mr. ZON. Yes. They could under the law, and that is what they are doing, but they are doing very poorly. Under the law, when the land

reverts to the State, they have a right to classify the land. Land suited for conservation is no longer to be sold, but land they think has agricultural possibilities, they can sell again.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. ZON. Since all the county commissions are really the owners of the land, to get some revenue from the land; they try to sell that land again.

Mr. OSMERS. Whether it meets those requirements or not?

Mr. ZON. Yes. They are very lenient in their classification.

Mr. OSMERS. Of agricultural land?

Mr. ZON. Yes. Most of this land is covered with timber. The law requires that the land and the timber should be valued separately. That is not always done. The result is that many people buy this land under very liberal conditions. It used to be \$80 per forty. They have reduced it to \$20. You have to pay down only 10 percent, and that means you can get it for \$2. Lots of people pay the \$2, get the land which has timber, devastate the rest of the timber, and then abandon it again, so the land comes back again in worse condition.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, they get the timber for \$2?

Mr. ZON. They get the timber for \$2 and that is all there is to it. Some county commissioners are doing a better job. Most of the counties, however, are so hard up they are anxious to put the land on the tax roll. Therefore they will do anything to sell it. That is in Minnesota.

Mr. OSMERS. If a resettlement program was entered into, what agency or agencies would be best fitted to deal with that program?

Mr. ZON. It has been stated that the National Government has 5,000,000 acres of national forests in the three States.

Mr. OSMERS. In this area?

Mr. ZON. In this Lake States region; yes.

Mr. OSMERS. I mean in the cut-over area.

Mr. ZON. In the cut-over area; yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

RESETTLEMENT ON GOVERNMENT-OWNED LAND

Mr. ZON. Now, it seems to me, instead of excluding settlers there from the portions which are good agricultural land, I do not see why the Government could not let people settle on that agricultural land.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean in the national forests?

Mr. ZON. In the national forests; yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. ZON. Of course, they might not make an economic existence from agriculture, but by working in addition on roads, at fire protection, reforestation, cutting, and so forth, they could make a fairly good living.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. ZON. Some national forests are doing that. Some settlers who live outside of the forest have been told that they could go over into the forest, where they gave them land of better quality than they had outside. There we have arranged our work in the woods in such a way as to provide work for those settlers. This we could have

done on a much larger scale, except for the C. C. C. When they bring the C. C. C. in there, it interferes with that policy.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean by sending the C. C. C. boys into this area, possible employment for local residents has been eliminated?

Mr. ZON. Not eliminated, but reduced greatly.

Mr. OSMERS. Reduced?

Mr. ZON. Yes. While I believe a great deal in the C. C. C. itself, in this particular instance it did conflict with the interest of the local people. They had as many as 30,000 C. C. C. boys working in the Lake States region.

Mr. OSMERS. What type of work have the C. C. C. boys been doing in this area—the cut-over region?

Mr. ZON. They have been helping to cut forests, build roads and trails, build telephone lines, cut out trees, helping with the fire protection, and helping with the planting of trees. They have planted many millions of trees, and have done similar work.

Mr. OSMERS. In your statement, which I have read with a great deal of interest, you make some reference to a program that is now being used in Sweden.

Mr. ZON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you care to tell the committee the nature of the forest conservation program there?

Mr. ZON. The main thing is, of course, not to cut more timber than the forest can grow. That is exactly the reverse of what happened here. We simply cut off the timber without regard to its growth. In Europe, and in Sweden especially, they restrict their cutting. The strange part of it is that some of the best forests are forests belonging to private companies—mining companies, for instance.

Mr. OSMERS. In Sweden?

Mr. ZON. In Sweden. The forests have been developed, of course, in the course of many years. You cannot do it overnight, because it takes many years for trees to grow. They have gradually developed a system of forestry which they do not take off any more than the forest grows and the forest can maintain. In that way the mills can provide stable employment. They do exactly what I have suggested they could do here. They deliberately invite settlers to come within the Government forests and provide them with parcels of land, so they have part-time agriculture and part-time forest work.

Mr. OSMERS. Does the Government pay in cash for the work they do in the forest, to augment their income from the agricultural end of their operations?

Mr. ZON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How long does it take for a program of that nature, if it were instituted in a cut-over region such as we are discussing here, before the cycle has been completed and the trees are ready to harvest, so to speak?

Mr. ZON. Well, we have a hiatus right there. We have very little marketable timber left. Then we have a hiatus there of trees of middle age—

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. ZON. Or middle size.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. ZON. Then we have, as a result of fire protection, a large acreage of second growth coming on. If we could carry over the next 20 years, we will have lots of timber again in the Lake States. The whole thing is to cut the old timber sparingly, and in that way spread it out for the next 20 years.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. ZON. In that way you will give the middle-aged trees a chance to come in to the marketable size, so they will be ready for commercial use. I think if we could somehow tide over for the next 20 years we can gradually approach a permanent basis.

Mr. OSMERS. You think it would take a 20-year cycle, starting from your present situation?

Mr. ZON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Of course, along with that goes a very wide planting program?

Mr. ZON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. As you harvest the old trees, you plant new trees?

Mr. ZON. There are 7,000,000 acres to plant up.

Mr. OSMERS. 7,000,000 acres to plant up?

Mr. ZON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. There is just one other phase of the cut-over region I think the committee would like to hear about. That is the iron mining.

Mr. ZON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. There is considerable iron mining going on there today, is there not?

Mr. ZON. Yes; 88 percent of all iron ore mined in the United States is mined right there.

LABOR SITUATION IN MINING INDUSTRY

Mr. OSMERS. Tell me about the labor situation in the mining industry.

Mr. ZON. It is pretty bad.

Mr. OSMERS. Why is that?

Mr. ZON. There are two things: copper mines and iron mines.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. ZON. The copper mines in Utah and the copper mines in the Southwest are not so deep. They can be mined much more cheaply. African copper also has been coming into competition. African copper can be laid in Liverpool at 5 cents a pound. The cost of mining in northern Michigan was never less than 11½ cents.

Mr. OSMERS. Never less than 11½ cents?

Mr. ZON. No. At one time the copper mines in Michigan produced 96 percent of all the copper. Today they produce only 9 percent. At one time there were about 75,000 people who depended on copper mines. Today they employ about 1,200.

Mr. OSMERS. Going back to iron mining, you said that the iron mines produce 88 percent; is that correct?

Mr. ZON. The iron mines are still very active. As a result of technological improvement, electrification and so forth, the output of the iron has increased about 50 percent in the last 30 years. Yet they employ fewer people. Where, in 1910, the iron mines employed 35,000 people, today with a 50-percent greater output, they employ only 18,000 people.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have any idea or any figure in mind as to the total population of the area we have been discussing, which embraces these 76 counties?

Mr. ZON. About one and a half million people.

Mr. OSMERS. Only 18,000 of them are employed in——

Mr. ZON. That is the total population.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes. The mining population is about 18,000?

Mr. ZON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Which, of course, is very, very small compared to the total?

Mr. ZON. Yes. I personally think—perhaps I am too optimistic—but I believe the cut-over region can stabilize its present population and, in addition, if we are wise in our land policy, we can make it a land of greater opportunity. I do not see why this region—if you compare it with Finland, Norway, and Sweden—could not support two and a half or three million people. Their land is not a bit better than our land.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, you think, with proper planning, the future of the cut-over region is bright?

Mr. ZON. Not only as a reservoir for migrants, but really to establish a population.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all I have.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions? (No response.) The statement which you have prepared, Dr. Zon, entitled, "A Statement on the Cut-over Region, Breeding Place of Migrants," has been received as part of our formal record.

Mr. PARSONS. Thank you very much, Dr. Zon.

(Whereupon Dr. Raphael Zon was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW BATJES

Mr. PARSONS. The next witness will be Andrew Batjes. Congressman Curtis will interrogate you.

Mr. CURTIS. State your name and address for the record, please, Mr. Batjes.

Mr. BATJES. Andrew Batjes.

Mr. CURTIS. Speak louder, please, so the reporter can hear you.

Mr. BATJES. Andrew Batjes.

Mr. CURTIS. How do you spell your last name?

Mr. BATJES. B-a-t-j-e-s.

Mr. CURTIS. What is your address?

Mr. BATJES. 1327 George Street.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are you?

Mr. BATJES. Forty-one.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you married?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have any children?

Mr. BATJES. Five.

Mr. CURTIS. How old is the oldest one?

Mr. BATJES. Seventeen.

Mr. CURTIS. How old is the youngest one?

Mr. BATJES. A year old.

Mr. CURTIS. How many of them are in school?

Mr. BATJES. Two.

Mr. CURTIS. The two older ones?

Mr. BATJES. No. The oldest one is working.

Mr. CURTIS. How far in school did she go?

Mr. BATJES. It is a boy.

Mr. CURTIS. A 17-year-old boy?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How far did he go?

Mr. BATJES. As far as seventh grade.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you employed now?

Mr. BATJES. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How long have you lived in Chicago?

Mr. BATJES. I was born and raised here on the West Side.

Mr. CURTIS. At what age did you begin working?

Mr. BATJES. Fourteen.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you work at then?

Mr. BATJES. I worked for Marshall Field & Co. as an errand boy in the store.

Mr. CURTIS. At what age were you married?

Mr. BATJES. Twenty-two.

Mr. CURTIS. What were you doing then?

Mr. BATJES. Working with a plumber, as plumber's helper.

Mr. CURTIS. What year were you married?

Mr. BATJES. 1922.

Mr. CURTIS. How long after 1922 did you have continuous employment, or nearly so?

Mr. BATJES. Up to 1931 or 1930. Then I went on relief, since, and have been back and forth.

Mr. CURTIS. Up to 1932 you were working, usually doing plumbing work?

Mr. BATJES. Yes; and truck driving and things like that.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you one of the, what we might term, skilled plumbers?

Mr. BATJES. No; just a helper.

Mr. CURTIS. What wages did you get during that time?

Mr. BATJES. Seventy-five cents an hour.

Mr. CURTIS. How many hours did you work?

Mr. BATJES. Eight hours.

Mr. CURTIS. You were raising your family at that time?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you buying a home?

Mr. BATJES. No.

Mr. CURTIS. You were living—

- Mr. BATJES. Just renting.
- Mr. CURTIS. Did you live in an apartment house?
- Mr. BATJES. We just rented a flat.
- Mr. CURTIS. Did you say it was in 1933 that you became unemployed?
- Mr. BATJES. No; 1930 or 1931.
- Mr. CURTIS. 1930 or 1931?
- Mr. BATJES. Yes.
- Mr. CURTIS. Have you had any work in private enterprise since then?
- Mr. BATJES. Not to speak of; no.
- Mr. CURTIS. You have had a little bit now and then?
- Mr. BATJES. Now and then.
- Mr. CURTIS. Have you ever sought public relief?
- Mr. BATJES. Yes.
- Mr. CURTIS. When was the first that you had to do that?
- Mr. BATJES. About 1931.
- Mr. CURTIS. Did they put you on relief?
- Mr. BATJES. No; I got a box at that time.
- Mr. CURTIS. You got what?
- Mr. BATJES. A box. They were dishing out boxes at that time.
- Mr. CURTIS. Boxes of provisions?
- Mr. BATJES. Yes.
- Mr. CURTIS. Well, did you get any W. P. A. work?
- Mr. BATJES. I didn't get any W. P. A. work until 1933. Then I got W. P. A. work.
- Mr. CURTIS. Are any of your children working?
- Mr. BATJES. Just one boy.
- Mr. CURTIS. What does he make?
- Mr. BATJES. \$10 a week.
- Mr. CURTIS. Judging from the information given me when you were interviewed, I take it you left to go away to get some farm work when you could?
- Mr. BATJES. Yes.
- Mr. CURTIS. What States did you work in?
- Mr. BATJES. Wisconsin.
- Mr. CURTIS. What kind of work were you doing on the farm?
- Mr. BATJES. I was doing general work there, picking potatoes, corn, helping to thresh, build silos, and things like that.
- Mr. CURTIS. Would it be year around work?
- Mr. BATJES. No. Seasonal work.
- Mr. CURTIS. Seasonal work?
- Mr. BATJES. Yes.
- Mr. CURTIS. You would not take your family with you, or did you?
- Mr. BATJES. I had the family out there; yes, sir.
- Mr. CURTIS. Did you establish a residence there?
- Mr. BATJES. Yes, sir.
- Mr. CURTIS. How long did you live in Wisconsin?
- Mr. BATJES. From June until about November.
- Mr. CURTIS. Of what year?
- Mr. BATJES. 1939.
- Mr. CURTIS. June until November?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You made enough money to get along during that time?

Mr. BATJES. I done everything I could; yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you able to make enough wages to have anything saved up when you came back?

Mr. BATJES. No; I even inquired for relief out there.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you get any?

Mr. BATJES. I got some.

Mr. CURTIS. In Wisconsin?

Mr. BATJES. Yes; about \$36 worth.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you make any inquiry about the possibility of your getting relief if you left the State and then came back?

Mr. BATJES. Yes. I came back and I inquired about relief. They told me they couldn't give me any.

Mr. CURTIS. Why would they not give you any relief?

Mr. BATJES. Because I left the State, and I had to be here 3 years in order to get relief.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have any talk with the relief officials before you went?

Mr. BATJES. Yes; I did. I told them about my case. They said, "If you leave, it is of your own accord."

Mr. CURTIS. They told you if you wanted to take this seasonal employment, you could?

Mr. BATJES. Yes. I was trying to better myself, see?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. At the time you talked with them, did you have in mind just going for a few months of farm work?

Mr. BATJES. No; I intended to stay there.

Mr. CURTIS. I see.

Mr. BATJES. But it turned out that it happened to be one of these lean seasons.

Mr. CURTIS. You feel from your experience that where people are on relief and have an opportunity to go some place and get a job, they should be permitted to do so without losing their residence?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is that what you think?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. If you had not wanted to work, you would have stayed right here on relief in Chicago?

Mr. BATJES. Yes. I would have stayed, if I knew something like that was going to happen. I would never have left.

Mr. CURTIS. How much relief were you getting at the time you left for Wisconsin?

Mr. BATJES. \$55 a month.

Mr. CURTIS. \$55 a month?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Your boy was making \$10 a week?

Mr. BATJES. He wasn't working at that time.

Mr. CURTIS. He was not working at that time?

Mr. BATJES. No.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you have to pay for rent?

Mr. BATJES. Then I got \$17.

Mr. CURTIS. \$55 and \$17?

Mr. BATJES. No. I got a surplus check of about \$6, besides my \$55.

Mr. CURTIS. For surplus commodities?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. From the food depot?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you ever work for any of that, or was that direct relief?

Mr. BATJES. No. That was direct relief.

Mr. CURTIS. You could have stayed there and continued to draw that, but you wanted to earn what you could?

Mr. BATJES. I wanted to get off of relief. I figured I could do better for myself, and give somebody else my job.

Mr. CURTIS. Did the people in Wisconsin raise any question about your not being a resident there?

Mr. BATJES. They did in a way; yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Did they deny you any relief?

Mr. BATJES. No; they didn't. I got it right off the bat. They asked me if I intended to go back. I says, "Yes." I says, "Yes; if there is any possible chance."

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you draw relief in Wisconsin?

Mr. BATJES. About a month.

Mr. CURTIS. About a month?

Mr. BATJES. That is all.

Mr. CURTIS. What made you decide to come back to Chicago?

Mr. BATJES. Well. I couldn't make a dollar no more, so I decided to come back.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you in a small town?

Mr. BATJES. We were in a small town.

Mr. CURTIS. Was the cost of living as great as it is in Chicago?

Mr. BATJES. The food was; yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Rent is cheaper?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You had no work to speak of since you came back here?

Mr. BATJES. No. I have been selling flowers, peddling telephone books, and things like that.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have any work in sight now?

Mr. BATJES. No. I have an application in at these here employment agencies.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you trained in any particular other than the plumbing training you have had?

Mr. BATJES. I can drive a truck and do labor work.

Mr. CURTIS. How are you living now?

Mr. BATJES. I have a flat now.

Mr. CURTIS. Where do you get your money?

Mr. BATJES. Charities.

Mr. CURTIS. What charity organization is assisting you?

Mr. BATJES. United Charities.

Mr. CURTIS. United Charities?

Mr. BATJES. Yes; the north side branch, at 1001 Leland Avenue.

Mr. CURTIS. How much do they provide you?

Mr. BATJES. \$8.58.

Mr. CURTIS. A week?

Mr. BATJES. A week.

Mr. CURTIS. Your boy makes \$10 a week?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Does he stay at home?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is he a good boy?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. He helps you get along?

Mr. BATJES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. I think that is all.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions, gentlemen? [No response.] Your case is similar to many others that we have heard about. We are trying to get a cross-section of all of these three to four million people that are traveling up and down the country. Your case is illustrative, no doubt, of thousands of them. Thank you, Mr. Batjes.

(Whereupon, Mr. Batjes was excused.)

**TESTIMONY OF CHARLES B. MARSHALL, DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF
GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, INDIANA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC
WELFARE, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.**

Mr. PARSONS. The next witness will be Mr. Charles B. Marshall. Mr. Marshall, state your full name, address, and official position for the record.

Mr. MARSHALL. Charles B. Marshall, director, division of general administration, Indiana Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis, Ind.

Mr. PARSONS. You are representing, in part, the Governor of the State of Indiana at this hearing?

Mr. MARSHALL. I shall introduce a letter from the Governor for the record, together with a study prepared by the department of public welfare.

Mr. PARSONS. Without objection, they are received for the record.

STATE OF INDIANA,
Indianapolis, August 14, 1940.

Hon. JOHN R. TOLAN,

*Chairman, Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am enclosing a copy of a study of the migrant-worker problem in Indiana for the attention of your committee. Indiana is planning to send two representatives from the State welfare department to testify at the Chicago hearing.

The department of public welfare and the State employment service, working together, have conducted a rather thorough study of the problem. Also, the regional director of the Farm Security Administration has given a great deal of regional director of the Farm Security Administration has given a great deal of attention to migrant workers, and should be able to present valuable material

The views of the State of Indiana will be presented by officials of the State department of public welfare.

Very truly yours,

M. CLIFFORD TOWNSEND.

Mr. PARSONS, I believe you have a short statement which you desire to present to the committee. You have made some helpful suggestions here. I have looked it over, and I think it contains some rather beneficial information. Will you introduce it at this time?

STATEMENT BY THE INDIANA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

OUTLINE

1. Migration and transient activity in Indiana.
2. Interstate migration trends as reflected by place of birth data.
3. Summary of importance of indigents and mental cases to Indiana classified by State from which imported.
4. Summary of deportation of indigents from Indiana by township trustees.
5. Place of birth of new cases accepted for assistance under the old-age, blind, and dependent-children programs.
6. Population born in other States living in Indiana.¹
7. Population born in Indiana living in other States.¹

MIGRATION AND TRANSIENT ACTIVITY IN INDIANA

Effective evaluation of the transient and migration problem as it affects Indiana is difficult to determine due to scarcity of data related to the subject. In considering the problem it should be remembered that all migrants are not of a dependent type and do not necessarily constitute a relief problem.

With regard to relation with other States, the migration figures in Indiana show a fairly even balance. In accord with the early population movements, which were from east to west in this country, the early census figures show that the population born in other States living in Indiana came predominantly from the Eastern and Southeastern States, with Kentucky and Ohio being particularly large contributors, and it was not until the 1900 census that any sizeable numbers were shown as natives of any State to our west. The proportion is still negligible, however, as compared to the peoples of eastern origin.

With regard to migration from the State of persons born in Indiana, this movement has always been primarily to the west, although Ohio and Michigan, to our north and east, receive a sizeable number of Hoosier migrants. The number of persons born in Indiana and living in other States is greater than the number of persons born in these States and living in Indiana in all except the Southeastern States (Florida excepted due to its resort nature). It is particularly interesting to note the great excess of natives of Kentucky and Tennessee who live in Indiana over Hoosiers living in Kentucky and Tennessee.

It may be safely assumed that many individuals who leave their native State to go to another do so because of inability to make a livelihood in their present location. It is uncertain as to how many of these individuals become dependents in their new home, although data collected by the State department of public welfare reveal that of the total number of new cases accepted for assistance under the security aid program in Indiana from November 1936 through December 1939, over 23 percent were born out of the State. Since many old-age assistance recipients, although not natives of the State, may have lived here for many years, a more accurate measure of dependency among recent migrants may be obtained by considering aid-to-dependent-children cases where all children are by requirement less than 16 years of age. Of the total children granted assistance during this period only 13.2 percent were born outside the State. Five and seven-tenths percent of these children were from our neighboring States of Illinois and Kentucky. The percent of the total individuals granted assistance during the calendar year 1939 who were born out of the State was higher in the border counties than in the balance of the State.

The effect of transients and migratory workers on the general relief program is uncertain. Township trustees, who administer the general relief program in Indiana, are loath to grant assistance to individuals who do not have legal settlement in their township. However, a sizeable number of these nonlegal residents

¹A series of graphic maps, covering the census decades from 1850 to 1930, inclusive, retained in the files of the committee.

receive assistance each month according to the reports of the Indiana Unemployment Relief Commission. It should be pointed out in this connection that these individuals are not all interstate transients but that many of them are individuals who do not have legal settlement in the township in which they are residing but have legal settlement or are residents of the State.

Records are somewhat incomplete with regard to deportation and importation of indigents in this State since trustees may deport indigents to their place of legal settlement without clearing through the State department of public welfare. However, it is known from a 2-month sample taken in the latter part of 1938 by the Governor's commission on unemployment relief that trustees deport approximately 135 persons per month, while records of the State department of public welfare show that 1,592 dependents and 50 mental patients were returned to this State during the period May 1938 through July 1940 upon authorization of the State department.

Data on the number of interstate transients in the State at present are unavailable, although records of the Governor's commission on unemployment relief showed from 750 to 2,246 receiving care on selected dates in 1934, while the unduplicated total of transients receiving care in 1 month during the period for which the Commission has data ranged from 143 in December 1933 to 13,339 in May 1935. The transient-aid program was discontinued shortly after this latter date.

Transients and migratory workers traditionally follow the seasonal crops through the country. This condition exists in Indiana, particularly in the canning industry, although there is also a lesser demand for harvest labor by farmers in rush seasons. This excessive seasonal demand for labor has brought into existence certain conditions which tend to throw the economic situation in the counties of the canning belt out of balance and which may create social problems in the near future.

In some of the smaller southern counties the canning industry demands a labor supply greater than that available in the community. There is, therefore, an immigration into these counties for approximately 2 months' work. These laborers come from neighboring counties to some extent, but they also come from neighboring Southern States. The living conditions of these people are poor, and they spend very little of their earnings in the community. The Indiana State Employment Service reveals that the canning industry is highly seasonal and can support its employees for only 4 months of each year. During the remaining 8 months there is practically no activity in this industry. A part of these migrant workers return to their homes with their savings from the 4 months' work, and the balance remain in the community, many to become dependent on public aid. Data collected by the State planning board for Johnson County show that at the time the board's study was made (1935) almost one-third of the relief population of Johnson County was of Kentucky origin. It is significant that the majority of these families were located near canning factories in the county.

Remedies for problems of this type are extremely difficult. It is vital to the canning industry that they have a large supply of cheap labor when their crops are ready, and laws prohibiting interstate movement cannot be passed since the harmful results of legislation of this type might offset benefits. However, some measure of regulation of migration of these marginal families is desirable in order that they do not become too great a liability to the communities to which they migrate.

Data collected by the United States Census Bureau show that although there were more Indiana-born persons living in other States than there were individuals born in other States living in Indiana in both 1920 and 1930, the difference between these numbers in 1930 was 53,601 less than in 1920, a reduction of 19 percent. These figures indicate that the trend of migration is now more toward Indiana than from Indiana to other States.

According to the 1930 census, the States showing the greatest excess of their native born living in Indiana over Indiana-born residents of their State were Kentucky, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania, the excess for Kentucky being 115,414 individuals. States reporting the greatest excess of Indiana-born residents over individuals born in their State living in Indiana were California, 94,205; Kansas, 30,933; and Illinois, 29,083.

Over the 10-year period from 1920 to 1930 the States showing the greatest numerical increase in net migration to Indiana were Kentucky, Missouri, and Kansas, while the States in which the number of Indiana-born residents increased most in this period over natives of those States residing in Indiana were California, Ohio, and Michigan.

Interstate migration trends as reflected by place of birth data

[1920-30 U. S. Census]

State	1920 census			1930 census			Net losses or gains by migration in 10-year period
	Indiana-born individuals living in other States	Individuals living in Indiana born in other States	Net migration	Indiana-born individuals living in other States	Individuals living in Indiana born in other States	Net migration	
Total	851, 255	1 568, 619	-282, 636	923, 322	1 694, 287	-229, 035	+53, 691
New England:							
Maine	286	624	+338	311	675	+364	+26
New Hampshire	174	371	+197	206	404	+198	+1
Vermont	194	665	+471	224	598	+374	-97
Massachusetts	2, 390	2, 639	+249	2, 902	3, 040	+138	-111
Rhode Island	329	431	+102	302	396	+94	-8
Connecticut	983	1, 020	+37	1, 375	1, 250	-125	-162
Middle Atlantic:							
New York	12, 248	14, 668	+2, 420	17, 280	13, 411	-3, 869	-6, 289
New Jersey	3, 735	2, 633	-1, 102	5, 624	2, 679	-2, 945	-1, 843
Pennsylvania	12, 351	30, 353	+18, 002	14, 711	30, 835	+16, 124	-1, 878
East North Central:							
Ohio	94, 662	135, 070	+40, 408	114, 611	122, 388	+7, 777	-32, 631
Illinois	152, 246	108, 662	-43, 584	172, 902	143, 819	-29, 083	+14, 501
Michigan	74, 937	26, 838	-48, 099	109, 967	35, 393	-74, 574	-26, 475
Wisconsin	12, 487	7, 466	-5, 021	14, 673	11, 202	-3, 471	+1, 550
West North Central:							
Minnesota	12, 692	2, 762	-9, 930	10, 583	5, 751	-4, 832	+5, 098
Iowa	33, 033	8, 864	-24, 169	23, 654	13, 910	-9, 744	+14, 425
Missouri	53, 587	15, 004	-38, 583	44, 231	21, 268	-22, 963	+15, 620
North Dakota	6, 802	1, 024	-5, 778	4, 542	2, 239	-2, 303	+3, 475
South Dakota	6, 335	761	-5, 574	4, 635	1, 546	-3, 089	+2, 485
Nebraska	20, 622	3, 422	-17, 200	15, 022	4, 212	-10, 810	+6, 390
Kansas	54, 310	8, 109	-46, 201	41, 117	10, 184	-30, 933	+15, 268
South Atlantic:							
Delaware	276	374	+98	305	336	+31	-67
Maryland	2, 189	2, 934	+745	2, 749	2, 474	-275	-1, 020
District of Columbia	4, 234	437	-3, 797	3, 597	560	-3, 037	+760
Virginia	3, 434	10, 359	+6, 925	3, 061	9, 828	+6, 767	-158
West Virginia	3, 890	5, 513	+1, 623	4, 301	7, 456	+3, 155	+1, 532
North Carolina	1, 169	6, 273	+5, 104	1, 899	5, 456	+3, 557	-1, 547
South Carolina	716	948	+232	561	1, 292	+731	+499
Georgia	2, 740	3, 312	+572	2, 725	6, 730	+4, 005	+3, 433
Florida	8, 467	694	-7, 773	16, 362	1, 681	-14, 681	-6, 908
East South Central:							
Kentucky	31, 918	114, 575	+82, 657	34, 699	150, 113	+115, 414	+32, 757
Tennessee	7, 705	21, 772	+14, 067	7, 387	33, 216	+25, 829	+11, 762
Alabama	3, 742	5, 070	+1, 328	3, 659	8, 706	+5, 047	+3, 719
Mississippi	2, 403	3, 212	+809	2, 415	8, 736	+6, 321	+5, 512
West South Central:							
Arkansas	16, 176	2, 660	-13, 516	11, 830	6, 822	-5, 008	+8, 508
Louisiana	3, 408	1, 429	-1, 979	3, 525	2, 654	-871	+1, 108
Oklahoma	35, 432	1, 964	-33, 468	29, 570	3, 725	-25, 845	+7, 623
Texas	19, 516	2, 450	-17, 066	20, 569	4, 823	-15, 746	+1, 320
Mountain:							
Montana	9, 859	546	-9, 313	6, 976	1, 092	-5, 884	+3, 429
Idaho	6, 044	203	-5, 841	4, 636	341	-4, 295	+1, 546
Wyoming	3, 813	213	-3, 600	3, 298	427	-2, 871	+729
Colorado	20, 974	1, 427	-19, 547	18, 082	2, 321	-15, 761	+3, 786
New Mexico	3, 289	234	-3, 055	3, 090	409	-2, 681	+374
Arizona	4, 032	185	-3, 847	6, 012	261	-5, 751	-1, 904
Utah	2, 029	212	-1, 817	1, 627	322	-1, 305	+512
Nevada	801	59	-742	851	71	-780	-38
Pacific:							
Washington	23, 000	697	-22, 303	20, 891	910	-19, 981	+2, 322
Oregon	14, 347	456	-13, 891	13, 601	577	-13, 024	+867
California	61, 249	1, 464	-59, 785	96, 172	1, 967	-94, 205	-34, 420
In the United States (State not reported)		7, 469	+7, 469		5, 475	+5, 475	-1, 994
Born in outlying possessions		92	+92		306	+306	+214

¹ Does not include foreign-born and born at sea, abroad.

Summary of importations of indigents and mental cases to Indiana classified by State from which imported,¹ May 1938 to July 25, 1940

State:	Number imported	State:	Number imported
California.....	582	Alabama.....	10
Michigan.....	237	Tennessee.....	10
Ohio.....	180	Maryland.....	9
Illinois.....	146	South Dakota.....	9
New York.....	91	Massachusetts.....	7
Iowa.....	55	Florida.....	7
Kansas.....	38	New Jersey.....	5
Colorado.....	36	Connecticut.....	4
Pennsylvania.....	35	Louisiana.....	4
Wisconsin.....	32	Georgia.....	3
Washington.....	31	Nebraska.....	3
Oregon.....	20	Virginia.....	3
Texas.....	20	Utah.....	2
Arizona.....	18	Idaho.....	1
Missouri.....	16	New Mexico.....	1
Minnesota.....	15	Oklahoma.....	1
District of Columbia.....	14		
Kentucky.....	13	Total.....	1, 658

¹ Represents number of individuals for which consent was given to deporting State to return the individuals to Indiana because they had legal settlement in this State.

Summary of deportation of indigents from Indiana by township trustees during the months of November and December 1938¹

Deported to (State):	Number of persons	Deported to (State)—Con.	Number of persons
Kentucky.....	113	Pennsylvania.....	3
Tennessee.....	41	West Virginia.....	3
Illinois.....	25	Alabama.....	2
Michigan.....	20	California.....	2
Georgia.....	9	Minnesota.....	2
Florida.....	8	Texas.....	2
Ohio.....	7	Oklahoma.....	1
Mexico.....	5	South Dakota.....	1
Missouri.....	5	District of Columbia.....	1
New York.....	5	Wisconsin.....	1
Colorado.....	4		
Nebraska.....	4	Total.....	264

¹ Prepared from reports of the Governor's commission on unemployment relief, which were received for these months only.

Place of birth of new cases accepted for assistance under the old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, and blind assistance programs during period Nov. 1, 1936, through Dec. 31, 1939

Place of birth	Old-age assistance		Aid to dependent children		Blind assistance		Total, all programs	
	Number of persons	Per cent	Number of children	Per cent	Number of persons	Per cent	Number of persons	Per cent
Total.....	52, 935	100. 0	48, 408	100. 0	2, 221	100. 0	103, 564	100. 0
Indiana.....	35, 977	68. 0	42, 034	86. 8	1, 579	71. 1	79, 590	76. 8
Illinois.....	2, 356	4. 5	1, 372	2. 8	106	4. 8	3, 834	3. 7
Kentucky.....	4, 226	8. 0	1, 388	2. 9	208	9. 4	5, 822	5. 6
Michigan.....	546	1. 0	473	1. 0	11	. 5	1, 030	1. 0
Ohio.....	3, 563	6. 7	632	1. 3	105	4. 7	4, 300	4. 2
Other States in United States.....	4, 530	8. 5	2, 445	5. 1	171	7. 7	7, 146	6. 9
Foreign born.....	1, 737	3. 3	64	. 1	41	1. 8	1, 842	1. 8

Place of birth of new cases accepted for old-age assistance in Indiana counties that border on other States during period Jan. 1 through Dec. 31, 1939

	Total	Indiana	Illinois	Kentucky	Michigan	Ohio	Other States in United States	Foreign born
Total for State.....	18,317	12,366	867	1,489	206	1,142	1,642	605
Percent of total.....	100.0	67.5	4.7	8.1	1.1	6.3	9.0	3.3
Total for border counties.....	7,775	4,609	522	668	145	541	841	449
Percent of total.....	100.0	59.3	6.7	8.6	1.9	6.9	10.8	5.8
Adams.....	67	46	1	-----	1	13	5	1
Allen.....	635	375	27	8	14	130	47	34
Benton.....	35	28	1	2	-----	3	1	-----
Clark.....	217	147	4	54	-----	2	9	1
Crawford.....	74	70	-----	3	1	1	-----	-----
Dearborn.....	88	54	2	24	1	5	2	-----
DeKalb.....	108	64	1	1	3	27	7	5
Elkhart.....	351	231	11	5	21	39	36	8
Floyd.....	258	179	2	54	-----	4	14	5
Franklin.....	48	29	-----	13	1	4	1	-----
Gibson.....	238	199	10	14	-----	3	12	-----
Harrison.....	88	69	-----	13	-----	1	4	1
Jay.....	101	73	1	3	-----	15	9	-----
Jefferson.....	153	96	-----	51	-----	1	4	1
Knox.....	325	254	25	10	-----	13	10	13
LaGrange.....	73	54	2	2	4	5	5	1
Lake.....	603	140	79	20	14	32	213	105
LaPorte.....	217	122	9	3	13	1	24	45
Newton.....	55	35	9	1	-----	3	2	5
Ohio.....	24	18	-----	6	-----	-----	2	-----
Perry.....	76	61	-----	13	-----	-----	-----	-----
Porter.....	97	50	15	2	3	7	5	15
Posey.....	175	118	20	29	1	1	5	1
Randolph.....	101	77	2	1	-----	14	6	1
Spencer.....	99	91	-----	7	-----	-----	1	-----
Steuben.....	92	59	2	-----	7	17	6	1
St. Joseph.....	664	345	30	15	58	59	74	83
Sullivan.....	257	192	22	11	1	6	16	9
Switzerland.....	42	33	-----	7	-----	1	1	-----
Union.....	19	11	1	3	-----	3	1	-----
Vanderburgh.....	615	313	33	186	1	15	58	9
Vermillion.....	275	129	44	15	-----	15	13	59
Vigo.....	999	520	147	39	2	43	208	40
Warren.....	48	29	7	1	-----	4	6	1
Warrick.....	137	109	1	24	-----	-----	3	-----
Wayne.....	321	189	14	28	-----	54	31	5

Place of birth of children in new cases accepted for aid to dependent children in Indiana counties that border on other States during period Jan. 1 through Dec. 31, 1939

	Total	Indiana	Illinois	Ken- tucky	Mich- igan	Ohio	Other States in United States	Foreign born
Total for State.....	9,982	8,569	326	326	110	131	511	9
Percent of total.....	100.0	85.8	3.3	3.3	1.1	1.3	5.1	.1
Total for border counties.....	4,894	4,008	229	184	80	58	326	9
Percent of total.....	100.0	81.9	4.7	3.7	1.6	1.2	6.7	.2
Adams.....	26	24				2		
Allen.....	316	275	6	3	11	2	19	
Benton.....	24	17		6	1			
Clark.....	93	75		16			2	
Crawford.....	40	39		1				
Dearborn.....	55	41	2	9		3		
DeKalb.....	36	33			1		2	
Elkhart.....	125	116	1		5	1	2	
Floyd.....	44	35		7			2	
Franklin.....	40	29		4		7		
Gibson.....	196	164	15	4	1	3	9	
Harrison.....	42	29		12	1			
Jay.....	24	24						
Jefferson.....	98	78		17	1		2	
Knox.....	208	191	7	4	1	1	4	
LaGrange.....	31	27			4			
Lake.....	1,071	734	107	10	9	12	192	7
LaPorte.....	199	166	12	1	6		14	
Newton.....	36	34	2					
Ohio.....	5	4				1		
Perry.....	46	44		2				
Porter.....	82	69	5		4	1	3	
Posey.....	52	46	4	2				
Randolph.....	59	50		1	2	5	1	
Spencer.....	23	23						
Steuben.....	29	23		1		5		
St. Joseph.....	446	385	8	3	17	1	31	1
Sullivan.....	99	91	5		2	1		
Switzerland.....	19	14		4			1	
Union.....	9	8				1		
Vanderburgh.....	502	401	15	67	2	3	14	
Vermillion.....	93	74	9		5		4	1
Vigo.....	435	390	25	3	4	1	12	
Warren.....	26	21	5					
Warrick.....	100	92	1	1	3		3	
Wayne.....	165	142		6		8	9	

Place of birth of new cases accepted for blind assistance in Indiana counties that border on other States during period Jan. 1 through Dec. 31, 1939

	Total	Indiana	Illinois	Kentucky	Michigan	Ohio	Other States in United States	Foreign born
Total for State.....	311	203	13	40	1	13	30	11
Percent of total.....	100.0	65.3	4.2	12.9	.3	4.2	9.6	3.5
Total for border counties.....	133	74	7	23	1	6	13	9
Percent of total.....	100.0	55.6	5.3	17.3	.7	4.5	9.8	6.8
Adams.....	1	1						
Allen.....	5	1				3		1
Benton.....								
Clark.....	6	2		4				
Crawford.....	5	5						
Dearborn.....	3	2		1				
De Kalb.....	1	1						
Elkhart.....	4	2	1				1	
Floyd.....	6	3		2			1	
Franklin.....	2	1		1				
Gibson.....	3	3						
Harrison.....	1	1						
Jay.....	2	2						
Jefferson.....	3	1		2				
Knox.....	9	6		1				
Lagrange.....	1						1	
Lake.....	11	1	1			1	3	5
La Porte.....	4	3			1			
Newton.....								
Ohio.....								
Perry.....	4	3		1				
Porter.....								
Posey.....	7	4	2	1				
Randolph.....								
Spencer.....	5	5						
Steuben.....	1	1						
St. Joseph.....	5	3				1	1	
Sullivan.....	2	1						1
Switzerland.....								
Union.....								
Vanderburg.....	15	8		4			3	
Vermillion.....								
Vigo.....	16	7	3	3			1	2
Warren.....	1	1						
Warrick.....	2	2						
Wayne.....	8	4		3		1		

Place of birth of new cases accepted for assistance in Indiana counties that border on other States under the old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, and blind assistance programs during period Jan. 1 through Dec. 31, 1939

	Total	Indiana	Illinois	Kentucky	Michigan	Ohio	Other States in United States	Foreign born
Total for State.....	28,610	21,138	1,206	1,855	317	1,286	2,183	625
Percent of total.....	100.0	73.9	4.2	6.5	1.1	4.5	7.6	2.2
Total for border counties.....	12,802	8,691	758	875	226	605	1,180	467
Percent of total.....	100.0	67.9	5.9	6.8	1.8	4.7	9.2	3.7
Adams.....	94	71	1	1	15	5	1	
Allen.....	956	651	33	11	25	135	66	35
Benton.....	59	45	1	8	1	3	1	
Clark.....	316	224	4	74	2	11	1	
Crawford.....	119	114	4	4	1	2	1	
Dearborn.....	146	97	4	34	1	8	2	
De Kalb.....	145	98	1	1	4	27	9	5
Elkhart.....	480	349	13	5	26	40	39	8
Floyd.....	308	217	2	63	4	17	5	
Franklin.....	90	59		18	1	11	1	
Gibson.....	437	366	25	18	1	6	21	
Harrison.....	131	99		25	1	1	4	1
Jay.....	127	99	1	3	15	9		
Jefferson.....	254	175		70	1	1	6	1
Knox.....	542	451	32	15	1	14	16	13
Lagrange.....	105	81	2	2	8	5	6	1
Lake.....	1,685	875	187	30	23	45	408	117
La Porte.....	420	291	21	4	20	1	38	45
Newton.....	91	69	11	1	3	2	5	
Ohio.....	29	22		6	1			
Perry.....	126	108		16		2		
Porter.....	179	119	20	2	7	8	8	15
Posey.....	234	168	26	32	1	1	5	1
Randolph.....	160	127	2	2	19	7	1	
Spencer.....	127	119		7		1		
Steuben.....	122	83	2	1	7	22	6	1
St. Joseph.....	1,115	733	38	18	75	61	106	84
Sullivan.....	358	284	27	11	3	7	16	10
Switzerland.....	61	47		11		1	2	
Union.....	28	19	1	3		4	1	
Vanderburgh.....	1,132	722	48	257	3	18	75	9
Vermillion.....	368	203	53	15	5	15	17	60
Vigo.....	1,450	917	175	45	6	44	221	42
Warren.....	75	51	12	1		4	6	1
Warriek.....	239	203	2	25	3		6	
Wayne.....	494	335	14	37		63	40	5

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES B. MARSHALL—Resumed

MR. MARSHALL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce for the record a letter from Mr. Leo X. Smith, legal adviser of the Indiana Township Trustees Association, together with an accompanying study dated August 12, 1940. The department of public welfare takes no responsibility for the statement, but we are interested in having the view of the 1,016 township trustees presented to the committee.

MR. PARSONS. We will be very glad to receive it as part of the record.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., August 12, 1940.

MR. JOHN H. TOLAN, M. C.,

*Chairman, Committee on Interstate**Migration of Destitute Citizens, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: At the request of Thurman A. Gottschalk, of the department of public welfare of Indiana, I am sending you herewith a statement on the matter of migration of indigents.

This statement was prepared by Charles M. Dawson, secretary of the Indiana Township Trustees Association, and myself, as its legal adviser. In Indiana, township trustees have jurisdiction over transients and poor relief.

We appreciate very much the opportunity to make this statement inasmuch as the trustees as a group are directly affected by anything that may be done.

Very truly yours,

LEO X. SMITH.

STATEMENT FOR SELECT COMMITTEE OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF UNITED STATES
CONGRESS ON INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS

Prepared by Charles M. Dawson, secretary of Indiana Township Trustees Association, 909 Riviera Drive, Indianapolis, and Leo X. Smith, 148 East Market Street, Indianapolis, legal adviser, Indiana Township Trustees Association, member of Indiana Senate, 1933 to 1937, and sponsor of present poor-relief laws. This statement is made in behalf of the 1,016 township trustees of Indiana who administer poor relief and have jurisdiction over transients. No other group or board in Indiana has administration power over relief matters. Lack of time prevents a more thorough consideration of the subject to have a statement ready for the meeting August 19.

Poor relief is handled in Indiana under the home-rule system whereby each township is responsible for indigents from the time they are found therein whether they have legal settlement or not. That must be remembered in any consideration of migrants in Indiana. If indigents, they are entitled to food, shelter, and transportation in the direction of their settlement. Such relief is financed solely by township taxes without State or other aid.

Laws applicable.—The acts of 1935, page 432, revised prior relief laws all within the one act, and the acts of 1937, page 1055, made changes insofar as investigators were concerned. The acts of 1939, page 188, changed former residence requirements from 1 to 3 years within the State and of which the old 1-year requirement within a township to acquire settlement for relief purposes was retained. Another law passed at the same session provided punishment for those who after lawfully obtaining relief, acquired assets but fail to report their change of status and continue to accept relief.

Our laws do not make it difficult for the individual to exercise his right to move from place to place in his quest for a higher economic and social status, as stated in one social work. Indiana laws are aimed at the chronic and shiftless who do not believe in bettering their economic status by the sweat of their own brow but who seek to better themselves at the expense of taxpayers of our townships.

Different groups have varied ideas about care of transients but township trustees believe that in the past they have been coddled, that they had been educated to shift about at the expense of taxpayers, and past policies have not solved the problem.

Migration analyzed and new settlement law sponsored.—Late in 1938, township trustees believed indigents were moving about to seek the best relief obtainable. Figures were gathered and the trustees association then sponsored the relief settlement law which passed in 1939, requiring 3 years residence within the State instead of 1. One year of that 3 must be within a township. The same trend is noticeable in a number of other States. At that time, data were gathered in 25 townships having the largest relief loads and 1,471 random cases were analyzed. The results showed: The problem appeared to be more chronic in industrial than in rural centers.

Those relief cases came from—

Kentucky-----	230	Texas-----	13
Illinois-----	94	Europe (lived here over 5	
Tennessee-----	72	years)-----	62
Ohio-----	70	Scattered States-----	124
Missouri-----	24	Lived in Indiana (all their	
Alabama-----	19	lives)-----	710
Mississippi-----	19		
Arkansas-----	17	Total-----	1,471
Georgia-----	17		

To see which cases would be affected by a change in the settlement requirements from 1 to 3 years, the 1,471 cases further analyzed showed:

Lived in Indiana

Less than 1 year-----	108
1 to 2 years-----	125
2 to 3 years-----	106
Total-----	349

This group was affected by the change from 1 to 3 years for settlement for relief purposes.

3 to 4 years-----	58
Over 4 years-----	364
Lived in Indiana all of their lives-----	710

Cases----- 1,471

Another analysis was made to determine if the relievers came from States granted less relief than Indiana. Of the 1,471 counted, 699 came from other States, 710 lived in Indiana, and 62 came from Europe:

Came from--	Cases	Percent
States with less relief than Indiana-----	442	63
States with more relief than Indiana-----	257	37
Total-----	699	100

Still another analysis was made of the 1,471 cases to determine if the families came to Indiana to obtain relief, then acquire residence to obtain better welfare grants than they could obtain at home:

Cases	Came from States having--	Indiana has--
337	Old-age assistance only-----	All 3.
30	Old-age and dependent-child aid-----	
26	Old-age and blind aid only-----	
317	Came from States having the same types of welfare aid as Indiana although all of them did not grant as much as Indiana. Some trustees believed that the migrants wanted supplemental poor relief.	

Strange to say, there was opposition to the 1939 law changing the settlement requirement from 1 to 3 years by organized social workers but nevertheless the bill passed.

Survey on population trends in Minnesota.—The Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, St. Paul, Minn., published a survey showing that there was a net movement from Minnesota into Indiana between 1930 and 1936 of 130,498 families. Indiana received more migrants from Minnesota than any other of 7 States considered. The object of the survey was population trends in Minnesota.

Unacceptable policies.—In a few States, certain policies have been adopted relative to migrants which are unacceptable to township trustees in Indiana. A ruling in Michigan was typical of the belief that plans to remove indigents to the place of their previous settlement must be conditioned on the following factors:

"1. The move must be to the social and economic benefit of the client.

"2. It must be made with the permission of the officials of the place to which he is to be returned.

"3. Plans for his care upon his arrival must be made."

As an illustration, when comparative grants for welfare and relief between Kentucky (from which most of the Indiana cases come) and Indiana are scrutinized, it can easily be seen that it would not be to the social and economic benefit of the client to be returned, because there is no Federal program for aid to dependent children or aid to the blind in Kentucky which there was and is in Indiana; relief is also spasmodic in Kentucky while in Indiana it is universal. Permission of Kentucky officials to return families is seldom granted or letters answered because the officials there want those families benefit by the better relief and welfare provided in Indiana. In addition, plans for the care of the indigent upon his return to Kentucky would not be made. We are not informed that always Kentucky follows the principles above described but it demonstrates the tendency toward migrants among some States.

Township trustees in Indiana have always followed the policy of noninterference with welfare matters. Oftentimes there is a conflict but leaders of the trustees group have constantly urged that welfare grants be encouraged even though additional poor relief is required at the expense of taxpayers. That policy has meant that some families have taken advantage of our relief and welfare system. The Federal requirement that States must not disqualify a child who has resided in the State 1 year immediately before application for aid to dependent children, or who was born in the State within the preceding year if its mother lived within the State 1 year immediately prior to the child's birth, has caused some friction with local relief authorities.

Some widows or mothers having children and who desire a grant for aid to dependent children, will move into Indiana and gladly skimp along until the 1 year's required residence has been established. She then obtains the grant for her dependent children and forthwith demands poor relief for herself. Under the Indiana relief laws she is subject to deportation to the place of her prior settlement under the 3-year Indiana law, but her children cannot be removed unless and until they demand supplemental aid. Such cases are annoying. Many trustees believe that some provision should be made by Federal enactment permitting the deportation of the entire group. Several families from Southern States were discovered who had explained the procedure to each other and defied deportation through court proceedings so that they could stay until they had acquired the 1 year's residence. In one case, a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child here and when about to be deported, married a man to acquire his settlement. He admitted he could not support her and that there would eventually be a divorce so that she could obtain aid to dependent children.

In one Indiana township a justice of the peace court gave a deportation judgment against a family from Kentucky but to date the order has not been carried about because of threats made by the family and their friends.

Indianapolis conference on migration.—In 1939 Indianapolis was host to a group which discussed migration. The Indianapolis News commented editorially and said:

"The justice of Indiana's decision to require an indigent to live in the State 3 years before he can become eligible for relief was not questioned at the time the 1939 assembly stiffened the relief law. A recent statement that more migrants had come into Indiana than into any other Middle Western State strengthened the belief that this State's easier approach to relief benefits was resulting in abuses that should be corrected.

"Welfare workers from 10 States, who met in Indianapolis last week, took the general view that relief ought to be made easier. Some of them advocated abolishing residence requirements and the meeting favored leaving to each State's attorney general the decision as to when public aid should be granted or denied.

An agreement between Indiana and Ohio has been proposed, permitting a relief client of either State to visit the other State for 9 months in each year without losing such grants as have been made.

"Relief must be given unto those in dire need and nobody would permit a transient to go hungry or without shelter. However, there seems to be a growing tendency on the part of professional workers to consider doles as a permanent program and to make it easier to share in the mounting social-welfare costs. Private agencies urge more attention to self-support possibilities. Public agencies have become so accustomed to spending huge sums that they may forget the plight of the taxpayers who provide the money."

Recent inquiry as to causes and conditions.—On August 1, an inquiry was sent to 125 township trustees to obtain material for this paper. Each large county was contacted, particularly where there was a known transient problem. Inquiry was also made in smaller communities.

No effort was made to obtain data on migration of indigents within the State but one trustee directed attention to 1939 figures for his township when our new settlement law was enacted—18.6 percent came from other Indiana townships, 0.064 percent came from other States, within 5 years.

The problem is appreciated by our trustees and generally they give care and attention as each case deserves. One explained, "We never know if they are truly indigent" or cheating. "Our problem is whether to give them aid such as gas, food, and lodging, or detain them long enough to make an investigation."

All trustees did not answer our inquiry but a synopsis of their comment is given, interpolated with remarks of the writer.

Where are they from?—One trustee said that 90 percent of his relief was to families who come from Kentucky. * * * Another said that many were lured into his community by posters placed in Kentucky. * * * Most of the complaints were about families coming from Kentucky, then West Virginia. One trustee said that many families come from Kentucky and are employed by the W. P. A. before local indigents receive help. This encourages an influx of relievers, he said. * * * They come from the southern States, mostly." The makers of this statement believe that, generally speaking, they come from those States having less relief or welfare grants than Indiana, as indicated by our count in 1939.

Kind and class of transients.—Practically all of the answers to the inquiry characterized the transients as "shiftless" or wanderers, ne'er-do-wells, or the like. Very few of them were regarded as being of the kind where aid would be helpful in reestablishing them. They were said to be chronics just moving about. As said, just a few were regarded as being in need of genuine help which would do either the transient or taxpayers any good.

Here are some of the comments:

Wandering type. Because we are on the national road, we get many who are going east or west, although we are in a small town and one of the State police lives near. He brings them in when they need medical or hospital attention. "They think the world owes them a living." * * * One of our largest packing plants does advertise in our State papers for cheap labor and encourages transients to compete with local labor for caring for tomato and beet crops. They are from Kentucky, Tennessee, Michigan, and quite a number are Mexicans. They have not been so numerous since the 3-year settlement law was passed. * * * One factory hires about half its men from Kentucky and Tennessee. Some leave their families for a year, then the "welfare" keeps them. * * * They are a slovenly class drawn here by seasonal industry from Kentucky. * * * Fifty percent of the transients are chronic indigents claiming to be fruit pickers and moving south to north into Michigan or returning. * * * Our greatest problem is the importation of Mexican sugar-beet laborers by a local sugar company. A large number are from Texas of which 90 percent are aliens. About one-half stay. In recent years a higher type has been employed because the beet company sends its doctor from here down there to give them a physical examination. * * * Our township is on a United States highway and they are bound for New York, Chicago, Detroit, or some other large place where they "are sure they can get work." The local Red Cross furnishes 5 gallons of gas and 1 quart of oil. The Red Cross director says that only about 20 percent of them are worthy. * * * "One out of 25 might rehabilitate themselves but generally if you help them once they quit trying to help themselves."

The importation of cheap labor to compete with local labor was one cause assigned. Some factories advertised in other States or used other means to attract labor although many of the trustees asserted that their local factories did not follow that practice but paid living wages. One trustee said that a certain junior chamber of commerce in another State paid for the care of a family until they established themselves and acquired residence in his locality.

Singularly, none of the trustees reported that any of the migrants said they were going where they actually had employment. They are the ones who have been to some large city seeking work or now are headed for home.

But, "we do have a few transients from Ohio and Michigan who become stranded." * * * "Very few are the type who could rehabilitate themselves in a community." * * * "Hunting work and vacation trips seem to be their reasons for leaving home."

The writer observed not less than 1 month ago, in the cherry belt of Michigan, the large number of migrants who were seeking employment. Inquiry disclosed that many of them were attracted from other States by small ads. Residents of the community affected resented the influx and many said that there was enough local labor to care for the crop. After the season is over, the residents say that the cherry pickers are driven away by the police. Until that is done, some of the women are fearful of staying alone because of the class and type of migrants attracted.

A northwestern Indiana trustee says that about 80 percent of its cases are Negroes, principally from Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Alabama. "They are unskilled workers, farm hands, cotton pickers, sharecroppers, and the like seeking better living conditions but lack ambition and find direct relief very attractive." The steel mills attract transients although they are not encouraged by the mills. Newspapers carry stories of booms and relatives in Gary write letters encouraging others to come there. * * * One trustee complains that authorization is obtained in many relief cases to return families to the place of their prior settlement when they are suddenly given W. P. A. employment or are accepted by the welfare department, then they will not return. The W. P. A. lays them off in a few months, then they demand relief. That trustee said that the old Federal transient bureau encouraged the migration of families by its liberal policies.

In central Indiana, when the trustee took office, he immediately ceased his sponsorship of the township transient bureau and said that all single men would be cared for at the county poor farm. Very few of them accepted the proposal and went elsewhere. The trustee believes that Federal or State care of transients would concentrate transient relief in the larger localities and increase instead of relieving the problem. It is his belief that the majority of transients are people who are going from one transient center to another and making no effort to rehabilitate themselves.

Suggested solutions.—There was no uniform suggestion about what should be done. Many insisted that it was a local responsibility while some said that the Federal Government should handle the problem. Others objected to Federal control over any of the relief. One insisted that if Indiana had a hitchhiker law similar to that of Pennsylvania that it would solve at once many of the cases. Too much liberality with transients was alleged to be one cause. A uniform relief law with compulsory methods of enforcing compliance was one suggestion. Contrary to common belief, the writer of this statement believes that the transient in genuine need receives help and assistance. After a local woman was murdered by a transient in a certain township, help to them through the police, Salvation Army, and other agencies was stopped except in extreme cases. They were overwhelmed with "customers" before but are not now.

Wayne Township of Allen County gave statistics. Fingerprinting of transients was regarded as having a wholesome effect. For July 1940 the figures showed:

Transients fingerprinted.....	433
Transients not previously arrested or printed.....	133
Transients previously arrested or printed and with criminal records.....	300
Percentage of transients in records.....	69.3
Percentage of transients without records.....	30.7
White transients fingerprinted.....	371
Negro transients fingerprinted.....	62

According to age groups, the largest numbers were aged 26. Their ages in groups were in this order: 26, 20, 19, 22, 24, 27, 17. Very few were over 29. Since January 1, 1940, the largest sum was spent in May for transients, then April.

It might be that a universal requirement to fingerprint transients would be helpful. Since that township has changed from the former set-up, applications for temporary care have been but two-thirds. Direct contact is made with the Federal Bureau of Fingerprinting by the township. Only 15 percent are regarded as the better type of citizen trying to improve themselves.

"A compulsory work relief law embracing a variety of work is a good solution. This is the method I use," said another. * * * "Why should the people of this State be slowly bled to death through relief taxes for unfortunates of another State which clearly does not want to assume the responsibility of their own relief problems." * * * "I believe that each locality can handle this problem with less expense and more satisfaction than a Federal program, with a set of iron-clad rules, administered by persons who owe no responsibility to the community in which they are working."

Conclusion.—The Social Security Board is said to have stated that mobility is creating serious risks of loss of rights which have accrued to persons eligible for public assistance, unemployment insurance, and similar rights and recommend interstate agreements also standardization of settlement laws pending a more satisfactory solution.

We do not believe that either proposal would help.

Those who lose valuable rights by moving about have no one to blame but themselves. Similar hazards in private employment present themselves to any person seeking a change of residence, whatever the motive may be.

A rolling stone gathers no moss, neither does a wanderer have universal opportunity for employment. If jobs are scarce at home, they are equally scarce elsewhere, or there would be no transient problem. If the migrant is a good workman and out of employment and knows where he may obtain employment, he will not be a public charge, neither will he be bothered. Those situations automatically adjust themselves without any burden on taxpayers.

The average transient has no trade and dislikes staying in one place any length of time if it requires any effort to obtain sustenance. To relief authorities, he is always "bound for home" or "going to a job" in order to get transportation somewhere, probably anywhere.

The public is growing more tax-conscious every year and dislikes the chronic relief getter who is a shiftless person and flits here and there.

Neither is it agreed that the problem is a Federal one. The experience of township trustees with transients when Federal funds were partially used for local poor relief between 1933 and 1935 in Indiana, disclosed that most of them became relief conscious and that they enjoyed themselves traveling mostly nowhere.

There are other indirect causes which affect migration of indigents, it seems. Among them are an ill-considered policy in giving employment on W. P. A. Local indigents are not favored over migrants, thus giving indirect encouragement to migration. Trustees believe that W. P. A. employees should be taken from the relief rolls. Migrants flaunt the ruling of the W. P. A. that relief laws do not apply to their class, notwithstanding supreme court rulings in several States. Trustees are now considering resolutions for their coming convention demanding closer conformance with local laws and preference for employment by indigents on W. P. A.

One clause in relief laws of some States causes considerable criticism. It provides that absence of 1 year causes loss of settlement. Those States deny return of their migrants yet insist that States not having the clause accept their own. It is an absurd clause, and Indiana was driven to adopt it in retaliation, particularly against California. Preferably, no person should lose his settlement until a new one is gained, and in all events the period during which aid and assistance, including W. P. A. employment is had, should be deductible.

If it is finally agreed that each State is responsible for its own indigents, then there might be some Federal legislation permitting deportation into other States of those not having settlement and requiring acceptance of those cases, together with penalties for violation. States which will not attempt to solve their relief problems should be compelled to do so. It is doubtful if any one State can legally deport an indigent and deliver him into another State.

Conflicts between welfare laws and local relief laws should be remedied. Indiana should not be compelled to permit an indigent mother to stay here in violation of our relief settlement laws while she is obtaining aid to dependent children and at times asking supplemental aid for the children and aid for herself from relief. The spirit and intent of our welfare laws is splendid and above reproach, but taxpayers generally are becoming soured against them because of abuses and exploitation, even though such instances are few. Now that the novelty of our social-security laws has worn off, they are being judged by the few abuses rather than the general good they do.

Indiana trustees will probably consider requiring all who do not have settlement to be fingerprinted and that their records be checked.

Should the Federal Government assume responsibility of the indigent problem, many changes should be made tightening its applicability rather than following the old practice used several years ago. If either Federal or State Governments assume the responsibility, such persons should not be permitted to acquire settlement while receiving help.

The attraction of cheap seasonal labor to compete with local labor should be discouraged.

To say that there is any lasting solution to the problem would be foolhardy. The shiftless will always be with us. A near approach to the problem might be found when each State cares for its own. The incentive to go elsewhere to obtain relief would be removed. The problem is to a degree dangerous. As stated by a writer in America:

"If we give the matter intelligent thought, I believe that we can find a solution for the migrant question which will not, as the Germans say, pour out the baby with the bath. A satisfactory economic solution will find a place in our Nation for a small producer who stays at home. A suitable social and religious solution will bring back the problem to the starting point of all these matters, which is the individual's relation to his own home, family, and local community. This is a middle-class solution, you will say. Precisely; the migrants will receive real justice when the American middle class once knows its own mind."

Hoosier taxpayers are willing to take back their families who have gone elsewhere and failed. They are willing to care for those who have lived here the required 3 years. But they are not in favor of supporting paupers who come here from other States and want to stay. If anything is spent on them, it is only the minimum necessary to put them on their way in the direction of their proper legal settlement. We have ample laws to provide for that; and if it is denied, recourse may be had by appeal where it will be ordered.

We are truly our brother's keeper, but not the keeper of those of distant kin, especially those from other States.

Township trustees are willing to help those in actual need because of conditions not under their control, but they do not agree with any proposal that a pauper may come to their community and stay without any effort to help himself or without any semblance of opportunity for employment.

Please be assured that the Indiana Township Trustees Association welcomes a feasible solution of the problem. The association stands ready and willing to be of assistance in any way possible.

LEO X. SMITH.

CHAS. M. DAWSON.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES B. MARSHALL—Resumed

Mr. PARSONS. You may proceed with your statement, Mr. Marshall.
Mr. MARSHALL (reading):

MAJOR PROBLEMS OF MIGRATION

The interstate movement of populations shifts from place to place on the basis of real or believed opportunities for economic security.

The cause of the migration may be an opportunity for employment, better public medical-care facilities, or more adequate public assistance.

States which have adequate programs of assistance and which border States in which there is no such program may find that persons are tending to cross the borders taking up residence with the view of qualifying for such assistance.

Communities, which, because of some development, import a considerable number of persons in a boom industry, find that these persons moving into the community create a problem when the boom is over or there is a change in the employment situation.

Theoretically, if opportunities for employment, economic security, public assistance, and private charities were equal in all communities, there would be relatively little interstate migration. Because of the varying situations in different States, each State has sought to protect itself from unwelcome influx by various devices. Border controls, stringent legal settlement laws, discrimination against nonresidents as to public relief, community resistance to nonnatives, and general community resistance to persons born elsewhere are some of the devices by which control is attempted.

States have attempted to control interstate migration of dependents by setting up reciprocal agreements and establishing legal settlement laws. The powers in this field of various States vary so greatly that little control is actually exercised.

The legal settlement laws for public relief vary from liberality to extreme stringency. Some States do not have a direct-relief program; other States do not have an aid-to-dependent-children plan under the Federal Social Security Act; some States rule a person loses legal settlement as soon as he moves out of the community; others permit 1 year's leave of absence; and others permit a person to retain legal settlement until he gains a new legal settlement elsewhere as far as public relief is concerned.

Major problems may be listed as follows:

- (1) The variation of legal settlement laws.
- (2) The lack of definite controls as to the deportation and importation of dependent persons.
- (3) The variation in adequacy of relief and assistance programs as between States and lack of certain necessary relief and assistance programs in some States which cause an influx of dependents into adjoining States.
- (4) Importation of labor in boom times without a definite plan as to a permanent program of employment which will eliminate large groups of dependents in times of economic stress.

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

Although I am not authorized to make any recommendations, some of the solutions which may be proposed in this connection are as follows:

- (1) Development of a uniform legal settlement law which might be urged upon all States.

(2) Setting up the machinery for reciprocal agreements between States as to importation and deportation of dependents and requiring that such machinery be used by all units of government.

(3) Development of a uniform reciprocal-agreement act for enactment by States in connection with importation and deportation of dependents which will put both States upon the same basis as to legal settlement and the transfer of dependents.

(4) Development of a Federal program for the care of nonresidents while they are establishing themselves in a new community so that they may adjust themselves to economic security and not be fired back to the place in which there has been failure.

(5) Development of uniform legal settlement laws by a Federal program of aid for nonresident dependents in which the standards required of States for Federal grants will impel uniform legislation.

These are long-range suggestions which probably cannot be realized fully so long as there are State governments but the development of which may eliminate some of the major difficulties now being experienced.

MR. PARSONS. Do you have a question you would like to ask, Congressman Curtis?

GOVERNMENT CARE OF HOMELESS

MR. CURTIS. Yes. With reference to the suggestions you have made, as I understand it, you propose that the Federal Government should assume the problem of assisting those people who are entirely homeless, as far as all States are concerned?

MR. MARSHALL. At least, assist in that program.

MR. CURTIS. You mean, by closely working together, by uniformity in settlement laws and reciprocity in the return of families?

MR. MARSHALL. Yes.

MR. CURTIS. Our difficulties in this country have gone on for long enough so there are many, many people who do not belong any place, from a legal standpoint.

MR. MARSHALL. Yes.

MR. CURTIS. That is the area in which you feel the Federal Government should assume the greater burden?

MR. MARSHALL. If there is opportunity for adjustment in the new place to which the family has moved, the probabilities are it is better for the country as a whole for some relationship to be worked out whereby that family can adjust itself rather than to be obliged to return to its place of settlement where there has been failure because the family has had to ask for a medical order, or some very definite relief.

UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAWS

In my opinion the settlement laws are going to get more and more stringent than they are now, unless there is some impulse from the Federal Government to bring about uniformity, and the opportunities for assistance in all States as to all categories are going to have to be equal, in order to eliminate the impulse to move from one place to a place where a better adjustment can be made.

Mr. CURTIS. As a matter of fact, we have a situation now where the States to protect themselves from neighboring States are compelled to do some things that are not really working toward the general good of the country as a whole?

Mr. MARSHALL. That is correct. Take the situation as to Illinois and Indiana: Both States have adopted the 3-year residence requirement for local settlement. Illinois did not provide, apparently, for temporary relief of the nonresident person. Indiana, through the work of the Trustees Association, permitted such relief to be written into the law.

In my opinion, legal settlement must be divorced from temporary aid or temporary relief. In other words, civilization or humanity demands that the person who has come into the community hungry or sick have some care for the time being, until he can be returned to the place of legal settlement.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you not think it is only fair to consider the fact that States that are receiving a great many destitute people from any given area, likewise over a period of years have received a great many people from that same area with considerable funds and other talents and possessions to make a contribution to the State to which they go?

Mr. MARSHALL. That is right. The fact that a person moves from one State to the other does not mean he is an economic liability for the community. However, the greatest movement as to importation and deportation is between States in which there has been some such movement. For instance, out of 1,400 cases to which the Department of Public Welfare in Indiana gave consent for return of dependents, 582 of them were from the State of California.

Mr. CURTIS. I noticed that in the table.

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. I also noticed in your table that with respect to non-residents of Indiana who were destitute and mental cases, California leads the list.

Mr. MARSHALL. That is because they have been more active in returning nonsettled persons, and probably because there has been a greater movement of persons seeking economic security to that State who have come back to Indiana. In 1920, the number of persons living in other States born in Indiana exceeded the number of persons born in other States and living in Indiana by approximately 280,000. In 1930 the figure had gone down to 230,000, showing that the flow is going back to Indiana instead of away from Indiana.

Mr. CURTIS. If our chairman was here to protect his good State, I would ask you if California had returned any millionaires that had gone from Indiana to California; but since he is not here, I will not ask you that question. That is all.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions, gentlemen? [No response.] Mr. Marshall, we appreciate your coming. We would like to have you express to the Governor our thanks for submitting this paper for the record. It is gratifying to know that he took enough time and interest in this investigation to send down what I think is a very valuable report upon the situation in Indiana.

Mr. MARSHALL. I will be very happy to. I look forward with great interest to the report of the committee.

Mr. PARSONS. We will try to see that you get a copy out in the capital of Indiana when it is published.

Mr. MARSHALL. Thank you.

(Whereupon, Mr. Charles B. Marshall was excused.)

STATEMENT OF CATHERINE ODGERS

Mr. PARSONS. The next witness will be Mrs. Odgers.

Give your name and address to the reporter and speak loudly so we can hear you.

Mrs. ODGERS. Catherine Odgers, 1230 West Adams.

Mr. PARSONS. Chicago, Ill.?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Odgers, where were you born?

Mrs. ODGERS. Colorado.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you mind telling us when?

Mrs. ODGERS. In 1905.

Mr. SPARKMAN. 1905?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That makes you 35 now?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you married?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you live in Colorado?

Mrs. ODGERS. Until I was about two and a half.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then where did you go?

Mrs. ODGERS. Arizona.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you live in Arizona?

Mrs. ODGERS. About 27 years, off and on.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What was your father's occupation?

Mrs. ODGERS. He was a boiler inspector.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about your husband?

Mrs. ODGERS. He is a diamond driller.

Mr. SPARKMAN. A diamond driller?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When you were married, did you continue to live in Arizona?

Mrs. ODGERS. Just for a short while.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did you and your husband live after you were married?

Mrs. ODGERS. We went to California. We were there a short while. Then we went to Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, about 6 months. We were in all of those places, and then we went back to Arizona for a while.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You were going to different places where he could find work?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He is in Chicago here with you now?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes. We arrived Sunday night.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did he last work?

Mrs. ODGERS. Down in the Canal Zone.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Panama Canal Zone?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have any children?

Mrs. ODGERS. Three.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What are their ages?

Mrs. ODGERS. Ten, 8, and 3.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Had you been previously married?

Mrs. ODGERS. I had been previously married, yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are all of these children by your present husband?

Mrs. ODGERS. Just the last one is by this husband.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your husband has had to go wherever work opportunities presented themselves?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes. It is usually on big construction jobs.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did he work in the Canal Zone?

Mrs. ODGERS. He was down there a little over a year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How did he happen to lose out down there?

Mrs. ODGERS. Well, he could not get along with his immediate superior, so it was a toss-up whether he should resign or be discharged. He took the lesser of the evils and resigned.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was he working on a Government job?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I mean, was he employed by the Government?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not by a contractor?

Mrs. ODGERS. No; by the Government.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He was on what end of the Canal?

Mrs. ODGERS. The Pacific.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Could he have switched to the other end?

Mrs. ODGERS. No. There was no work on the other side.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was he working there in connection with this new set of locks?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes, and the work had already been done on the Atlantic side.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean, the kind of work he does?

Mrs. ODGERS. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, he is a diamond-drill operator?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is, drilling in rock for blasting purposes and such as that?

Mrs. ODGERS. No. Taking up samples of the rock.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Core drilling and such as that?

Mr. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. His is more preliminary work, test work; is that it?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you go to the Canal Zone with him?

Mrs. ODGERS. I went to the Canal Zone with him. I was down there 9 months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did you live while you were there?

Mrs. ODGERS. Ancon.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is an American city in the Canal Zone, right outside of Panama City?

Mrs. ODGERS. It is right out of Panama, on the other side of the street.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When his work ran out, of course, he had to move out?

Mrs. ODGERS. We had to get out of the Zone.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You had to get out of the Zone because of the regulations?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then you came back to New York?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How did you come back?

Mrs. ODGERS. On a boat run by the Panama Railroad.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Had you saved up any funds?

Mrs. ODGERS. Pardon me?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Had you saved up any money?

Mrs. ODGERS. No. What I came up on was his vacation money that he had coming to him.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Leave money he could take when he severed his connections?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you do when you reached New York?

Mrs. ODGERS. We came on through here to Chicago. When I saw I wouldn't have enough money to take me on to Arizona, I sent wires to my brother and my former husband. I thought he might be able to help get the children back west. I have not heard from him since. My brother could not help.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have not heard from your former husband?

Mrs. ODGERS. No; and my brother could not help.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does he support the children?

Mrs. ODGERS. Not any.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not to any extent whatsoever?

Mrs. ODGERS. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does he have steady employment?

Mrs. ODGERS. No. In fact, I have only seen him once since I have been remarried.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you hear from your brother?

Mrs. ODGERS. I had a letter from them. They could not help me. They are having troubles of their own.

Mr. SPARKMAN. So this was as far as you were able to go?

Mrs. ODGERS. This was as far as I have gotten.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you receiving any aid?

Mrs. ODGERS. No. We are staying down at the Salvation Army Women's Lodge.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Salvation Army then is helping you?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your husband has just come in, in the last day or two?

Mrs. ODGERS. He is in the hospital.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He is in the hospital?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes. He has a bad case of influenza. Through this Travelers Aid, he wrote to Washington to see if he could get the retirement fund. When he gets that, we are planning to leave.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is, for the work he did?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Had he ever done any Government work prior to that time?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes. He worked down in Panama before that, 10 or 11 years ago. He worked at Boulder Dam.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has he tried to obtain employment with the various construction and engineering firms of this country?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes. He went yesterday to one of the diamond drilling companies. They had moved their offices to Michigan City. He was supposed to see their salesman today. He said he would, as soon as he felt better. He said he would go and see him.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Odgers, has his work been fairly steady?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Since you have been married to him?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes. It hasn't been so long between jobs. There is lots of it going on.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are certainly optimistic, I hope, as to future employment?

Mrs. ODGERS. We have always gotten it before.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have never had any public relief?

Mrs. ODGERS. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This is the first time, I presume, that you have had to receive help of any kind?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. From any agency?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are your children in school? Do they go to school?

Mrs. ODGERS. The two oldest ones go to school.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The youngest one is not old enough yet?

Mrs. ODGERS. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did they attend school in the Canal Zone?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes; a full term down there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Wherever you are, when school opens this fall, you plan to put them in school?

Mrs. ODGERS. So far in their schooling we have usually managed it. We usually have managed so as to be able to stay in one place long enough for them to have a whole term of school. There has only been one time when they had to go to two schools during a year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all I have.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions?

Mr. OSMERS. I have a question.

Mr. PARSONS. Congressman Osmers.

Mr. OSMERS. What income did your husband make when he was working for the Canal Zone?

Mrs. ODGERS. What income?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mrs. ODGERS. He started at \$235 and was raised up to \$250.

Mr. OSMERS. Did that include any housing?

Mrs. ODGERS. No; that is taken out. All of your living expenses are taken out.

Mr. OSMERS. They are taken out of the \$250?

Mrs. ODGERS. Yes; by the time you get it, there is not much left.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all.

Mr. PARSONS. Thank you very much, Mrs. Odgers.

(Whereupon, Mrs. Catherine Odgers was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF HOWARD DAVID GOULD, DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND RESEARCH, CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE; AND FRAYSER T. LANE, DIRECTOR OF THE SOCIAL AND CIVIC DEPARTMENT FOR THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE, CHICAGO, ILL.

Mr. PARSONS. The next witnesses are Mr. Lane and Mr. Gould. Gentlemen, will you please give your names, addresses, and positions to the reporter.

Mr. GOULD. My name is Howard David Gould, director of industrial relations and research, Chicago Urban League.

Mr. LANE. My name is Frayser T. Lane, director of the social and civic department for the Chicago Urban League, 3032 South Wabash Avenue here in Chicago.

Mr. PARSONS. Congressman Curtis will interrogate you, gentlemen.

Mr. OSMERS. We were very hopeful of having Dr. Cayton here today to enlarge upon his statement which has been filed with the committee on the subject of Negro migration: Its problems and control. Would you please state for the record the reason why it is impossible for him to be here?

Mr. GOULD. I understand that Dr. Cayton's father is dying in Seattle, Wash.

(Statement by Dr. Horace R. Cayton was introduced, as follows:)

STATEMENT BY HORACE R. CAYTON

I

At the outset the question might be posited, "Why does a population group migrate?" A common-sense answer to this question is that people move from places where they have fared badly to places where they will, or think they will,

fare better. People hope to gain by migrating, social improvement, economic advantage, religious freedom, or access to cultural resources. America has experienced much internal migration. There was the original migration which settled the West. Later there was the great rise of the cities which caused a distinct shift in the Nation's status from a predominantly rural to an urban people, a development so swift as to be without precedent in the history of the world. These movements of people have already been described by Professor Wirth. I simply wish to point out at this time that migration of Negroes is just one aspect of population movements in the United States arising from the harnessing of steam, electricity, and the internal-combustion engine which has made possible the settlement of the country and the development of great cities.

Fundamentally the migration of Negroes is similar to other population movements in the United States. One important difference, however, can be pointed out. Negro migration has been more extensively directed to the large cities and especially to the cities of the North; and, with the exception of the stream of people to California, the migration of Negroes has not followed the westerly trend which is evident in the general population. It should be kept in mind that the study of the movement among Negroes is just the observation of one segment of the general population which is being influenced by the social and economic forces which have been in flux since the beginning of the century. No migration of Negroes has been more conspicuous, easier to follow, to study, and become alarmed about, because they are easily recognized and because of the difficulties which are often involved in their adjustment in cities.

In order to comment intelligently on the interstate migration of Negroes (who might be destitute citizens), one must examine the question in the context of the entire history of Negro migration as well as the more general population shifts. The simple explanation of the present migration of Negroes in terms of coming North to get on the W. P. A. ignores the forces which were set in motion during the mass migration and imputes to the illiterate Negro sharecropper of the "deep South" knowledge of the involved laws of settlement and the labyrinth of State and municipal regulation surrounding the relief legislators which it would be impossible for him to have. In the following pages I will comment briefly upon the history of Negro migration up to the present time and some of the reasons for that movement.

* * * * *

HISTORY OF NEGRO MIGRATION

By tracing the center of Negro population through the various census enumerations one can gain a vivid picture of the migrations of that segment of the population. In 1790 the center of the Negro population of the United States was located near the southern boundary of the State of Virginia. Ninety years later it had moved southward and was in the northwestern corner of the State of Georgia. Thus it had traveled 163.1 miles farther south and 413.5 miles farther west and the total distance it had covered in a direct line was 445 miles, representing an average advance of 50 miles per decade. This followed the movement of the general population in the Southern States. The rate of advance of the Negro population center was slowing down toward the close of the century, however, but was still southward. By 1890 it had gone 20 miles farther in that direction, in 1900 nearly 10 miles, in 1910, 6 miles, and was then located in northeastern Alabama. The direction of its movement was reversed in 1920 and it moved not westward but eastward, not southward but northward, in fact, 94 miles farther east and 19.4 miles farther north to the northwestern corner of Georgia. The population center for 1930 is not available but it is safe to assume that it continued to move in a northeastern direction and was probably located in the southeastern section of Tennessee. Future movement of this center will probably continue in this direction.

There always has been some migration of Negroes into the Northern States. In the early 1800's there was a small but steady flow of Negro freedmen and slaves through the "underground railroad." This movement was somewhat checked by the race riots which followed the competition of these migrants with northern white workers, for serious difficulties, in which numbers of Negroes were maltreated and murdered, occurred in such localities as Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and New York. In spite of this, however, numbers of Negroes continued to move to these northern centers.

After the Civil War there were two diverging currents of Negro migration: One was northward from the more northern of the Southern States—Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina; and the other was southward and westward on the part of Negroes in the lower Atlantic and Gulf States.

"The northward migration from Virginia after the war was notably large, and was a direct reversal of the current of migration that prevailed under the regime of slavery, when Negroes were being taken south in large numbers. Set free, the Virginia Negro turned toward the North and has been facing in that direction ever since. This northward current of migration led mostly to the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. The number of Negro natives of Virginia living in these States when the war closed must have been less than 10,000, for it was only 13,050 in 1870. But after the war it increased rapidly, as shown by each successive census, and in 1920 was 115,104. The southward migration practically ceased, as is shown by the fact that the number of Virginia Negroes living in the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas decreased from 107,934 in 1870 to 10,844 in 1920. Thus the Virginia-born Negro in the Cotton States of the South has almost disappeared, although no doubt his descendants there are numerous."¹

Negroes in the "deep south" at that time did not migrate to the North in large numbers; they lacked the knowledge, means, and initiative to embark on such a journey. Therefore, the drift of the Negro population followed the development of cotton cultivation and continued toward the southwest in the same direction as the earlier compulsory migration under slavery.

An exception to this general trend of the Negro population was a movement of people which originated in Tennessee and Kentucky in 1876 and spread to the "deep south" around 1879. A series of migrations led by Pap Singleton, an energetic Negro leader at that time, was responsible for between five and ten thousand Negroes moving to Kansas. It was Pap Singleton's boast that he had organized 90,000 blacks for migration though the actual numbers might not have exceeded 10,000. The majority of these migrants settled in the rural sections of Kansas though later many drifted into the cities. This incidentally was perhaps the only instance where Negro migrants from the South settled in rural northern areas in any numbers. This movement was more important than the number of persons involved would indicate for it set a pattern and gave many Negro families a foothold and relatives in the North.

There was also during this period a small but highly important stream of educated Negro mulattoes from all sections of the South who migrated to the North with the enforcement of the Black Codes. Many of them had been engaged in politics and a large proportion of them had gone south for the first time to engage in the work of reconstruction. With the Negro definitely barred from political participation they returned, accompanied by a number of southern mulattoes, to the North where even a menial position allowed them to live more in accordance with their notion of themselves.

* * * * *

There were in the North in 1860, 340,000 Negroes who constituted 7.7 percent of the total Negro population of the country. With the migrations from the border States and that of the educated mulattoes, as well as such movements as those from the lower South led by Singleton, this number increased in 1870 to 452,000, in 1880 to 615,000, in 1890 to 701,000, and in 1900 to 880,000. During these four decades the percentage of Negroes in the North had increased from 7.7 percent of the total Negro population in 1860 to 9.3 in 1870 and then remained practically constant until 1900, when it reached 10 percent. In 1910, 45 years after the emancipation, when, theoretically at least, the masses of Negroes were at liberty to move, 89 percent of the Negro population of the country (nearly 9,000,000 persons) were to be found in the South. From 1860 to 1910 the percentage of Negroes in the South had decreased only 3.2 percent (i. e., from 92.2 percent to 89 percent). Between 1900 and 1910 only about 150,000 colored persons migrated North, bringing the total black population in that section to a million persons, or 10.5 percent of the colored population.

¹ Hill, Joseph A., U. S. Monthly Labor Review, March 1924. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The great waves of Negro migration to the Northern States occurred between 1916 and 1919, and between 1921 and 1924. In the former period the net increase of southern-born Negroes to the North was about 321,890, which represented an increase of about 45 percent to the Negro population of the North. Between 1920 and 1930 the number of migrants to the North was almost a million, and represented an increase of 63 percent to the northern Negro population. From 1910 to 1920 the percentage of Negroes living in the South decreased from 89 to 85.2 percent, while the Negroes living in the North increased from 10.5 to 14 percent. In the next decade the percentage of Negroes living in the South decreased to 78.7 percent, making a total loss of 10.3 percent for the 20-year period. The percentage of Negroes in the North increased to 20 percent of the total Negro population, which constituted an increase of nearly 10 percent for the two decades.

These migrants, in contrast to the early movements following the emancipation, originated from the "deep South." The earlier northward migration was, as already noted, mostly from the northern tier of the Southern States. Even as recently as 1910, 48 percent, or nearly one-half, of the southern-born Negroes living in the North came from two States—Virginia and Kentucky. The migration between 1910 and 1920 reduced the proportion from these two States to 31.6 percent. On the other hand, the proportion of Negroes in the North coming from the States farther south—from what may be termed the Cotton Belt States—increased from 18.2 percent of the total number of southern-born Negroes living in the North in 1910 to 40.5 percent in 1920. The absolute figure shows an increase from 75,000 in 1910, to 298,000 in 1920, so that there were nearly four times as many persons in 1920 as there were in 1910. By 1930 the movement had reached even the most remote rural sections of the "deep South" and the percentage of southern-born Negroes in the North from these States continued to increase.

* * * * *

Migration in this country is a phenomenon intimately associated with urbanism in that cities acquire their population through the migration of the rural population. The movement of Negroes to the cities of both the South and North is a reflection of the trend toward urbanism which has characterized our national life during the past century. Thought of as living a quiet, rural existence on far-off plantations in the "deep South," the Negro population has suddenly been discovered to have formed significant proportions of northern, eastern, and southern cities.

As early as the 1880's Negro farm hands had begun to drift to the cities of the South, forsaking farm labor for work in mines, lumber camps, and sawmills. Beginning with 1900 the movement to these small towns and cities increased perceptibly and included not only farm laborers but also tenants and some owners. In 1890, 84.7 percent of the Negro population of the South was rural. This percentage decreased steadily to 82.8 percent in 1900; 78.8 percent in 1910; 74.6 percent in 1920; 65.9 percent in 1930. Since 1900 over a million rural Negroes have migrated to southern cities.

Although still predominantly rural, the Negro population is increasing in urban population at a greater rate than the white population. Between 1910 and 1920 the Negro rate of increase in urban population was 32.6, compared with 28.5 for whites; and during the decade from 1920 to 1930, the percentage of increase for Negroes was 45.9, while that of the whites was 24.1. The growth in urban Negro population is apparent in the following table:

Percentage of Negroes, urban and rural, 1890-1930

Year	Percentage urban	Percentage rural
1890.....	19.4	80.6
1900.....	22.7	77.3
1910.....	27.4	72.6
1920.....	34.0	66.0
1930.....	43.7	56.3

The proportion of the Negro population which was urban increased from 19.4 percent in 1890 to 43.7 percent in 1930 in the country as a whole. The urbanization of the Negro population was differentiated by regions, however. In 1930 only 31.7 percent of the Negroes in the South were urban, but in the North 88.3 percent of the Negroes lived in cities, and in the Western States 82.5 percent. In the North and the West larger proportions of Negroes than native whites were urban, for only 63.4 percent of the native whites were urban in the North and 58.5 percent in the West.

The migrations to the North were almost wholly to the cities and, further, to a relatively few large industrial centers.

"In the North there were 25 such Negro cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Newark, Kansas City (Mo.), Columbus, Boston, Kansas City (Kans.), Gary, Dayton, Atlantic City, Youngstown, Buffalo, Toledo, Jersey City, East St. Louis, Camden, Omaha, Akron—arranged in order of size of Negro population of nearly 7,000,000 to East St. Louis, Ill., with its 1,500 Negroes in less than 75,000 total population. In these 25 centers there are found 1,513,384 Negroes, or 72 percent of all the urban Negroes in the North and 63.9 percent of the total Negro population."²

The Negro population of the North is overwhelmingly centered in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit, which contained over 33 percent of the total North Negro population in 1930.

In 1930 of the 43.7 percent of the Negro population in urban communities 8 percent were in cities of 1,000,000 or more, 20.2 were in cities 100,000 or over. The remainder of the urban Negro population was distributed among the various city size groups in the following manner: Cities 25,000 to 100,000, 8.1; those 10,000 to 25,000, 5.3; those 2,500 to 10,000, 6.1. Further, it is the larger cities which show an increasing rate of growth for cities over a million, and cities 250,000 to 500,000 doubled their Negro population during the past decade (1920-30) with the cities of the smaller size group increasing at a slower rate.

A further comment on the high degree of urbanization of the Negro can be made in connection with the new classification of the census of rural farm and nonfarm. Although 56.3 percent of the total Negro population was in 1930 classified as rural, 17 percent of the Negroes of the country were listed as rural nonfarm. This classification included many persons living in the metropolitan areas of large cities and would include a number of Negroes living in or near suburban and satellite cities either as servants in the former case or as industrial workers in the latter case. In both instances these persons would be, to all intents and purposes, more urban than rural in their relation to the economic structure, their outlook and way of life.

II

NEGRO MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN INDUSTRIAL URBAN CENTERS

Much of the migration from the South in the period we have been discussing was directed toward the West North Central States (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin). The Negro population of that area increased from approximately 250,000 persons in 1900 to over a million in 1930. In 1900 only 1 State, Ohio, had a Negro population of 100,000, while in 1930 each State in the division with the exception of Wisconsin, had over 100,000, and both Ohio and Illinois had over 300,000. Most of these migrants, as in other parts of the country, migrated to the large cities of this area. Chicago's Negro population increased 113.7 percent during the decade 1920 to 1930; Detroit's, 194 percent; Cleveland's, 108.7 percent; and Cincinnati's, 59 percent. The migration to and the settlement in large cities of this district did not vary from the pattern which has already been described for the country as a whole.

Chicago, I believe, presents an excellent area for the study of Negro migration and settlement in a large industrial urban center. In the first place, Chicago has the largest single Negro population in the world. Only Greater New York, which is composed of five counties, has a larger Negro population, and Manhattan Island alone has fewer Negroes than Chicago—having 224,670 to Chicago's 233,903. (Greater New York has a total Negro population of 327,706.) In the second place, the Chicago metropolitan region has a number of divergent types of Negro settle-

² Ross, *Urbanization and the Negro*, p. 123.

ments, varying from the highly urban slum district of the West Side to the rural small-town settlement of Robbins, Ill., located only 25 miles from the heart of the city. Within this region the tendency of the migrant Negro population to settle in the most urban areas is evident. Of the total Negro population of that area (15 counties of the States of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) 97 percent are in places over 10,000; 1.1 percent in places 2,500 to 10,000; 0.4 percent in places 2,500; 1.8 percent in rural nonfarm areas; and 0.1 percent on rural farms. Thus of the total 281,514 Negro population in the area, 273,170 are to be found in cities 10,000 and over, leaving only 9,544 in all other city size groups and in rural areas. This distribution varies greatly from that of the total population of the region which is much less highly urbanized. Only 87 percent of the total population was found in places 10,000 and over in 1930 (as compared to 97 percent of the Negroes), and 3 percent were on rural farms (as compared to 0.1 percent of the Negroes).

Negroes have been residents of Chicago since its founding and, as a matter of fact, the first settler in Chicago was Jean Baptiste Point Du Sable, a San Domingan Negro. It was not, however, until the turn of the century that the Negro population became a significant factor in the population composition of the city. There were only 323 colored persons in Chicago in 1850; in 1860 there were 950; in 1870, 3,696; in 1880, 6,480; in 1890, 14,270; in 1900, 3,150; and as late as 1910 only 44,103. Between 1910 and 1930 the Negro population of the city increased by 203,753 persons—84,459 between 1910 and 1920, and 109,594 between 1920 and 1930. This represented an increase in the Negro population of Chicago of 148.2 percent in the decade between 1910 and 1920, and 113.7 percent between 1920 and 1930. During this 20-year period the Negro became an increasingly important factor in the racial composition of the city. In 1900 Negroes constituted 1.8 percent of the population of the city. Their percentage increased to 2 percent in 1910, to 3 percent in 1915, to 4.1 percent in 1920, to 5 percent in 1923, to 6 percent in 1925, and to approximately 7 percent in 1930. Thus since 1903 the Negro population has grown at a faster rate than the total population of the city. From 1910 to 1930 the increase was at an increasing rate.

The 1934 census of Chicago indicated that the Negro population had increased 4,000 between 1930 and 1934. There has been no census taken since that date and no reliable figures or estimates are available. A number of persons and organizations, however, have made guesses as to the probable increase. Among them Mr. Lawrence Oxley, of the United States Employment Service, and Mr. Howard Gould, of the Chicago Urban League, estimated that there had been an increase in Negro population of approximately 1,000 per month. If this estimate were true, the increase would amount to 60,000 for the period 1934 to 1940, making a total of approximately 294,000 as of March 1940. A number of newspapers, civic organizations, and real-estate associations have estimated the present Negro population to be 300,000. The writer is of the opinion that these figures are much too high, but is not willing, with the evidence at hand, to venture a guess as to the probable number. The reason that the possible increase in Negro population has received the attention which it has is because a number of persons throughout the city feel that Negro migrants from the South become public charges.

It should also be noted at this point that any increase in the Negro population will come as a result of migration. In Chicago, Negroes have the highest birth rate of any group, but the death rate is twice as high as that of the native whites and almost twice as high as that of the foreign-born whites. The infant mortality rate shows an even more startling difference. Thus, although the rate of natural increase for the foreign-born white was 10.4 and the native white 7.6, the Negro was increasing at a decreasing rate—that is, negative 2.9 percent.

III

TENDENCIES OF NEGRO MIGRATION SINCE 1900

It has been stated before that any insight to the present migration of Negroes must be attained through a study of the history of the migratory movement which has characterized colored persons since the turn of the century. The most striking feature of northward migration during the post-war period was its individualism. The motives prompting thousands of Negroes were not always

the same, even in the case of close neighbors. In general, one can say that there was both a "pull" and a "push," each of which embodied a configuration of factors. The economic "pull" of the North was the high wages and better positions created by the need for a new supply of industrial labor caused by restrictions imposed, first, by war, and then by the quota laws on European immigration. This, added to the acceleration of industry to meet the wartime needs made the Negro an important factor in the labor "pool" of northern industry. Negro laborers were solicited throughout the South by agents for such industries as steel and meat packing, and often they and their families were given free transportation to the North. In some instances the entire community, including the teacher, preacher, and merchant, came together. Labor was at a premium and the Negro was the only group to fulfill that need. In a very real sense Negroes contributed greatly to the winning of the first World War by the contributions they made in keeping industry abreast with the wartime needs.

The "push" which made Negroes willing and even anxious to move northward came from the unfavorable conditions under which they were forced to live in the South. The boll weevil had endangered the whole cotton culture and the economic deprivation made Negroes more aware of the disparity between the high wages, superior social and educational institutions, and civil rights which might be enjoyed in the North, and the Jim Crow laws, poor schools, peonage, and lynchings from which they suffered in the South. In addition, Negroes too were affected by "the lure of the city" which was part of the general process of urbanization and influenced all classes of people.

Once this migration got under way its character changed and for a period it became a great mass movement. Under its impetus people who otherwise would have been content to have been in the South joined in. With the post-war depression in the middle twenties the northward movement slackened, and what had been a steady stream of migrants dwindled to a trickle of persons shuttling northward and southward in response to individual family and personal motives.

More recently it has been alleged that a stream of migrants has been set in motion by the superior wages and allotments which are enjoyed by Negroes in the North from relief agencies. It is difficult to prove or refute such arguments. Indeed an increase of Negroes registered with social agencies or employed by the W.P.A. does not establish the fact that new migrants are coming. It is just as logical to assume that an increasing of the number of Negroes (who live much closer to the poverty line) have been unable to maintain themselves any longer in private industry.

The income level of the Negro population in Chicago is surprisingly low. A study by the United States Department of Labor in 1936 demonstrated that 47.7 percent of the Negro families in the city had an income which was less than \$1,000 as compared with 16.8 percent of the white families, and again, 61.5 percent of the white families received \$2,000 or less as compared with 90.2 percent of the Negro families. That a disproportionate number of Negroes are found on relief rolls is not then a surprising fact and simply reflects their inferior, subordinate, and insecure status in the economic structure of the city.

Much has been made over the fact that Negroes constitute 7 percent of the total population but contribute 40 percent of the relief population. When it is taken into consideration that during the depression the Negro was first to be affected and has not as yet recovered his former position, this figure is understandable. In the first place, Negroes were relatively new in industry and thus had little seniority. Many Negroes, in fact most, were employed in industries which were not protected by unions. This lack of seniority and protection from unions added to the fact that Negroes are concentrated in the lower income brackets of the industrial hierarchy, made them the first and the most permanent sufferers from the depression. Likewise, it should be noted that it has been the observation of most of the employment service employees with whom I have talked that Negroes are being taken back into industry much less rapidly than are white workers. The result is that when the effects of the recovery are felt by other employees, Negroes are continuing to be unemployed, and their percentage or even their actual number on the relief and W.P.A. rolls conceivably will increase without further migration.

I do not mean to indicate that there has been no Negro migration since 1934, but I feel certain that its extent has been highly exaggerated. The fear of this migration has done much to make more tense race relation within the city. The

recent settlement law which required 3 years' residence before an individual was eligible was, in the opinion of many persons, aimed directly at the Negro. That this law has "boomeranged" and has worked an injustice on many whites, who have moved from one township to another, indicates the danger and folly of attempting to single out a particular race against which to direct discriminatory legislation. Any plea for the alleviation of social problems in the Negro community—such as, for example, the housing problem whereby Negroes pay 25 percent more rent than whites for similar housing facilities—is often met with the argument that to improve conditions in the Black Belt of Chicago would be to invite hordes of black sharecroppers to invade the city. The growth of this myth is, in my opinion, the foremost factor in making difficult or impossible any improvement in the critical problems of housing, health, and unemployment among Negroes in the city. With no method of establishing the truth or falsity of the proposition there is little that can be accomplished until the results of the 1940 census are made public.

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POSITION OF NEGRO IN URBAN CENTER

The relationship between increases in the Negro population in cities and the problems of interracial adjustment are so intimately related that it is perhaps wise to spend some time on an analysis of the position of the Negro in a city such as Chicago and the possibility for increased tension which might arise from a disequilibrium in the delicately balanced race relations.

The position of the Negro in Chicago and in most urban centers can be regarded from two viewpoints—Negroes as competitors and Negroes as a fixed status group. In certain areas of social life in Chicago, Negroes participate as competitors, in others they are noncompetitors. The competition of Negroes for space, for jobs, and for political power in Chicago is recognized both by Negroes and by whites. Underneath these there is, of course, the Darwinian "struggle for survival" a basic and unconscious biological process in which, it has been pointed out, Negroes are steadily losing. Competition for space is a basic ecological process, which in a city where ethnical segregation occurs may be regarded as competition between ethnic groups. Whites in Chicago "allowed" Negroes to take over areas formerly occupied by whites until the next territory in the path of the "invaders" was of value from the viewpoint of the white inhabitants. Competition for space has been limited by restrictive covenants which epitomizes the principle of fixed status in the housing field. Negroes are limited in their competition for jobs by lack of skills and training as well as race prejudice and probably only in times of labor shortage are Negroes competing with whites on equal terms.

The political power of Negroes is fully realized by Chicago's politicians and by Chicago Negroes themselves, though they have never been able to exert the influence which their vote should give them. However, in politics, Negroes have made gains which could not have been attained through other means.

As a result of the limitations which have been placed upon Negroes, there has developed in Chicago a compact, physically isolated group, unable to enjoy most of the facilities enjoyed by the general population, and appearing to many whites as a constant threat to their property values, their health, their moral standing and their community organization. This conflict between the drive for the Negro for income, security, and status and the fear on the part of the white population, whipped up by antagonistic real estate interests and reactionary commercial groups, who fear Negroes might become public charges has, and probably will in the future break into open conflict. The race riot of 1919 resulted from the competition of Negroes with middle class whites for residential areas and with working class whites for jobs. The problems of adjustment which face an even larger population at the present time are basically the same, with one important additional complicating factor. In 1919 Negroes antagonized a section of the white middle class by moving into "their" territory and a section of the working class by competing with them for jobs. At the present time the additional problem of the reaction of large and influential groups throughout the city—civic leaders, businessmen, manufacturers, and industrialists, and social workers—who are under the impression that the invading hordes of black share croppers

will inundate the city and become a public burden is present. The racial prejudice which is to be found within most classes of white citizens in America, is being augmented by the sharp fear of the possible increase of taxes from an increased relief load. This had made large groups of persons aware of the "Negro problem" and has robbed Negroes of the tolerance of a group of persons with whom they have not previously been in direct contact. Now, the building of a school in the Negro area, the beginning of a hospital drive, the installation of a traffic light, or any other minor improvement in the Negro community, calls forth from great numbers of these groups, a reiteration of the prevalent myth concerning further Negro migration.

V

RÉSUMÉ OF PRESENT PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

In previous sections the writer has attempted to point out that much of the fear that large groups of Negroes are migrating to the city is unfounded. He has also attempted to show the disastrous effect which this belief has had on the difficult problem of interracial adjustment in the city. The obvious question which presents itself is that of the establishment of a policy of control. Undoubtedly as long as there are differences in economic opportunities in various sections of the country there will be a tendency for some of the population to move to those areas which offer them better opportunities. Such noneconomic factors as sentimental attachment to various localities, cultural identification with various sections and plain lethargy, are in my opinion likely to be underestimated by persons who put too great emphasis on purely economic factors. The difficulty in attempting to plan a migration policy in respect to the Negro is that racial prejudice might encourage policies which would act as a precedent for stripping Negroes of their constitutional rights. With the failure of the 3-year settlement law there will be, undoubtedly, attempts to legislate more directly against Negroes on the basis of color. That these laws would not be constitutional will not necessarily deter persons from introducing them. It is obvious that this form of legislation strikes at the heart of our democratic ideology which is more important to preserve at the present time than is the development of a migration policy. It is certain, however, that as long as the myth of migration continues extra-legal methods, including discriminatory behavior on the part of public officials and agencies and even vigilante movements will develop.

It has been pointed out that Negroes were needed to meet the expanding industry during the first World War. At the present time the Negro constitutes the only labor pool from which an expanding war economy can draw. If America should become involved in war, doubtless the situation in 1916 would be repeated and labor agents from Chicago would again scour the South to offer free transportation to sharecroppers. Many of the persons now connected with the basic industries who are decrying the possibility of further Negro migration might of necessity find it necessary to reverse their position. Any barriers to population movements, even if legal, might in a critical moment seriously hamper the rearmament program of the Nation.

It is the opinion of the writer, then, that attempts to control the migration of Negroes, even if such migration from the point of the community welfare was ill-advised, might endanger the constitutional rights of Negroes (and therefore the constitutional rights of all persons), and might prevent a smooth adjustment of the labor force to the expansion of productive facilities of the country. At the present moment it is obvious to any student of the problem that sufficient data are not at hand to evaluate the social consequences of this migration much less attempt to determine what would be a socially justifiable policy. The need for further study is to the writer the one obvious conclusion.

The nature of the adjustment of Negroes to cities is the result of many different factors. The type of adjustment varies according to the type of migrants—their background, birthplace, sex, age, and expectations; according to the type of city—its location, its size, age, and economic function; according to the historical, social, and economic circumstances under which the migration occurred, both in points of origin and points of destination; and according to the volume of migration at any given period. From the study of all of these facts in relation to the adjustment of Negroes to cities could be derived not only a general state-

ment as to the present nature of Negro-white relations in the city studied, but also a description of the adjustment of Negroes to specific cities, and ultimately a hypothesis on which to predict the nature of the adjustment of future migrants to specific cities and types of cities. When such data are available it will be possible to plan a rational migration policy.

The problems of the adjustment of the urban Negro are not at the present time receiving the attention of scholars or Government agencies which their importance warrants. There is no institution which is specifically engaged in research on Negroes in our northern cities. If the belief of some students, whose opinion is that there will be a continued migration of Negroes to the city, is true, the future area of most severe interracial tension will shift northward to an urban milieu. The establishment of an institute for the gathering and compiling of data on this problem is of pressing necessity. The study of the Negro in the city would include gathering data on existence of such problems as crime, delinquency, incidence of contagious diseases, unsanitary living conditions, open conflict with other groups for jobs and residential areas, and those social unhealthy conditions that have caused such occurrences as the Chicago race riot of 1919, the economic boycott of the South Side in the late twenties, and the Harlem riot of 1935. Only through the understanding of the position of the Negro in northern cities, which can be obtained through unbiased scientific material, can we gain the information and insight necessary for dealing with this great problem. Any program of action which is not based upon factual data, that is directed against any specific group rather than the solution of the economic and social problem of the distribution of men and resources, may lead to serious difficulties. There is already evident an attempt to "black wash" the relief problem and to fight the giving of adequate support by raising the race question—by attempting to show that Negroes gamble and drink up their relief allotment and that more and more are coming from the South to further burden the city. We know from our observation of various European countries the danger of allowing persons to fight an economic and social problem through focusing the antagonisms of the community on a scapegoat race.

TESTIMONY OF HOWARD D. GOULD AND FRAYSER T. LANE— Resumed

Mr. OSMERS. Have you studied his statement?

Mr. GOULD. Yes. I have gone over it.

Mr. OSMERS. You have gone over the statement, and feel qualified to give the committee some views in connection with that statement?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. I am not going to call upon you individually. I am just going to shoot questions at you, and whichever ones you feel qualified to answer, I will leave that up to you.

Mr. GOULD. All right.

Mr. OSMERS. When did the great increase in the Negro population of the North occur, and what caused the sudden exodus from the South?

NEGRO MIGRATION TO NORTH—1914

Mr. GOULD. The migration began shortly after the outbreak of the World War, between 1913 and 1914, June of 1913 and June of 1914. The industries of the North had been expanding. They had been absorbing migrants from Europe. That year there were approximately 1,454,000 migrants from Europe.

In August of 1914 war broke out, stopping migration from Europe completely. At the same time, the demand of the industries in the

North and Middle West remained, and they went south in order to recruit labor; the labor available was the Negro. They sent south and began to bring Negro workers not only to Chicago, but to all of the industrial centers of the North and Middle West, where there was a wartime boom.

Mr. OSMERS. What was the economic lot of the Negroes from the South in the first migration to the North, from 1913 to 1919?

Mr. GOULD. At that time they were bringing those people in to give them work, specifically.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. GOULD. They were bringing them in directly to jobs.

Mr. OSMERS. What were those jobs paying?

Mr. GOULD. Wages were high at that time. They ran about \$1 an hour and in excess of that at times.

Mr. OSMERS. So they really were brought to a very favorable economic situation?

Mr. GOULD. From the work standpoint; yes, they were.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. GOULD. There were housing problems, though.

Mr. OSMERS. There were housing problems that were created by that situation?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How did the city of Chicago solve that housing problem, or didn't they solve it? Did it solve itself through pressure?

Mr. GOULD. It solved itself through pressure, by people squeezing in where they could double up and triple up, and quadruple up. There was extreme overcrowding.

Mr. OSMERS. Was there great resistance on the part of the white population in the city of Chicago to that pressure?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Was there resistance to expanding the area in which the Negro of necessity had to live at that time?

Mr. GOULD. There was some resistance at certain points, certain sections of the city.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. GOULD. Although the idea of resistance can be greatly overdone.

Mr. OSMERS. To what areas in the North did most of these migrants come?

Mr. GOULD. They moved into the major industrial centers, swinging east into New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, and all of the Ohio cities: Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis.

Mr. OSMERS. Down at our Montgomery hearing, we had Dr. Valien of Fisk University before the committee, and he expressed the opinion that there were a great many parallels between the present situation and the one that existed in 1914. Do you agree with that?

Mr. LANE. I do not think there are a great many parallels, although there may be some few. There may be common social and political pressures as far as the Negro is concerned, in the South. That might be the same as it was then. But, as Mr. Gould has already stated, in the earlier war period, in that migration, men were invited up. Labor

agents were sent down to offer them jobs and pay their way to come up here. You do not have that kind of situation existing now.

Mr. OSMERS. Taking, for example, my own State of New Jersey, which has seen a great industrial pick-up in the last 2 years. There has been such an industrial pick-up that at present we have a labor shortage in the State in skilled categories. Do you not feel, carrying that out through the rearmament program again, that we are going to have a labor shortage in the North, and again those same forces will be at work?

Mr. LANE. It all depends, as far as the Negro is concerned. Many of those industries are unionized and do not absorb Negroes easily. In some industries they do not employ Negroes, where they have unionized shops.

NEGROES AND LABOR UNIONISM

Mr. OSMERS. Would you make the general statement, or agree with the general statement, that labor unionism in the North will work against the migration of Negroes from the South?

Mr. LANE. I would not make that statement.

Mr. OSMERS. With particular reference to the preparedness program and the skilled labor?

Mr. LANE. Would you want to comment on that?

Mr. GOULD. No; I would not agree. Barriers against new workers erected by labor unions only exist on a seniority basis. When there is a demand for labor, the labor unions themselves do not restrict membership. If there is sufficient demand for labor so that all of the local workers are employed, you will not find any barriers erected by the labor unions.

Mr. OSMERS. In my personal opinion, I do not agree with that statement. I believe there are some unions that are attempting to exclude Negroes, no matter how good business gets.

Mr. GOULD. That would be true, but the men would still be coming in as laborers.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean on the lower economic scale?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Of course, that would not have any bearing upon the unionization of the skilled laborers. Naturally, the Chicago Urban League, which you represent, has made a very intensive study of the Negro problem in Chicago.

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. I know that, because I used to read your magazine, Opportunity—is that it?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. James Weldon Johnson used to be a great contributor, I believe.

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. I used to read it with a great deal of interest. Was this study of the Chicago situation completed by the Urban League?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

INCOME OF NEGROES IN CHICAGO

Mr. OSMERS. What did you find to be the average income of Negroes in this city?

Mr. GOULD. We did this: We decided it would be difficult to determine the income of Negroes by a single average, because in examining the entire group we found they fell into three classes. For example, there are those persons who are employed in the steel mills, the packing plants, and some of the big factories in Chicago, like the International Harvester Co., who work in skilled occupations and have been with those concerns for a number of years, where the employment is fairly steady. They make a pretty good wage.

We arrived at these three averages: The group of men represented in the higher bracket consisted of about 20 percent of the total Negro population and had an average income of between \$1,800 and \$2,000 a year. That is the 20-percent group. There is another group numbering between 35 and 40 percent of the Negro population. This is as of the present moment I am giving these statistics.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. GOULD. The second group consists of people who are employed, in the case of women, in the garment shops, where they are protected by minimum-wage legislation and men who are employed as porters and occupations of that kind, and then, too, the laborers in the meat-packing plants and steel mills and on the railroads. The average income of this group, the average annual income would be approximately \$1,000 a year.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

NEGROES ON RELIEF

Mr. GOULD. Then we have a large group, the remaining 40 percent consisting of persons who are not now employed, who are in fact employable, whose income is derived through W. P. A., or through the aid of the Chicago Relief Administration. Of that 40 percent, approximately 15 percent of them will be W. P. A. workers with an average annual wage of \$55 a month. The remaining 25 percent would be on relief, and their average income would vary with the size of their family. In many cases it would not be more than \$350 or \$400 a year.

Mr. OSMERS. So at the most, 40 percent of the Negro population in Chicago is not self-supporting?

Mr. GOULD. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you tell the committee your interpretation of the fact that so many Negroes, such a large percentage of the Negroes in Chicago, are on relief?

Mr. GOULD. Yes. The majority of the Negroes that came to Chicago were employed in three brackets, the iron and steel industry, the packing industry, and the building industry or construction industry. When the depression hit, those industries were most affected by the decline. Steel, for example, fell to 20 percent of capacity. Building construction fell off to 10 percent of the normal level. Therefore, perhaps 80 or 90 percent of the people engaged in iron and steel production and in building construction were unemployed.

Since the great majority of the Negroes who were employed were employed in those industries, they were harder hit than would be true of the population generally, and a larger proportion of Negroes than of the population generally had to find their only assistance through the Relief Administration.

Now then, recently, although those industries have picked up, this is what has happened: A man, we will assume, in the steel industry when the depression came, was 40 years old. Now in 1940 when the steel industry is booming he is 50 years old. He does not go back into the industry.

Mr. OSMERS. You have the age factor coming into it now?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Is it your belief that these numbers on relief have been increased as a result of migration from the South?

Mr. LANE. I am sure they have been, because there have been migrations from the South since relief has started. There are many people on relief who have not been able to get satisfactory jobs, so they have contributed to the relief increase.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. GOULD. Not so much, though, for this reason: The majority of the people coming in here as migrants come in from the rural areas of the South.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. GOULD. They are used to working hard. They come in here to Chicago primarily to find work. The Chicagoan, the Negro living in Chicago, is accustomed to the fact that there is no work. He has looked here for a job. He couldn't find one. He has looked quite some time. He has become somewhat imbued with the thought or has succumbed or submitted to the thought that there is no work.

The migrant comes in, and this is what happens: A migrant is not accustomed to going to the steel mills or to the meat-packing plants. He just walks down the street looking for a job. He will tend to look for work a lot of places where the ordinary resident who lives in Chicago and knows all about the city does not. You will find migrants picking up jobs, odd jobs as day laborers and odd jobs as helpers in all sorts of places. The investigation we have made of several thousand cases tends to show that over half of the migrants actually land some kind of job before they have been in Chicago 2 weeks.

Mr. OSMERS. As I understand it, migrants coming into the city of Chicago would have to be here for some period of time before they would be eligible for relief, would they not?

Mr. GOULD. Three years.

Mr. OSMERS. He certainly could not live for 3 years on the meager resources he brought with him from the South. It is not likely that anyone would support him here. Would not the pressure of hunger contribute a great deal toward his getting employment?

Mr. LANE. I did not mean to give the impression that they came here to get relief. Eventually, after working at smaller jobs, and so forth, some of them finally do get on relief.

Mr. OSMERS. I understood the point I think you were driving at there. I wonder if you would compare for the committee the posi-

tion of the Negro and the white person during the last decade in Chicago with reference to those in the lower-income level?

HOUSING PROBLEM OF NEGROES IN CHICAGO

Mr. GOULD. The administration of relief, of course, has provided the same budgets for one group as the other, but there has been this difference, and the difference arises through the housing problem in Chicago: The areas in which Negroes live are definite and are restricted by a system of restrictive covenants we have here. That means that the number of homes Negroes occupy is limited. Then in addition to that, back in 1933 and 1934 they had a demolition program, through which—

Mr. OSMERS. In what years?

Mr. GOULD. 1935 was the biggest year; 1934, 1935, and 1936.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. GOULD. They demolished buildings, so-called unsafe or unsanitary buildings.

Mr. OSMERS. Did they replace them?

Mr. GOULD. They did not. They demolished 5,000 or 6,000 housing units. That meant there was very definitely a shortage of houses. The shortage of homes had the peculiar phenomena of increasing rents during a depression period, and as a result the Negro group have had to pay rents running two or three times as high, to use a figure in a comparison of that kind, than the white person on relief.

The white person on relief might be able to find a small home consisting of four or five rooms which he could rent for \$15 or \$20 a month. The Negro on relief will take his family of four or five persons and be forced to rent only one room for the whole five and he would pay from \$5 to \$7 a week for that room, his rental for the month being between \$20 to \$30.

Mr. OSMERS. For the purposes of the record, I wonder if you would transpose the Negro's rent to monthly terms, so we can have the comparison.

Mr. GOULD. The white person would pay \$15 to \$18 a month for a four- or five-room place. The Negro would pay from \$20 to \$30 a month for one room.

Mr. OSMERS. \$20 to \$30 a month for one room?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Are you absolutely sure of that figure?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. LANE. The Chicago Relief Administration has a policy of \$25 a month for one room, with steam heat and lighting.

Mr. OSMERS. \$25 a month for one room?

Mr. LANE. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. The whole family is supposed to live in that one room?

Mr. GOULD. They do, and in some cases two families.

Mr. OSMERS. Two families?

Mr. LANE. Yes.

Mr. GOULD. We have gone up as high as 9 and 11 persons living in 1 room.

Mr. OSMERS. So if a Negro family in Chicago wanted to have four rooms, it could cost him \$80 a month?

Mr. GOULD. It could. Actually, the landlords would rather divide up apartments into small units, and are not eager to rent larger apartments.

Mr. OSMERS. It does not?

Mr. GOULD. No.

Mr. OSMERS. You can get four rooms probably for \$40?

Mr. GOULD. Fifty dollars.

Mr. OSMERS. Forty or fifty dollars?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Which would be extremely high rent.

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. It would be out of the question for the relief family?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. May I interrupt you at that point?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

PROJECTED HOUSING PROGRAM

Mr. PARSONS. Has not anything been done by the local authorities here in the way of a housing program?

Mr. GOULD. We had a lot of opposition to our housing program, Mr. Congressman, at the start, but now it is nearing completion. In about 4 months the housing project will be completed, and will be one of the largest in the country, housing 1,700 families. That will be of considerable help to us.

Mr. OSMERS. When will that be completed?

Mr. GOULD. They hope people will begin to move in in November.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the rent going to be? What is it going to cost colored people for this, for decent living quarters?

Mr. GOULD. It will cost them from \$18 to \$25. Eighteen dollars would be for the three- or four-room apartments. For approximately \$25 they would have a five- or six-room apartment.

Mr. PARSONS. They can get an apartment to live in, those who are fortunate enough to get into these new apartments, this new structure—they can get decent housing quarters for about what they are paying for one room now?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Will this housing project be erected by the United States Housing Authority?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you happen to know whether they will restrict those apartments to income-earning families, or will relief people be allowed to move in?

Mr. GOULD. They will admit, as they have to other projects in Chicago, persons who are on relief.

RACE RELATIONS IN CHICAGO

Mr. OSMERS. There is a question I would like to touch on, because it is very, very important: What is happening to race relations in the

city of Chicago as a result of great relief percentage, poor housing conditions, and the great pressure under which Negroes must live in this city?

Mr. GOULD. There are two schools of thought, or two reactions. Some people contend race antagonism is increasing because, for example, of the legal battle now going on over the restrictive covenants.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you define that term "restrictive covenants," before you go any further?

Mr. GOULD. They are covenants entered into by the property owners through which they agree not to rent or sell the property to Negroes.

Mr. OSMERS. They agree between themselves, or with the city?

Mr. GOULD. Between themselves.

Mr. OSMERS. They agree not to allow Negroes into their real estate?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. LANE. That is, with respect to living in property on the street. They can live in servants' quarters in the back of the premises in a restricted area.

Mr. OSMERS. But they must live as servants; that is, they must be bona fide domestics?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. LANE. They must be bona fide domestics.

Mr. GOULD. There is that one source of antagonism, perhaps, between just a few people. By and large, race relations in Chicago are improving very steadily.

Mr. OSMERS. That would be your opinion?

Mr. GOULD. That would be my opinion. That would be evidenced by the willingness of employers to consider the problem of Negro labor; to consider meeting in conference and discussing the possibility of providing jobs for Negroes. It would be evidenced by the attitude of labor unions, the unions' willingness to take Negroes into membership. It is evidenced by the attitude of the city generally, which has adopted a broad attitude in that regard.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you feel that the large number of Negroes on relief in Chicago has contributed to the new 3-year settlement law that was passed?

Mr. GOULD. Yes; I do.

Mr. OSMERS. You think that was a factor?

Mr. GOULD. I think so.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say that is working a hardship solely upon Negroes?

Mr. GOULD. No; it is not.

Mr. LANE. It is working a hardship both on whites and Negroes.

Mr. OSMERS. That is the point I wanted to make there.

Mr. GOULD. It does work a hardship on both.

Mr. LANE. There are a lot of white people who move away, and who have then returned and attempted to secure assistance from the State, and it has worked a hardship on them, as well as people coming in from the Southern States.

Mr. OSMERS. It has a tendency then to freeze population?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And make it more static, because it restricts the movement of destitute persons?

Mr. GOULD. I think it works a greater hardship on white people.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, if the 48 States should preserve these rigid settlement laws that are now on the books, is it your opinion that might have some adverse effect upon our rearmament program if there should be a shortage of labor in the North here?

Mr. GOULD. Frankly; no.

Mr. OSMERS. You do not think it would?

Mr. GOULD. No. In other words, people living in Chicago, for example, who migrated in here in the first migration, as far as Negroes are concerned, have friends and relatives living in the South. They go back to visit their friends and relatives when they are sick, when they are ill, or when someone dies.

Now, for example, we will assume they needed workers in the steel mills out in South Chicago. The word would pass very rapidly to various sections of the country. Those men would come in specifically because they knew they were going to the jobs in the steel mills.

Mr. OSMERS. They would not hesitate to inform them about it, because they would feel they would be self-supporting when they got here?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. LANE. I would like to mention one fact. There seems to be a tendency now on the part of the Federal Government, especially in this defense program, to provide adequate housing for people who are going to places where labor is needed. Without supervision of that, there may be a great deal of hardships and difficulties similar to situations where private agencies have had labor go into places without any adequate living quarters.

Mr. OSMERS. Have you found in Chicago that your public employment offices have given Negroes a fair share of their recognition and their opportunity?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. The public employment offices?

Mr. GOULD. Yes. The United States Employment Service operates jointly with the Illinois State Unemployment Service and has been very cooperative and very fair in every respect.

Mr. OSMERS. They have received applications and hunted jobs out without any prejudice or malice?

Mr. GOULD. Yes. That is right.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FEDERAL AID

Mr. OSMERS. I see. Do you believe in general it would be a wise thing for this Government and this country to concentrate on its program of improving rural conditions in the South, or do you think that they should concentrate their efforts upon making the North more attractive?

Mr. GOULD. I would say this: From a technical point of view, most of the problem arises not from migration due to a desire to obtain relief, or anything like that, but is due rather to the desire of those

people down there to make a living. They leave, primarily, with the thought or the idea that they can land jobs here in the city.

I would say this: First of all, there is the difficulty involved in improving or devising programs of development in the South. Programs of that type would be better perhaps than providing something in the North, although it seems to me this should be done. A program should be devised that would tend to eliminate, through the Federal Government, the suffering in areas where the situation is such that unemployed are not cared for by local governments. I should say the Government should also look into the possibilities of developing a program which would tend to—I will use a slang expression—boost the economy of those areas migrants are leaving, because there is another problem involved in the migration to large cities. Industry is becoming decentralized, but the migrants are moving into this region at the same time the industries are moving out.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all I have.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. I was interested in the housing project you described, consisting of 1,700 units, I believe you said.

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will that be sufficient to relieve the pressure to such an extent that prices will be adjusted to a more normal level?

Mr. GOULD. I do not think so. There is extreme overcrowding, and the pressure is very great. However, I do think this many units will help a great deal.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are there any other projects underway or contemplated?

Mr. GOULD. The Authority has been considering another project, but it has been moving very slowly with it.

Mr. LANE. I might mention that about 1,700 units were displaced when they tore down and prepared the land for this new building, so that you simply would be replacing just a few more than you actually tore down.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was that number involved in this, the 5,000 or some such number you mentioned were demolished?

Mr. GOULD. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The 5,000 units that were demolished were in addition to these 1,700?

Mr. LANE. Yes.

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

Mr. OSMERS. I notice in Dr. Cayton's statement, he makes reference to the fact, as I recall the statement, that the increase in the Negro population is negative. There has been no substantial increase in the native Chicago Negro population. With the death rate being as high as it is, it has tended to keep the population about even.

Mr. GOULD. That was for a period of 4 or 5 years, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, and 1937. As to the death rate and the birth rate, the exact figures were around 4,100 births and 4,200 deaths; then 4,200 births and 4,100 deaths. Last year it jumped again. For 1939 there were a few more than 5,000 births and only 4,200 deaths. We are beginning to have a small natural increase.

Mr. OSMERS. A small natural increase of native Chicagoans?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. So that the Negro population has started to increase very slightly?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And any important increase in the population would come through migration?

Mr. GOULD. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. That is, within the next 10 years?

Mr. GOULD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Not through an increase of the birth rate over the death rate?

Mr. GOULD. That is correct.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other questions? (No response.) Do you live in Congressman Arthur Mitchell's district?

Mr. GOULD. Yes. We both do.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you know your Congressman?

Mr. GOULD. We know the Congressman.

Mr. PARSONS. Is he giving you satisfactory representation in Congress?

Mr. GOULD. May this be off the record?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes. Off the record, Mr. Reporter.

(Discussion outside the record.)

Mr. PARSONS. The statement which has been prepared by Dr. Cayton will be received as part of the formal record. Thank you, gentlemen.

(Whereupon, Mr. Gould and Mr. Lane were excused.)

Mr. PARSONS. At this time I wish to say to the committee that Mr. Walter W. Finke, director of the division of social welfare, department of social security, St. Paul, Minn., has submitted a statement. He was unable to come here personally. It seems to me to be a very fine statement. Without objection it will be made a part of our formal record.

STATEMENT BY WALTER W. FINKE, DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF SOCIAL WELFARE, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY, ST. PAUL, MINN.

INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS AS IT AFFECTS THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

This statement is prepared at the request of Representative John H. Tolan and relates to the problem of needy and destitute migrant persons so far as the State of Minnesota is concerned. The statement attempts, in brief compass, to describe the nature and breadth of this problem in Minnesota. Unfortunately, little or no data which are statistically accurate and complete are available. However, the experience of State and State-Federal welfare and relief agencies which have been at grips with this problem for the past 10 years in the State of Minnesota furnish the basis for a reliable analysis of the whole problem in more general terms.

For the purpose of this statement, the following definitions are used in order to clear the confusion as between the terms "migrant" and "transient":

Migrant.—Worker on the move; one who follows seasonal employment with the seasons; one who intends to go on.

Transient.—Worker who has gone off the road (or was never on it) and is temporarily settled, often without work in view.

It should be pointed out that both of these categories of persons do not have the period of residence within the State necessary to give them the status known as "legal settlement." Hence, at present, such persons cannot legally be provided with assistance from State funds appropriated for general relief purposes. Under section 8 of chapter 436 of the Session Laws of Minnesota for 1939 which appropriated State funds for the poor and which provided for the administration of these State funds, the legislature stipulated that "Before a person is entitled to the benefits of this act, he shall have maintained a settlement in this State * * * for the period of 2 years * * *." It should further be noted that, in view of this limitation upon State funds which are provided to local governmental units as a supplement to cover total relief costs, that these local subdivisions of government have limited the granting of assistance to needy migrants or transients to only the most necessitous emergency situations and, even in that event, only upon a brief and temporary basis. This legal-legislative situation is undoubtedly substantially similar to that which prevails in most States.

The number of migrants who enter Minnesota annually in search of seasonal employment, including those who make up the families of such migrants, has been variously estimated from 15,000 to 25,000 people. The vast majority of these persons, when their seasonal work is completed, move on to other States in search of further seasonal employment. However, a small percentage remains in the State, either by reason of illness, lack of funds, or the hope of further employment in Minnesota. Records of the former State relief agency indicate that in the year 1938, 293 migrant families remained in Minnesota and applied for and received some form of temporary assistance. In 1939 the figures are approximately the same. These figures represent only the known cases.

By way of general definition, it may be indicated that the industries in Minnesota which offer employment to the migrant are: (1) The sugar-beet industry; (2) the timber industry; (3) the truck-gardening and canning industries; (4) general agriculture; and (5) the Great Lakes shipping trade.

The sugar-beet industry.—The sugar-beet industry in Minnesota requires and employs between 3,000 and 4,000 migrant laborers annually. This is for the blocking and thinning and pulling and topping processes of raising and harvesting the sugar beets. These migrants are predominantly Mexican. The employment is seasonal and covers only approximately 60 workdays between May and July and between September and November. A study of this group, made in 1937 and 1938 by the Minnesota State Relief Agency, indicated that the majority of this labor comes from the States of Texas, Kansas, and Missouri. These persons enter Minnesota during May and leave during November. There is a normal industrial demand for this type of migratory labor in this particular industry.

The usual method of transportation for these people is by automobile or truck. Often, the trucks used in bringing these people to Minnesota are ordinary cattle trucks that carry between 30 and 40 persons on each trip. The emigration of this group begins as soon as the beet crop is harvested. While little is known of the group of beet workers that leave Minnesota each fall, there has grown up a residual group of nonresidents who present serious welfare problems. It is estimated that this residual group now exceeds 6,000 in total number throughout the State. A study made of this group by the State relief agency in 1935-37 indicated the predominant need of relief in this group, a prevalence of poor and inadequate housing, retardation of children of school age, and serious health and child-welfare problems. Legal limitation on expenditure of State funds for nonresidents and the financial inability of local units of government to make provision for anything except urgent emergency situations, both medical and otherwise, has made it difficult to develop any sound program of assistance and service for this group of persons.

The timber industry.—It is estimated that the timber industry annually attracts between 2,000 and 3,000 migrant laborers to northern Minnesota. These workers are almost without exception single men looking for employment in the timber camps. Sample studies have indicated that this group comes from Michigan, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Washington. These men, arriving in the early fall, seldom have definite employment upon their arrival. However, the majority of them secure jobs as soon as work opens up in the timber camps.

The problem created by this group of migrants is that of providing temporary assistance to them during the interval which occurs after their arrival and before they obtain work. Such data as is available from the old State relief agency

indicates that in 1939 over 1,000 of these men received some form of temporary assistance. Here again, the presence of legal restrictions and the financial inability of local subdivisions of government to assume this burden, have made difficult the care of this group of migrants.

The truck-gardening and canning industries.—The truck-gardening and the canning industries attract and use an estimated 1,000 to 2,000 migrant workers annually in Minnesota.

Few of these workers have employment when they migrate to Minnesota, but it should be noted that many of them are beet workers who arrived in Minnesota too late to secure beet contracts and then secured garden work. These migrants are family units who travel by automobile and move continuously until they find work. When their work is completed, they usually return to the Southern States where they spend the winter. The canning industries use this type of labor for the short period of time necessary to pick the corn. The season is short and once completed the laborer and his family move on. Housing provided by the companies for these workers during the working season is much better than that of other migrants. Like the beet workers, some of whom supplement their beet earnings with wages from corn picking, the majority of these workers leave Minnesota each fall.

General agriculture.—The mechanization of agriculture and the availability of resident unemployed workers has materially reduced the need for the migrant farm laborer in Minnesota. Yet because of the history of Minneapolis as a labor center for farm labor, thousands of single men still migrate to Minneapolis and thence northwest in search of work. Many of these men apply for and receive temporary care in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Seamen.—The port of Duluth with the possibility of shipping out on the Great Lakes annually attracts between 200 and 300 seamen. These men migrate to Minnesota before the ice breaks and hope to secure work on the boats during the summer or remain in the State when shipping closes in the fall. Sample studies conducted by the old State relief agency indicated that these are single persons and are generally residents of New York, Ohio, Michigan, or Wisconsin. Many remain in Minnesota during the winter months hoping to secure work in the timber camps.

This group presents a special employment problem in that seamen have a special employment skill. So far as assistance is concerned, here again the problem is one of temporary care pending the finding of private employment.

A review of intake interviews with migrants indicates that the following factors, among others, are related to the causes of movement of these people from one State to another:

- (1) Search for employment in industrial centers and metropolitan areas;
- (2) Expectancy of receiving some form of aid from relatives or family until employment is obtained;
- (3) Return to a State after loss of a fairly long period of employment elsewhere;
- (4) A desire to secure more adequate medical care than is available in the place from whence the migrant has come.

[The location of Mayo Clinic in Rochester, the Veterans' Hospital in Minneapolis, the University Hospital in Minneapolis, Ancker Hospital in St. Paul, and the General Hospital in Minneapolis often result in the movement of some migrants to Minnesota who are in search of or desire medical care.]

- (5) Existence of a feeling that the Twin Cities are the "gateway" to the Northwest through which many families en route from the East and South will travel.

Outstanding among the difficulties in the field of the migrant destitute citizen is, of course, the diversity of settlement laws as between various States. This diversity makes it possible for a family to lose settlement for the purposes of relief in one State, before gaining it in another. Thus, many of these people have no State upon which they can lay claim of legal residence for the purpose of obtaining assistance.

A further analysis of intake interviews with nonresidents in Minnesota during the calendar year 1939 indicates that the previous place of residence of the majority of these people was in the following States: Wisconsin, North Dakota, South Dakota, Illinois, Missouri, Montana, Iowa, Texas, Nebraska, and Arkansas.

However, residents of 34 States were included in the group interviewed in 1939.

Contact with migratory destitute persons in Minnesota during the past several years points to the importance of the following considerations:

(1) Recognition should be given of the normal demand for migratory labor in certain industries. Most of these industries have a short labor season. Hence, so far as a substantial number of these migrants are concerned, they must face the problem of care and assistance before and after the seasonal employment and during the intervals between migration.

(2) The problem of the migratory destitute citizens is interstate in character. As such, it cannot be solved by individual States. It would seem that this is a field in which the Federal Government should assume some responsibility, perhaps by way of the grant-in-aid device. By this means, such aid should encourage uniformity in settlement laws, and improvement of procedures looking to more adequate schooling of children of migrant families and provision of certain minimums in health care. The objective should be to meet the needs of these people, to put the migratory labor market on a sounder basis, and to take off the load those individuals and families that have no place in the migratory labor field.

STATEMENTS OF H. W. MORGENTHAUER, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE; AND W. R. SULLINGER, FARM PLACEMENT SUPERVISOR FOR THE OHIO STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, COLUMBUS, OHIO

Mr. PARSONS. The next witnesses will be Mr. Morgenthauer and Mr. Sullinger.

Mr. Morgenthauer, will you state your full name, address, and official position for the record?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. H. W. Morgenthauer, administrative assistant, State department of public welfare, Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. PARSONS. Will you state your name, address and official position for the record, please, Mr. Sullinger?

Mr. SULLINGER. W. R. Sullinger, supervisor of farm placements, Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. PARSONS. Both of you gentlemen have submitted statements for the record which I have gone over rather hurriedly, but which the committee will go over in detail before the hearings are concluded. They are rather voluminous.

(The statements referred to are as follows:)

STATEMENT BY MEMBERS OF THE OHIO STATE TRANSIENT COMMITTEE

(Presented by H. W. Morgenthauer, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio)

FOREWORD

Ohio, along with other sections of the United States, was developed by migrants or, as they were then called, pioneers. In those days opportunities for support were available and the few who were unable to get work for a temporary period, or were almost constantly on the move, were so few that they could get assistance from communities and individuals not already overloaded with local problems of dependency. Depressions in the past have been followed by periods of industrial expansion and the opening of new territories, or in other words, the advancing of our industrial and physical frontiers, both of which provided additional opportunities for an excessive labor supply. During the last 10 years, economic and industrial conditions have caused shrinking of job opportunities and have also caused a marked increase in the number of interstate migrants.

Over the years there have developed in Ohio large industrial centers which offered excellent opportunities to both skilled and unskilled labor. At the present time, of the 88 Ohio counties 8 have a population of over 200,000 persons, with Cleveland and Cincinnati being the largest most highly developed centers. Needless to say, large numbers of people have had to migrate into these areas to meet the demands of industry for additional men. The census figures for the Cleveland metropolitan district illustrate this very clearly:

	Population	By birth over death	By excess migration
1929.....	943,495		
1930.....	1,201,455		
Total gain.....	257,960	106,293	¹ 151,667
1940.....	1,216,529	(²)	
Total gain.....	15,074	8,293	³ 6,686

¹ 15,000 per year.

² 1933-38 figures available only.

³ 1,335 per year.

For the first 6 months of 1940, Cuyahoga County reports an average of 11,092¹ persons and families cared for as nonresidents; 75 percent of this number, or an average of 894 per month, were from other States.

Cincinnati gives a similar report, which indicates that approximately 25,000 persons pass through this city every year. The actual figures for January through June (a total 6-month period) 1940, 11,577 people or family groups were cared for in Cincinnati. Of this total number, 9,995, or 87.2 percent, were people from other States.

As is well known, by those who have studied conditions over the past 10 years, job opportunities have failed to develop and the persons who have migrated into the cities and communities in Ohio have found it increasingly difficult to find a means of subsistence through their own efforts. However, in recent months nonresident skilled mechanics have been quickly absorbed.

The situation in Akron also illustrates a condition which is common in other industrial cities and which has decreased the possibility of absorbing interstate migrants. Residents of Akron in close touch with the industrial situation advise that 20 years ago the rubber industry was just beginning to expand. There was such a shortage of housing facilities and such a need for more lodging quarters that persons running rooming houses would rent the same bed for each of the three 8 hour periods. Additional beds were set up on porches when weather permitted in order to provide sleeping facilities for the large influx of migrants. At the present time, it is reported the rubber industry is producing the same quantity of goods as during the 1928-29 peak of production with many fewer men due to better production methods and better machinery. The effect of this trend is reflected in the census figures, which show a decline in the population of Akron over the past 10-year period. Many persons were unable to go elsewhere and have remained as relief clients. Others have become interstate migrants and because of limited resources become stranded in other States.

During 1939 the State department of welfare handled 2,040 letters from other States requesting various types of information about former Ohio residents. Of this total, 800 were letters requesting verification of residence and authorization to return, which gives some idea of the number of Ohio people who are seeking opportunities elsewhere and as a result have become dependent in other States.

Prior to the last decade, the vast majority of the people coming into Ohio from other States have been independent. Ohio's actual industrial growth and in some instances an exaggerated statement of labor needs on the part of employers have caused the largest influx. Ohio's agriculture is of a diversified nature, with few of the seasonal crops requiring large numbers of people over a short period of time. We do have conditions in the onion marsh sections, and in the sections of the State where sugar beets are grown, where certain types of "stoop" labor is needed and where it has been customary for employers to encourage migration of Kentuckians and Mexicans because in the onion fields

Kentuckians would work for a rate much lower than local labor, and in the sugar-beet fields Mexicans were adapted to "stoop" labor.

Due to the slackening of industry over a prolonged period, Ohio has felt the increased pressure of interstate migration during the past 10 years. These people have been a special burden on local communities because of the increased amount of dependence among Ohio residents due to unemployment over the same period. It is also true that as far as farm labor is concerned, there has been a decrease in the number of men needed due to mechanization. Small combines, corn pickers, and the use of tractors, even on the smaller (80 to 100 acre) farms, have made it possible to harvest crops without the use of extra farm hands through the summer and fall. Many of these farm hands used in the past have been local men.

These people are truly a people, not without a country, but many of them are without a State.

TYPES OF DESTITUTE INTERSTATE MIGRANT

As we have studied the problems in Ohio through the cooperation of the State transient committee and the State welfare department over the past 2 years, we have concluded that the destitute citizens who migrate into Ohio can be divided into special types. Some of these types are the following:

1. Those following or seeking seasonal work:

(a) Sailors have presented a special problem due to the practices of the Great Lakes steamship companies. The shipping season lasts during the time the Lakes are ice-free. In the fall boats tie up for the winter usually at the port where they happen to be when ice stops navigation. Recent regulations make it necessary for all sailors who wish steady jobs for the next season to make their application at the home office of the steamship company. Cleveland seems to be headquarters for most of the shipping lines operating on the Great Lakes. Sailors who happen to winter in Duluth, Chicago, or other lake ports must find their way to Cleveland in order to secure a job for the next season. This makes it necessary for them to find their way to Cleveland and back to the port from which they are ordered to sail. Many of these men end the season with little if any resources left. They have expected better local assistance than other relief clients and have caused a peculiar problem for the lake ports of Cleveland and Toledo.

(b) Workers in the beet fields have been imported from lower Texas. Most of these people are Mexicans who, it is reported, are hired by the beet growers, transported from Texas to Ohio by truck without being permitted to leave the truck en route and returned in the fall. Whole families are brought in temporary houses set up, and all members of the family able to work participate. Studies of these conditions have been made by the United States Children's Bureau and by the National Child Labor Committee, and detailed facts, we believe, would be available from either source. The Ohio employment service is developing the cooperation of employers in order to replace the Mexican laborers with local men capable of doing "stoop" labor.

2. Another group of interstate destitute migrants which create considerable burden on local communities are those seeking medical care not available in their own communities. The large industrial centers in Ohio have, along with their industrial development, also developed a social consciousness which has caused them to develop fine health welfare, and recreational agencies financed by both public and private funds for assisting persons not able to meet their own needs in these fields. The efforts of the United States Public Health Service to impress upon the general public the necessity for adequate care for venereal diseases has caused a large number of persons, when they become aware of their need for treatment, to seek such treatment in Ohio cities where they are legally nonresidents. Many of these people are from other States. This is particularly true in Cincinnati and other border cities near States which do not have the same resources which are available in Ohio. Others seek specialized medical services to meet problems they cannot meet locally.

3. Those who find themselves out of work in their place of legal settlement in other States because of the mechanization of industry are also a large number of the people coming into Ohio as interstate migrants. Closing of mines due to mechanization, improvement of agricultural methods in the South, restriction of acreage under cultivation, and other factors of this type have caused this group of people to become interstate migrants. It is also true that employers have caused displaced people or excess laborers to move from their home communities

by the distribution of handbills (in one instance by airplane in the Kentucky mountains), picturing employment needs to be in excess of the number of people actually needed, has brought many more people from other States than plants could possibly absorb. Skilled laborers displaced elsewhere, who have come in recently, expecting war industry booms are not much of a problem since they have been and still are quickly absorbed.

4. Those who are moving because of the lack of or the small amount of relief which is given at the place of legal settlement constitute another group. We in Ohio understand the limited resources which some neighboring States have at their command; however, we are also conscious of the fact that W. P. A. wage scales are lower in these States and that in some places relief is not given at all. There is every inducement for persons without income in such communities to start moving, many times because relatives in Ohio have written about—and sometimes exaggerated—their situation, which by comparison, even though meager, is better than conditions at their place of residence when relief is not granted. The result is an influx of persons from other States who expect to be assigned to W. P. A., and in some cases have been accepted, or who are placed on temporary relief until settlement is verified and return authorized. The chief source of this migration is from the South.

5. Those young people 18 to 21 years of age whose parents are citizens of other countries and who, following the last World War, returned to their homes in Europe. The parents have been sending these children to this country to escape war conscription. The problem of absorbing these intercounty migrants is equally difficult with those from other States, due to lack of job opportunities and difficulty in arranging living conditions.

6. Those who are brought to an industrial center to break strikes: These people are usually stranded after their assignment is finished, and many times are from other States.

7. Those who are "wanderers of the road"—the hobo: This group includes not only single persons but families who are habitual travelers. They constitute a small percentage of the total. They are present now, as they always have been, only now they are more conspicuous. Little can be done for this group, since they are not actually seeking employment, even temporary employment.

PROBLEMS CREATED BY INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS

The above groupings indicate the type of interstate migrants which come to the attention of local relief agencies and the State welfare department in Ohio. The problems which are created in most communities because of these groups of interstate migrants can be classified under the following headings:

1. Medical problems, since in no community is there an oversupply of hospital beds or funds to care for charity cases. An influx of nonresidents almost immediately causes overcrowding. Communities have been unable to collect hospital bills from the place of legal residence. Many of these cases are tuberculosis or fracture cases. Venereal cases are discovered regularly by the transient agencies in the cities where physical examinations by licensed doctors are routine for all transients given lodging. Once medical treatment is started, the medical profession is loathe to cooperate with local relief agencies in the return of nonresidents to their place of legal residence if medical facilities for adequate follow-up are not available at the place of settlement. This is particularly true where tuberculosis cases have been treated in pneumothoracic clinics. The return of these individuals to the community in which they live, if treatment is not available, may be fatal. Instances come to the attention of the welfare department regularly from various communities where interstate migrants become emergency medical cases and it is physically impossible to move them, thus causing an extended period of expense for local health agencies when medical resources have already been drawn on to excess by needs of local indigents.

2. The effect on children of interstate migrants cannot be overemphasized. Children who have no opportunity to live in normal homes grow up without having ideas of what normal home life is like. Frequent moving causes lack of continuity in their education, malnutrition, and an accumulation of abnormal influences which result in making these children less competent citizens of the future.

3. Poor housing is without a question one of the worst results of interstate migration. Persons without resources are forced to crowd into the worst districts in cities. This is particularly true of the large number of southern Negroes who

migrate into this State. In many cities in Ohio we have been faced with limited housing facilities for a considerable period. The influx of nonresident people only accentuates the problem, making for worse physical and moral conditions. Disease is also increased thereby.

4. The migration of feeble-minded, epileptic persons has created very definite problems. With institutions already crowded to capacity and many on the waiting list, communities find it extremely difficult to secure authorization to return such persons to their place of legal residence. In one instance over an 8-year period in a city in Ohio a mentally incompetent person who had been in a mental institution in another State was arrested for prostitution and all manner of petty crimes over this period. Attempts were made by various agencies over this same period to return this person to the State of legal settlement without results. Although these problems are not as great as some of the other groups, yet they constitute a definite situation which creates a time-consuming and expensive problem in each such instance and in many instances is the straw which breaks the camel's back.

5. We have attempted in Ohio to determine whether or not interstate migrants were the cause of increased crime wave. Many communities house migrants in the jails as a matter of "local protection." A study of 19,075 cases brought into a police court in Cincinnati showed only 763 were transients and of this number 702 were brought into court on very minor charges. This is the only tangible figure we have to throw any definite light on this phase of the problem, but we feel that this is a fair sample for the State and that there is very little relationship between migration and crime.

FACTORS IN PLANNING STABILIZATION AND REHABILITATION

The return of persons to their place of legal settlement has become increasingly difficult for the past several years. Ohio has cooperated with other State welfare departments. Much has been accomplished through this cooperation and many families have been returned to communities where they can become a part of the community again. However, lack of resources, changes of personnel, and policies in State departments and other factors make it difficult to keep continuity in the agreements reached. Problems which have been brought to light in connection with this type of activity indicate why it is becoming more and more difficult to do constructive planning with interstate migrants in order to stabilize them. These problems classify themselves into several groups:

1. Lack of uniform-settlement laws throughout the United States is the major problem. Many laws with "intent" sections could have constructive significance, however, as they are interpreted and used they seem clearly designed to quickly deprive persons of their legal residence once they leave the State. Others are so restrictive that once a person has been outside of the State for a period of time they find themselves disqualified even for relief until they have been able to maintain themselves independently within their home State for 2- to 3-year periods. It is obvious that persons destitute in one State where they are nonresidents would have no means of maintaining themselves in their State of legal settlement. In an attempt to meet this problem, legislators in some instances have hurriedly passed what has turned out to be distinctly discriminatory legislation and laws which in practice are retaliatory in nature. Such laws have tended to increase the movement of persons and to increase the problem from all angles rather than to make it possible for them to become stabilized once they begin to move from place to place.

2. There is an increasing number of persons in the destitute interstate migrant group who have become what we term "United States residents." These are the people who have moved from State to State in an attempt to find opportunities for support. They have failed to subsist on their own earnings long enough at any one point to gain settlement. They have also been away from the State in which they last were legal residents so that under the laws of that State they are considered to have lost settlement. These are the persons referred to earlier in this report as persons with a country but without a State. For instance, present poor relief legislation in Ohio provides that anyone who has been out of the State 4 years is ineligible to relief if he returns and becomes destitute before he has again maintained himself for a continuous 12-month period without assistance from an agency keeping records. In Illinois moving into another subdivision causes loss of settlement. Intent to move elsewhere causes loss of settlement in Missouri and West Virginia.

Many local officials try as best they can to cooperate in helping these persons plan to live where they can have the best opportunity for stabilization; however, because of local community pressures to take care of their own citizens most communities and local officials in Ohio encourage these people to move on rather than to assist them in stabilization. Our larger cities, however, where they have developed a finer sense of social consciousness, go to great lengths to assist these folks in every possible way. Most of the sailors referred to in an earlier page of this report also belong in this group.

3. Many people, after they learn of the advantages in other sections of the country, even though they may be returned legally, refuse to go to their point of legal residence. It is also true that some communities feel it is inhuman to forcibly return people because of lack of necessary medical care or other opportunities at their point of legal settlement. There are some who feel that to insist upon return is also a violation of a person's civil liberties.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Ohio State Transient Committee and the State Department of Public Welfare join in making the following recommendations to the Tolau committee on points where we feel action would be most practical and effective:

1. Since this is a national problem and since there is no trend toward uniformity in State legislation regarding settlement and interstate migration, we feel that national planning and legislation is needed to assist in bringing into uniformity the efforts of the various States in regard to interstate migration. We feel that Federal planning and legislation should include the following points:

1. A standard of relief not less than the minimum relief needs for people in that region. We appreciate the fact that there would be wide variation even in Ohio between the southern hill counties and the large industrial cities as far as minimum relief standards would be concerned.

2. A reasonable standard of medical care, and funds to provide such, which would provide for those migrants in need of medical assistance or treatment. This should be coordinated with the United States Public Health Service in such a way that venereal disease and control could be linked up with this program.

3. Employable migrants should be required to be continuously registered with the official State or United States employment service.

4. A satisfactory arrangement whereby persons without legal settlement at the point where they become dependent can be assisted in locating at the point where they have the best possibilities of becoming stabilized and self-supporting. This part of the plan should carry provisions requiring States to have standard settlement requirements, also to be able to enter into reciprocal agreements with other States so that there can be mutual planning between the two States involved and the nonresident migrant, in order that the migrant may be assisted in locating where he can best adjust in the long run. In case of differences of opinion between States, there should be the right of appeal to a Federal agency.

At this point we wish to say that the Ohio Transient Committee feels that H. R. 2975 and H. R. 2974 introduced in the Seventy-sixth Congress, first session, by Representative Jerry Voorhis of California, would cover the above points quite adequately with minor variations as necessary to fit conditions as they may change by the time the next Congress is in session.

11. If States are to be granted Federal aid, it should be a requirement that State laws be revised so that there would be standard settlement requirements not only for general relief but for the various types of categorical assistance such as aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, and aid for the aged.

These general requirements should be:

1. That a person, once having gained legal settlement in one State, shall not lose it until he has gained settlement in another State. The State where such settlement is held would be obliged to assist in necessary housing plans and financial aid when it was agreed between two States that the best plan was to return the person to his point of legal settlement.

2. States should not require more than 1 year continuous residence within the State to establish legal settlement.

3. Acceptance of assistance from funds provided through Federal grants-in-aid should not be permitted to disqualify a migrant from acquiring a legal settlement.

4. States should not be required to return persons requiring institutional care because of mental disease or other illness such as tuberculosis to their place of

legal settlement. The expense of such care should either be taken entirely from Federal funds or should be chargeable to the State of legal settlement.

III. National planning should be carried out so that the sectional problem, such as the eventual depletion of coal deposits through mining operations, sections of the country where present agricultural conditions indicate no immediate future possibilities for absorbing the labor supply, and other predictable or precipitated conditions which affect a large group of people should be managed in such a way that the persons themselves are not required to blindly seek opportunities elsewhere through unplanned migration. This will be obviously necessary until the new frontiers can be developed. The fact that we realize that factories have been creating a surplus on the labor market due to improved production methods, and further that even though the trend has been from the cities to the less centralized areas, yet we know that there is no appreciable need for the surplus labor market in the country any more than there is in the city. We feel it is obvious that some planning will have to take place which will take these various groups and conditions into consideration so that people do not wander aimlessly about searching for opportunities which we know will not be found.

We are quite conscious of the fact that preparedness for national defense may absorb many men while the boom period which results will last. This will, if it reaches proportions where middle-aged displaced workers will be absorbed, decrease the need for migration in search of work and of course decrease interstate migration. We strongly recommend that optimism in this direction should not be allowed to delay action on the problem until there is some tangible result from employment pick-up. Technological unemployment and other factors, such as southern agricultural trends, the Dust Bowl, productivity of new lands due to dams in the Northwest, etc., indicate the need for continued planning in regard to interstate migration looking toward the next "depression" which may then be delayed or at least partially avoided.

Some care for persons who become dependent should be provided in the home community, if work opportunities are not available so as to remove the necessity for moving elsewhere to secure relief. A modification of the Works Program or Federal supplementing of local resources may be necessary to make this program possible in all States and communities in the United States. We urge action which will bring financial assistance to States for the temporary care necessary in connection with planning and rehabilitation of interstate nonresidents until such time at least when employment service machinery is available to assist people in planned migration.

Perhaps new frontiers will be developed; in the meantime we feel it is necessary to face the fact that since our frontiers are practically gone, we need to make an adjustment and provide the resources to meet the new situation which we have only partially come to understand through the events of the last decade. The recommendations of the State transient committee, as stated above, we feel, would assist in reaching that goal.

Rest assured of our willingness to cooperate with your committee and with other States in reaching a practical sensible plan which will assist us in moving in the right direction.

Respectfully submitted by

The Ohio State Transient Committee: H. W. Morgenthauer, chairman, administrative assistant, legal settlement, State welfare department; Belle Greve, vice chairman, director, Cuyahoga County Relief Administration; Mr. Mason Benner, director, Montgomery County Relief Administration, Dayton; Miss Cora M. Floyd, general secretary, social service union, Steubenville; Mrs. Geraldine Gifford, secretary, American Red Cross, Lorain; Mr. J. A. Green, executive secretary, Negro Y. M. C. A., Dayton; Mrs. Frances W. Hawes, Travelers Aid Society, Cleveland; Brigadier Samson Hodges, the Salvation Army, Columbus; Mr. Gordon Jeffrey, director, public welfare department, Toledo; Mr. W. L. Mulhearn, director, Summit County Relief Administration, Akron; Miss Grace O'Donnell, transient committee, Canton; Mr. D. E. Proctor, chairman, transient committee, Columbus; Mr. J. H. Stein, supervisor, shelter-care division, Department of Public Relief, Cincinnati; Mrs. Jean C. Williams, director, city relief administration, Portsmouth.

APPENDIX

OUTLINE

Case stories and statistical tables illustrating problems in regard to destitute interstate migrants:

1. Syphilis clinic case from Georgia.
2. Syphilis case illustrating combined effect of Arkansas law and United States Public Health Service emphasis on treatment.
3. Syphilitic nonresident from Alabama.
4. Tuberculosis case from Kentucky.
5. Annual Report—1939—Cincinnati shelter care division on nonresident cases receiving clinical medical care and break-down by type of treatment needed.
6. Cleveland case illustrating problems created by loss of settlement.
7. Cincinnati case illustrating interstate Kentucky problem of feeble-minded person who needs institutionalization.
8. Feeble-minded "United States resident" type now in Cleveland.
9. Example of way people with low-grade mentality are shunted from place to place when they become nonresidents (Cincinnati).
10. Case illustrating difficulty in securing verification of settlement and neglect of children on the road.
11. Cincinnati case illustrating "United States resident" type.
12. Cincinnati reports facts on nonresident minor with tuberculosis (Kentucky).
13. Case illustrating irresponsibility of some local officials (Indiana).
14. Case illustrating why better standardized controls are needed for handling cases of nonresident migrants.
15. Letter illustrating how loss of settlement presents possibility of planning with a family to assist them in locating at most logical place (New York).
16. Total for month-transients and local homeless, key Ohio points—October 1938.
17. Total for month-transients and local homeless, key Ohio points—November 1938.
18. Total for month-transients and local homeless, key Ohio points—December 1938.
19. Head count-transients and local homeless, key Ohio points—July 29, 1938.
20. Head count-transients and local homeless, key Ohio points—July 28, 1939.
21. Head count-transients and local homeless, key Ohio points—October 31, 1939.
22. Head count-transients and local homeless, key Ohio points—May 20, 1940.
23. Seasonal and weekly report on applications accepted and rejected by Cincinnati agency for 1939-40.
24. Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Relief Bureau. Number of transients receiving lodging in special dormitory for boys and young men during first month of each quarter by each year age 7 to 25, July 1939 to April 1940.
25. Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Relief Bureau. Major service by months nonresident case load, white-colored, families—single, July 1939 through June 1940.
26. Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Relief Bureau. Nonresident case load, by months, July 1939 through *a.* June 1940; *b.* number of sailors receiving care as nonresidents, by months, April 1939 through June 1940.

SYPHILIS CLINIC CASE FROM GEORGIA

Mrs. A. is under treatment in Cleveland Syphilis Clinic for syphilis early unclassified with pregnancy. She received irregular treatment from August until October 1939, prior to the delivery of her child at city hospital on October 15, 1939. Following the delivery of the child, many follow-up efforts were unsuccessful in having either Mrs. A. or the child return to clinic for examination and further treatment. The case was, therefore, referred to the Cleveland division of health, which was effective in having Mrs. A. return to the clinic on February 6, 1940, with the assistance of a sanitary officer. Under pressure, also Mrs. A. took the child Betty Jean to our pediatrics clinic for examination. Physical examination and serology were negative for evidence of congenital syphilis in the child.

Clarence, whom Mrs. A. named as the father of her child and potential source of the syphilitic infection, was examined on three occasions at the division of health and was found not to have syphilis.

Mrs. A. is 20 years old, a legal minor, and therefore has legal residence in Atlanta, Ga., where her parents are now living. She refuses to return to Atlanta, Ga., and neither the Travelers Aid Society, the county relief bureau, nor the division of health have any authority to oblige her to return to Atlanta. Mrs. A. has an I. Q. of 61, but this is not low enough to require institutionalization in a feeble-minded institution. Therefore, the probate court cannot assist us to have Mrs. A. return to Georgia.

No social agency in this community will give financial or other assistance to Mrs. A., and the Cleveland Syphilis Clinic is giving free medical care. Mrs. A. has little inclination or ability or opportunity to work at the present time. She is living with her sister at the given address. Her sister is being supported by aid to dependent children in this community and she is not permitted to assist Mrs. A. out of the pension which she receives from this agency. Aid to dependent children has found Mrs. A. in the home of her sister before and has required her to move. When they discover that she has returned to live with her sister, Mrs. A. will be asked to live elsewhere again. Mrs. A.'s only source of support at the present time is irregular income from Clarence, who makes such voluntary contributions to the support of Mrs. A. and her child as he sees fit.

When Mrs. A. first came to Cleveland she was assisted temporarily by the Travelers Aid Society while they made a social investigation. They offered their services, the services of an attorney, and of the juvenile court in an effort to have paternity established and Clarence made legally responsible for the support of Mrs. A.'s child. Mrs. A. was unwilling to go to court, and preferred to depend on such voluntary contributions as Clarence is willing to give her. It is doubtful that Travelers Aid Society would again offer this assistance since Mrs. A. refused it the first time, since she has stayed in this community against advice, and since she has refused paid transportation to Georgia.

We are therefore faced with the problem of providing free medical care for Mrs. A. for a minimum of 40 treatments (she has had 27 treatments to date) according to the United States Public Health Service stipulations for infectious cases. Mrs. A. has been most irregular in her clinic attendance, even after the discussion at the division of health when she was instructed to take treatment without fail. We have been unable to secure subsistent relief (food, clothing, and shelter) for Mrs. A. and the baby or regular carfare for her weekly visits from any source in this community. It is therefore impossible for us to make an adequate social plan for this patient to enable her to take weekly treatments even if she had the wish to do so.

When Mrs. A. will have resided in this community for 1 year after she is 21 years of age, she will have lost her residence in Atlanta, Ga., and will have become a permanent charge on this community. At the present time there is no authority in this community to oblige Mrs. A. to return to Atlanta, Ga., while she still has legal residence there.

CLEVELAND SYPHILIS CASE ILLUSTRATING COMBINED EFFECT OF ARKANSAS LAW AND UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE EMPHASIS ON TREATMENT

General B. was quarantined in a Cleveland hospital on May 24, 1940, for treatment of syphilis primary of the tonsils. He was discharged from the hospital on June 4, 1940, to return to the dermatology clinic for semiweekly treatments until he has had 39 treatments and weekly treatments thereafter, according to the doctor's recommendations. Mrs. B. has been examined in the dermatology clinic as the contact of an early infectious case of syphilis. It is as yet undetermined whether she is developing an early acquired syphilis from her husband or has old latent syphilis. In any case, she will require treatment in the dermatology clinic over an extended period of time (70 to 80 treatments).

Mr. and Mrs. B. are not legal residents of Cuyahoga County. They first came to Cleveland in December 1938, but Mr. B. has not had residence in Cleveland for 12 consecutive months at any time. The family is very vague about their source of income since being in Cleveland. Mr. B. states that he has had odd jobs averaging \$2 or \$3 a week and Mrs. B. has worked as a janitress irregularly earning \$5 a week. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. B. has given their past places of employment or specific statements regarding their earnings.

Mr. B. initiated an application at the county relief bureau for financial as-

sistance but is at the present time reluctant to complete it. This family in all probability are legal residents of the State of Arkansas. In order to effect their return to Arkansas, the family must state their willingness to return. The State of Arkansas will not authorize the return of any legal resident unless a statement of the family's willingness to return has been secured. The county relief bureau cannot, therefore, give even temporary relief while making an investigation, and this family cannot, therefore, secure financial assistance for food, clothing, and shelter in the city of Cleveland from the county relief bureau or any other agency.

Mr. and Mrs. B. live at the given address with seven of Mrs. B.'s relatives. The relatives have also in the past made application to county relief bureau but have stated their unwillingness to be returned to Arkansas. There is, therefore, no authority in the community at the present time to have any of these persons returned to their place of legal residence nor can the county relief bureau furnish temporary financial assistance to any of them under their agency restrictions.

Mr. and Mrs. B. state that they will be able to manage, since they are both hopeful of securing employment, but neither has any definite employment at the present time. Mr. B. has infectious syphilis and is required to have a minimum of 40 treatments under the public health regulations of this community and of the United States Public Health Service. Mrs. B. may also have infectious syphilis or at least will be in need of long-time continuous medical care. We are unable to secure subsistent relief for this family in this community from any agency. The family are, therefore, in the position of having to maintain themselves and regular clinic attendance, which experience has shown us will probably be very difficult. In addition, it is unlikely that the family earnings will be sufficient to cover the cost of food, clothing, and shelter and the additional required medical care.

SYPHILITIC NONRESIDENT FROM ALABAMA

Mrs. J. M. has been under treatment in Cleveland Syphilis Clinic for syphilis latent with pregnancy. Child delivered December 12, 1938, and the baby boy, delivered March 5, 1940, have both been examined and show no evidence of prenatal syphilis. Mrs. M. will have completed treatment after 8 more weeks and will be placed on periodical examination unless she again becomes pregnant.

This family has required much follow-up during the last 2 years since, with each pregnancy, Mrs. M. has become an urgent case and is subject to the division of health regulations regarding all infectious cases.

This family has legal residence in Tuskegee, Ala. The family has refused to return to Alabama, stating that Mr. M. cannot secure work there. The county relief bureau is in the position of having to deny relief to this family, since they could be provided for in their own community if they would return there. Mr. M. has been employed intermittently as a laborer on W. P. A., earning from \$52 to \$56 a month. This income is inadequate, but the county relief bureau could not supplement because of the settlement status. This position was held in spite of the urgency of medical care for Mrs. M. during her pregnancy. Because of the inadequate income Mrs. M. has never been able to secure carfare to attend clinic regularly as was advised.

TUBERCULOSIS CASE FROM KENTUCKY

This family came to northern Kentucky, sold their house truck for junk at the Ohio border, and proceeded to Cincinnati in search of hospital care for the ailing tuberculosis wife. Ten days later, having exhausted their means and the wife's condition more acute, the woman was taken to the Cincinnati General Hospital and the man and child applied to transient shelter for relief. Five months later the child was diagnosed as tubercular with positive sputum. No relatives could be found who were the least bit interested in the family, neither could legal residence be verified in any of the number of places that the family had lived. For a number of years the McC's had kept on the road in an effort to market the willow furniture that Mr. McC made. Materials for the making of this furniture were gathered along the various waterways.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1939, CINCINNATI SHELTER CARE DIVISION ON NONRESIDENT CASES
RECEIVING CLINICAL MEDICAL CARE AND BREAK-DOWN BY TYPE OF TREATMENT
NEEDED

City of Cincinnati

The clinic serviced:

Local clients.....	26, 137
Transient clients.....	16, 023
Total.....	42, 160

Mt. Airy serviced.....	6, 598
Medical ministrations provided by the nurses in the infirmary outside of clinic hours.....	790
Total.....	7, 388
	49, 548

A further break-down shows—

Inspections in clinic among local clients.....	19, 474
Inspections in clinic among transients.....	11, 436
Inspections at Mt. Airy center.....	5, 305
Total.....	36, 215
Medical and surgical care provided.....	13, 333
Total.....	49, 548

Broken down as follows:

Medical treatments in clinic.....	8, 269
Medical treatments in infirmary (not in-patients).....	557
Medical treatments in Mt. Airy.....	1, 234
Surgical treatments in clinic.....	2, 951
Surgical treatments in infirmary (not in-patients).....	233
Surgical treatments in Mt. Airy.....	59
	13, 333

Patients receiving treatment in the infirmary for a total of 5,396 days of treatment.....	411
Patients, 14 of whom were nonresidents, sent to the General Hospital.....	49
Clients, who had sustained minor accidents in the building, treated by the staff doctors on duty.....	20
Cases of tuberculosis observed and disposed of as previously recorded.....	57

A total of 2,631 cases of infectious diseases observed, treated, and isolated,
broken down as follows:

	Com- bined	Locals	Trans- ients
Gonorrhea.....		395	501
Syphilis.....		66	45
Penile lesions.....		9	18
Lymphic granuloma inguinale.....		6	20
Venereal warts.....		3	10
Chancroid.....		2	7
Pediculosis.....		199	926
Scabies.....		75	278
Scarlet fever.....	2		
Miscellaneous.....	69		
Total.....	71	755	1, 805
Locals.....			755
Transients.....			1, 805
Combined.....			71
Total.....			2, 631

CLEVELAND CASE ILLUSTRATING PROBLEMS CREATED BY LOSS OF SETTLEMENT

In many instances we find communities unwilling to authorize the return of families, although evidently they have the right to legal settlement there. The following situation is illustrative of this.

Carl O., 34, wife, and three children became ensnared by settlement laws several years ago and has not succeeded yet in extricating himself. Shortly after he was married, 10 years ago, he moved, as he had been accustomed to doing when he was single, to any city which seemed to offer employment possibilities. He had difficulty in finding the job he was seeking and he moved from place to place—to Kansas City, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Chicago, and finally to Cleveland. However, he was never in one place long enough to establish settlement. Frequently he had to apply for relief when his jobs did not last very long. His nonresident status did not make for comfortable relief contracts—he had no legal settlement. Several places made futile attempts to verify settlement and send him back, and some stopped relief to force him to move on.

Mr. O. has no specific training vocationally but has generally done clerical work. He has had some unfortunate work experiences and he feels failures keenly. His plight has frequently been desperate, both in Cleveland and elsewhere. He has been given some security here but not enough, apparently, to keep him from a suicide attempt last winter. At other times the impulse to move on, to find the kind of life he feels is necessary, has been irresistible. This family has had considerable direct relief and medical aid at the expense of this community. He has no legal settlement.

CINCINNATI CASE ILLUSTRATING INTERSTATE (KENTUCKY) PROBLEM OF FEEBLE-MINDED PERSONS WHO NEED INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Miss C., aged 35, was probated to the Kentucky Institution for the Feeble-minded in 1932 by the court of F. County. Because of overcrowded conditions in this institution she never entered. She has drifted in and out of Cincinnati since 1932 and has invariably been arrested on a charge of prostitution after a short time in this city. Since 1932 there have been 42 convictions by the court in Hamilton County on this charge. The last two convictions each resulted in a year's sentence to the workhouse. She has been diagnosed as mentally deficient with a mental age of 7 years and 8 months. There is also a diagnosis of central nervous system lues, latent but progressive. Miss C's most recent sojourn in the workhouse is drawing to a close. Correspondence has been carried on with F. County by the transient-service bureau in an effort to return Miss C so that institutionalization can be provided. At this point F. County is denying responsibility for Miss C. This woman is clearly an institutional case. Because she has never gained settlement in Ohio for the purposes of relief, she cannot be placed in an institution here. Although she served a year's sentence in the workhouse on two occasions, she could not obtain settlement under Ohio law.

FEEBLE-MINDED "UNITED STATES RESIDENT" TYPE NOW IN CLEVELAND

O., Lillie, white, separated, 28 years old. She is feeble-minded, epileptic, and alcoholic. Lillie originates from Rutherfordton, N. C. Investigation reveals that her family was unable to cope with the problem which she presented.

At a very early age Lillie began wandering about the country. She married in South Carolina in 1931. Husband's settlement not known because he deserted soon after the marriage. It appears that she continued her wandering. Since 1937 she has been known to welfare agencies in Abington, Va.; Detroit, Mich.; Atlanta, Ga.; Louisville, Ky.; Erie, Pa.; and Cleveland, Ohio. She was probated in Detroit and Erie and placed in a State institution. This action was taken because of the problem that Lillie presented to the community, although her nonresident status was recognized in both communities. She escaped from both institutions.

North Carolina refuses to consider Lillie their responsibility, although they recognize that she has never been able to provide for herself. Inasmuch as Lillie has never been adjudicated a feeble-minded or epileptic person in North Carolina (presumably the only State that Lillie remained in for any length of time) our State department as well as the State departments of Michigan and Pennsylvania could not take action to force North Carolina to recognize their responsibility, and the community where Lillie became stranded was expected to provide care for her indefinitely.

EXAMPLE OF WAY PEOPLE WITH LOW-GRADE MENTALITY ARE SHUNTED FROM PLACE TO PLACE WHEN THEY BECOME NONRESIDENTS (CINCINNATI)

Both Mr. and Mrs. C. are persons of limited mentality who have been wandering from place to place in an effort to find some relative whom they thought would take them in. A police official in a small Kentucky town is said to have given them train fare to Cincinnati to live with an uncle (whom Mrs. C. hadn't seen in 15 years). Upon arrival here relatives refused to see the family. Two weeks prior to coming to Cincinnati, they had been in Indiana with a cousin. The cousin couldn't keep them, so they started wandering again. No sooner than they had left the cousin's home, they stopped for the night on the front porch of a canning factory where the woman gave birth to a child. The township officials of that community sent the family by truck to another relative, approximately a hundred miles away in Kentucky.

Their first baby is dead. Burial was made by the mother and father "under a rock somewhere." They couldn't remember the name of the place.

The baby was taken ill, but the mother refused to allow her to be hospitalized. When last seen they had their knapsacks and were trudging down the road presumably to try to find another relative in Indiana to whom they had referred on several occasions.

The facts in this case are verified by correspondence with the State Department of Indiana and the local trustees. Correspondence with R., Kentucky, has resulted in the statement by the judge of that county that the C's have no legal residence there because they have been away from that community 3 years. This family, of two adults and eight children, is not eligible for assistance in this or any other community, apparently.

CASE ILLUSTRATING DIFFICULTY IN SECURING VERIFICATION OF SETTLEMENT AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN ON THE ROAD (KENTUCKY)

Mrs. McK applied for public assistance in Cincinnati as a resident, giving false information. Her nonresidence was soon learned and the case was referred to Transient Service Bureau. Subsequent correspondence brought out the following information: Mrs. McK had deserted her husband in C, Ky. She came to Cincinnati with another man and brought her four children with her. The man soon deserted and then she applied for relief. The county judge in C, Ky., would not answer letters. A reply was finally obtained from the Work Projects Administration certifying authority to the effect that the judge had been contacted and that he refused to authorize Mrs. McK's and the children's return because "she forfeited her right to legal settlement when she deserted her husband." Mrs. McK is not capable of rearing her children. However, no plans can be made here for these children because of their nonresidence.

There are numerous similar instances in which individuals must be returned to their place of settlement even though we know they will not receive care because of the inadequacy of relief funds and medical resources. This situation holds true for other counties in Ohio as well as in other States. We quote below excerpts from two letters, one received from W County, Ohio, and the other from B County, Ohio. The first letter is an authorization to return a family to W County. "We again authorize the return of the R family, but, as stated in our previous authorization, they must make their own housing arrangements." The second letter, received from B County regarding a similar case, reads as follows: "You are authorized to return this family to B County, but we are unable to make any provision for shelter. If they are returned and apply for relief here, we will consider them for such small relief as we have available."

CINCINNATI CASE ILLUSTRATING "UNITED STATES RESIDENT" TYPE

Mr. D was born in Cincinnati. He spent about 3 years in Indiana from 1933 until 1936. After his return to Cincinnati he received assistance from a private agency within the first year. The family has needed assistance periodically since that time. Because of the desperation of their situation here and the fact that they had no place to which to return in Indiana, assistance has been given by a private agency. This family is ineligible for public assistance here and the State of Indiana claims that they have no residence there.

CINCINNATI REPORTS FACTS ON NONRESIDENT MINOR WITH TUBERCULOSIS (KENTUCKY)

This boy is a minor whose father lives in P County, Ky. When he applied for assistance at the Transient Service Bureau he was suffering from far advanced tuberculosis. He said that he had recently been discharged from a tuberculosis hospital in Kentucky. Numerous letters and wires to the P county judge have remained unanswered. The boy was not eligible for hospital care in this community. A wire was finally sent to the P county judge advising him that the boy was being returned unless some word was received. Within a few days transportation was provided and the boy returned to P county.

CASE ILLUSTRATING IRRESPONSIBILITY OF SOME LOCAL OFFICIALS (INDIANA)

Mrs. M who was a resident of F, Ind., was sent to Cincinnati by relief authorities of F in May 1939, as proved by the authorities of F.

We were told that if Mrs. M returned to F charges would be filed against her, although the administrator of the State Welfare Department of Indiana authorized us to return her on June 2, 1939. In his letter he states: "The authorized return is made on a legal basis, although from a social viewpoint adjustment for Mrs. M out of Indiana would seem to be advisable because of the attitude of the local trustees."

CASE ILLUSTRATING WHY BETTER STANDARDIZED CONTROLS ARE NEEDED FOR HANDLING CASES OF NONRESIDENT MIGRANTS

The T's applied to the Transient Service Bureau in Cincinnati for assistance. Efforts to establish their place of legal settlement brought out the fact that they originally came from R, Ky., going from there to I, Ind. Efforts on the part of the local trustees in I, Ind., to return the T's to Kentucky were fruitless. Finally a trial by jury was held and it was decided that the family was undesirable and would have to leave. The trustees provided transportation for the T's to Cincinnati, where Mr. T thought he might get a job.

LETTER ILLUSTRATING HOW LOSS OF SETTLEMENT PRESENTS POSSIBILITY OF PLANNING WITH A FAMILY TO ASSIST THEM IN LOCATING AT MOST LOGICAL PLACE (NEW YORK)

Re: John D. Children, Marcia Ann (11 months) Jackie (3 years). Our #990829.

S. W. J.,

Juvenile Judge, Juvenile Court,

County of T., W. —, Ohio.

DEAR JUDGE J.: This is in reply to your letter of May 18, 1940, regarding the above family. As a result of our contacts in this case, we find that Mr. D. has lost his settlement in New York by being out of this State for more than 1 year.

We interviewed his mother, Mrs. Frances D., residing at 127-18 Ninety-fifth Avenue, R. H. Queens. She informed us that he left New York in January 1939 to take up residence in L. N. J. He also resided in the city of E and the town of E. N. H. She maintained that she had not heard from him since August 1939, at which time he resided in E. N. J.

We questioned Mrs. D as to her ability to assist her son. She stated that she was unable to offer her son a home because her resources are limited. Her husband died several years ago. Two sons, aged 26 and 18, are the wage earners. They are employed for the General Electric Co. but Mrs. D maintains their income is small. The eldest son contemplates marriage in the very near future so that his contributions toward the home are small. The household also includes a daughter of 13 years, who attends school.

We also spoke to the eldest son but he substantiated his mother's statements and he stated that he was unable to assist his brother. There appears to be no other relatives in a position to assist.

Inasmuch as your applicant's relatives in New York cannot offer him a home and he has lost settlement in New York by being out of the State for more than 1 year, we cannot authorize his return.

If we can be of further assistance to you, we shall be glad to cooperate.

Very truly yours,

W. H., *Commissioner.*
C. R., *Case Supervisor.*

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

Ohio—State Transient Committee, 1208 State Office Building, Columbus, Ohio—Number of nonresidents cared for by reporting agencies
FOR THE MONTH OF OCTOBER 1938

Agency reporting ¹	In institution		Individuals receiving meals and lodging										Total cases during month					
			Nonresidents unattached			Residents unattached		Individuals in family groups			Unattached individuals					Families		
	Total meals provided	Total lodgings provided	Total	16 and over	Under 16	Total	16 and over	Under 16	Total	16 and over	Under 16	Total	16 and over	Under 16	Non-residential		Residential	
Cambridge, Salvation Army (9)	193	270	193			187									6			
Chillicothe, Salvation Army (6)	648	325	363	356	7													
Cincinnati, Transient Service Bureau (1)	48,386	14,925	2,504	2,462	42	1,748									81	39	42	2,065
Cleveland, Cuyahoga County Relief Bureau (2)	71,160	22,268	1,466	1,466		1,146									1,106			
Columbus, Volunteers of America, Salvation Army, Jewish Welfare Federation (3)	6,794	2,683	920			740									19	7	12	
Dayton, Salvation Army (8)	791	344	228	216	12	130												
Newark:																		
Salvation Army (4)	761	445	474	470	4													
Police station (11)			62	62														
Springfield, Clark County Relief Hotel																		
Steubenville:																		
Union Mission (7)	3,554	1,263	361	361		294									6	6		
Salvation Army (7)	2,761	744	361	344	17	313									13	6	7	
Toledo, Welfare House	511	341																
Zanesville:																		
Salvation Army (10)	714	547	167															
Police station (5)			380															
Total	135,573	44,155	7,479	5,737	82	4,558	3,621	10	1,360	1,145	58	1,231	61	2,065	1,535			156

¹ Numbers in parentheses indicate arrangement of cities according to number of persons cared for. No. (1) cared for the largest number during the month, No. (11) the smallest.

FOR THE MONTH OF DECEMBER, 1938

[illegible]

Ohio—State Transient Committee, 1208 State Office Bldg., Columbus, Ohio—Head count of transients and local homeless
JULY 29, 1938

Place and agency	Time	(1) Number of unattached (single) transient individuals				(2) Number of unattached local homeless individuals				(3) Num-ber of Trans-sient Fam-ilies	(4) Number of individuals in families reported in item (3)				
		Total	Men	Women	Under 16		Total	Men	Women		Under 16				
					Boys	Girls					Boys	Girls			
Akron, Division of Public Charities,							997	907	90						
Cleveland:															
Salvation Army	5 p. m.	7	5	2			8	8		1	5	1	354	2	1
County relief bureaus	12 m.	224	124	100						337	1,327	243	348	348	382
Columbus, Volunteers of America,		49	49				40	40							
Dayton, Salvation Army	11 p. m.	3	2	1			8	8							
Portsmouth, Relief Depart-ment.	11:45 p. m.	290	287	3			14	13	1	15	25	5	5	7	8
Toledo:															
City division of Homeless Relief Administration.	12 m.	18	18				3	3							
Relief Administration.	5 p. m.									14	53	27	26		
Cincinnati, all agencies.	11:45 p. m.	108	107	1			399	399		11	39	8	10	11	10
Total		699	592	107			1,469	1,378	91	378	1,449	284	396	368	401

Ohio—State Transient Committee, 1208 State Office Bldg., Columbus, Ohio—Head count of transients and local homeless—Continued

OCTOBER 31, 1939

Place and agency	Time	(1) Number of unattached (single) transient individuals										(2) Number of transient families	(3) Number of individuals in families reported in item (2)					
		Number of unattached (single) transient individuals											Number of individuals in families reported in item (2)					
		Grand total	Men	Women	Under 16		(a) Number paying own way		(b) Number working for shelter		(c) Number lodged at county's expense		Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	
					Boys	Girls	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men							Women
Akron, Summit County Relief Area.	9 p. m.	28											4	15	4	4	5	2
Cambridge, Salvation Army.	6 p. m.	1	1										1	5	1	1	2	1
Canton, Travelers Aid Society.	12 m.	66				17		48		1			5	17	5	4	6	2
Cincinnati, All agencies.		253	14	19		47		139		11	16	4	42	126	29	68	10	19
Cleveland, County Relief Bureau.	8 p. m.	1,079								1,079			1,221	5,303				
Columbus, Council of Social Agencies.		43	19	4	1		1			17	1		2	4		4		
Dayton, Salvation Army.	11 p. m.	106				19		69		18								
Newark, Salvation Army.	10:30 p. m.	9	9															
Portsmouth, Bureau of Community Service.		189				6	1	19		163								
Springfield, County Relief Administration.													1	5				
Steubenville:																		
Salvation Army.	10:30 p. m.	14						14										
City Rescue Mission.	12 m.	20	20															
Toledo, City Relief Administration.	10:30 p. m.	32							32				3	10	3	3	3	1
Youngstown, The House by-the-Side-of-the-Road.	9:30 p. m.	40				10				30								
Zanesville, Salvation Army	11 p. m.	6	6										1	3				
Total		1,886	69	23	1	2	99	2	289	1,376	19	5	1	5,488	42	84	26	25

MAY 20, 1940

	8 p. m.	10								8	2			2	7	2	2	2	1
Akron, Summit County Relief Area.		10																	
Cambridge, Salvation Army.		4																	
Canton, Travelers Aid Society.		57	53	3	1														
Cincinnati, All Agencies.		321	102	24															
Cleveland, Cuyahoga County Relief Bureau.																			
Columbus, Transient Relief Bureau.	11 p. m.	12	12																
Dayton, Salvation Army.	do	86	5																
Newark, Salvation Army.		15	15																
Portsmouth, City Relief Department.	10 p. m.	40																	
Springfield, Clark County Relief.	4 p. m.																		
Steubenville:																			
City Rescue Mission.		8	8																
Salvation Army.	10 p. m.		11																
Toledo, Poor Relief.			89	1															
Zanesville, Salvation Army.	11 p. m.		19																
Total.		543	314	28	1	3	213	8	162	12	107	2			475	2,135	209	131	92

*Shelter care division (Cincinnati), record and reports department—Accepted and rejected cases*¹

	State transient ²				Nonresident transient ³				Local homeless			
	July 1939	October 1939	January 1940	April 1940	July 1939	October 1939	January 1940	April 1940	July 1939	October 1939	January 1940	April 1940
Seasonal report:												
Single intake cases.....	253	241	170	316	1,799	1,413	804	1,989	226	370	316	178
Family intake cases.....	5	9	22	4	35	47	67	42	-----	-----	-----	-----
Single rejected cases.....	11	11	11	8	110	55	30	49	148	212	171	131
Family rejected cases.....	2	1	11	3	23	11	22	9	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total cases.....	271	265	214	331	1,967	1,526	923	2,089	374	582	487	309
	July 15-21, 1939	Oct. 14-20, 1939	Jan. 14-20, 1940	Apr. 14-20, 1940	July 15-21, 1939	Oct. 14-20, 1939	Jan. 14-20, 1940	Apr. 14-20, 1940	July 15-21, 1939	Oct. 14-20, 1939	Jan. 14-20, 1940	Apr. 14-20, 1940
Weekly report:												
Single intake cases.....	65	34	38	70	406	301	184	455	54	71	57	38
Family intake cases.....	2	5	10	1	3	8	16	10	-----	-----	-----	-----
Single rejected cases.....	5	1	3	-----	33	17	12	10	55	45	13	25
Family rejected cases.....	0	1	5	1	3	1	5	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total cases.....	72	41	56	72	445	327	217	475	109	116	70	63

¹ This is an intake report only, and does not include cases assigned that are carried from month to month.

² From other counties in Ohio.

³ Interstate migrants.

Cuyahoga County Relief Bureau—Number of transients receiving lodging in special dormitory for boys and young men during first month of each quarter, by age, July 1939 to April 1940

Age	July 1939	October 1939	January 1940	April 1940
7.....	-----	-----	-----	1
8.....	-----	-----	1	-----
9.....	-----	-----	1	-----
10.....	-----	-----	-----	-----
11.....	-----	-----	-----	3
12.....	-----	-----	-----	-----
13.....	1	-----	-----	-----
14.....	-----	1	-----	-----
15.....	3	4	-----	-----
16.....	6	3	1	9
17.....	24	71	49	60
18.....	105	61	22	55
19.....	74	53	45	73
20.....	95	71	44	79
21.....	96	69	59	86
22.....	67	54	29	83
23.....	78	61	53	68
24.....	57	60	70	63
25.....	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total.....	606	508	374	580

Juveniles under 17 years, traveling alone, are sent to juvenile court. When with father, they are lodged in the shelter.

*Major service, nonresident case load, white and colored, families and single,
Cuyahoga County Relief Bureau, July 1939 to June 1940*

Year and month	Total					
	Cases			Persons represented		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
1939:						
July.....	695	307	388	2,071	(1)	(1)
August.....	714	319	395	2,159		
September.....	721	328	393	2,204		
October.....	646	329	317	1,800		
November.....	589	291	298	1,636		
December.....	534	266	268	1,548		
1940:						
January.....	517	236	281	1,454		
February.....	514	232	282	1,494		
March.....	513	257	256	1,507		
April.....	494	220	274	1,450		
May.....	475	221	254	1,397		
June.....	489	235	254	1,433		

Year and month	Family cases						Single cases		
	Cases			Persons represented					
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
1939:									
July.....	401	171	230	1,777	(1)	(1)	294	136	158
August.....	423	177	246	1,868			291	142	149
September.....	427	186	241	1,910			294	142	152
October.....	371	181	190	1,525			275	148	127
November.....	331	154	177	1,378			258	137	121
December.....	300	146	154	1,314			234	120	114
1940:									
January.....	301	137	164	1,238			216	99	117
February.....	302	136	166	1,282			212	96	116
March.....	296	135	161	1,290			217	122	95
April.....	289	126	163	1,245			205	94	111
May.....	279	127	152	1,201			196	94	102
June.....	284	137	147	1,228			205	98	107

¹ Break-down not available.

Nonresident case load, Cuyahoga County Relief Bureau, January 1939 to July 1940

Year and month	Total	Major service	Over-night service	Minor service
1939:				
July.....	1,105	695	313	97
August.....	1,129	714	298	117
September.....	801	721	24	56
October.....	1,195	646	471	78
November.....	1,018	589	377	52
December.....	788	534	198	56
1940:				
January.....	960	517	328	115
February.....	912	514	315	83
March.....	1,063	513	476	74
April.....	1,404	494	835	75
May.....	1,428	475	900	53
June.....	1,382	489	837	56

Number of sailors receiving care as nonresidents, in Cuyahoga County

Month	1939	1940	Month	1939	1940
January.....		56	June.....	49	47
February.....		63	July.....	152	29
March.....		109	August.....	101	---
April.....	163	152	September.....	45	---
May.....	193	136			

This year seamen were required to make application for jobs at steamship home offices, several of which are located in Cleveland. The Neutrality Act sent a lot of salt-water seamen to the lake region to look for work.

STATEMENT BY W. R. SULLINGER, FARM PLACEMENT SUPERVISOR FOR THE OHIO STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

WE OBSERVE THE NEED FOR REGULATIONS TO CONTROL THE FLOW OF MIGRATORY FARM LABOR

1. Ohio labor is gradually being replaced, particularly in the agricultural field, by labor imported from Kentucky and Texas. This type of labor prevails in the beet, celery, onion, and tomato fields.

2. Many relief cases are resulting from this condition.

3. Loss of residence to this type of labor in the community from which they came causes them much trouble in being able to establish claims for relief when in need. It definitely has been shown as there is much relief amongst this type of labor in the off season.

4. Present conflicting regulations encourage migration of this type of labor as local officials encourage them to move on, hoping to shift the problem to the next point of contact.

5. This involves a Federal problem, as these people are United States citizens not identified with any State or subdivision.

6. Control of migratory labor will be handled satisfactorily in the proportion which employers increase their recruiting through the public employment system.

7. The need for migratory labor is superinduced by the low wage scale prevailing in the sugar-beet industry.

8. It is our opinion that we could recruit all of this type labor needed within Ohio if this wage scale were adjusted. Recruiters of this type of labor outside of their own area should be responsible for the examination of citizenship and eligibility for relief, and probably restore such workers to the original point of recruitment.

TESTIMONY OF H. W. MORGENTHAUER—Resumed

Mr. PARSONS. I would like to ask a few questions for the benefit of the committee.

URBAN MIGRATION IN CLEVELAND, CINCINNATI, AKRON

Mr. Morgenthauer, could you tell the committee something of the extent of urban migration in the cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati and Akron, giving something of the industrial background in each case?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Yes. I would like to present these charts, which show you the trend in these two cities over a period of 5 years. You can see from these charts that the trend has been upward in each

of the cities. It also shows that most of these nonresident people come into these cities in the spring or when the warm weather opens up.

We have had a gradual increase in nonresident migration into those two cities. In going back to the period from 1920 to 1930 we had quite an industrial boom. In the first place, Ohio is highly industrialized. Our problem is one of industry as it relates to migration, we feel, more than it is of the agricultural type, as some States have, although Mr. Sullinger has some information on the agricultural problem, too.

Mr. PARSONS. The rubber industry, or the manufacturing of tires, in Ohio caused a great desertion of labor from other States, because they invited them to come in there; that is one of the factors, is it not?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Quite true. Between 1920 and 1930 so many men were needed they could hardly provide housing facilities. For instance, Akron residents who lived there during that period said that houses which now rent for \$35 were up to \$70. People who ran rooming houses would rent the same bed for three shifts in order to take care of people. Beds were placed on porches in order to accommodate people. That was the boom period when the tire companies were coming in.

According to census figures, the population of Akron for the last 10 years has decreased, and not only has the population decreased, but the unemployment load has increased. We are told that the rubber companies are now producing the same volume of goods as they produced in 1929, but they are using many less men.

Mr. PARSONS. As a member of the State welfare department, through your State transient committee, what special types of destitute interstate migrants have you found?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. In the first place, I think the group that is giving us the chief concern in the cities is the one composed of those who have come in for medical care. We have quite a large number of people coming into our cities primarily for medical care. It is interesting that quite a number of these people tell the medical centers that they have heard through the United States Public Health Service broadcasts about treatment for venereal diseases, and they come to the cities where they understand they can get adequate treatment.

Many of these people are from Kentucky and other parts of the country where they lack medical resources at home. Of course, Cincinnati and Cleveland are highly developed centers, but they are loaded down with their own people. They have found every person coming in an increased load.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have a seasonal influx because of industrial or agricultural employment?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. I can speak for industry, and Mr. Sullinger can tell you the agricultural trends. We are, of course, in Ohio, affected by the automobile industry. Practically all of the industries in Toledo, for instance, are subsidiary to the automobile industry. There is a seasonal demand for people. We do have an influx of people who think they can get jobs but the result is we have many more people than there are jobs for them to fill.

Local jobs can easily be taken care of by the local people, and still have some local employable persons left over. I think we have a

peculiar situation which will also be found in the other Great Lakes States, and that is the matter of sailors who are stranded at the end of the shipping season. Their boats tie up wherever they happen to be when ice forms, and many are without resources. In the spring they are required to report at the shipping company's main office. Most of these offices seem to be in Cleveland.

If a man happens to tie up in Chicago or Duluth, he must report in Cleveland in order to ship out the next year. That has created somewhat of a problem in that particular group.

Mr. PARSONS. Has that changed any in recent years as compared to what it has been in years past?

Mr. MORGENTHAU. We have had quite a bit of emphasis on this problem lately. The sailors themselves are quite insistent on better accommodations than local people are given. They say they must have cleaner places to stay, and that sort of thing. They are quite demanding. Mr. Sullinger can tell about the agricultural seasonal shift.

Mr. PARSONS. I would like to hear from you with reference to the agricultural part of it.

Mr. SULLINGER. Ohio is very highly diversified in agriculture as well as industry. Ohio produces sugar beets, onions, celery, peaches, cherries, and other fruit crops, as well as the regular farm crops. The cherry crop is perhaps the first crop of fruit to be harvested or picked using migratory labor. Many hundreds of laborers of the migrant type enter these fields.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that intrastate and interstate?

Mr. SULLINGER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Within the State and adjoining States?

Mr. SULLINGER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. Is there a considerable influx from, say Kentucky and Indiana?

Mr. SULLINGER. From Kentucky and Texas is where the majority of our migratory labor comes from. However, a few hundred are entering Ohio from Michigan to work in the beet fields.

Mr. PARSONS. They started out in Texas?

Mr. SULLINGER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. And come up as the season comes up?

Mr. SULLINGER. Yes; first they come to the cherry orchards or belt. What we term the cherry belt is a district which starts at Port Clinton and runs around the southwest corner of Lake Erie, through southern Michigan, to the Michigan shore of Lake Michigan. This labor or pickers follow this belt, picking cherries to the shores of Lake Michigan, and then they return to the starting point and when the peaches are ready for harvesting, they go through this district again picking peaches. They again return to the starting point to pick pickles. By this time, the apple crop is usually ready to be harvested and the same procedure is pursued as in the former mentioned crop. After the apples and peaches are harvested, they then turn to the vineyards in the Catawba Island district. This type of laborer has no doubt created some problem in Ohio. A few days were spent by myself in the Scioto

marsh, and records show that there are over 600 Kentucky migrants in this district. This is causing Hardin County some relief problem.

Mr. PARSONS. Were you here this morning before noon and did you hear the Hart family discussing their difficulties?

Mr. SULLINGER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Do any conditions exist like that up there?

Mr. SULLINGER. To some extent; yes. The sugar beet is fast replacing the onion in this marshland. In discussing this with the manager of the Scioto Land Company which operates about 3,000 to 4,000 acres, he informed me 70 percent of their crop was gradually getting away from growing onions.

Mr. PARSONS. That would present still a different type of labor.

Mr. SULLINGER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. Probably in 2 or 3 years you will have that problem.

Mr. SULLINGER. That is right. We must have stoop labor, as it is termed, and I do not know as yet how we are going to handle it. The Ohio State employment service has studied this type of laborer back 3 generations to see what is happening. It does not seem as though the people in the North can do that type of work. It appears as though the people from the southern regions and Mexico are more adapted to this type of labor.

Mr. PARSONS. They are mostly Mexicans?

Mr. SULLINGER. Mostly Mexicans; yes. It does not seem to be difficult for them to perform this type of labor.

Mr. PARSONS. What do you mean by stoop labor?

Mr. SULLINGER. Labor requiring bending down to perform. I inquired of one of these laborers in the marsh as to whether it hurt his back to work in this stooping position. He informed me that it was not the stooping down but the stooping up that hurt. Just over the Michigan and Ohio line at Blissfield, Mich., is located a sugar plant operated by the Great Lakes Sugar Co. In this district there is over 600 Mexicans employed, 400 in the State of Michigan, and 200 in the State of Ohio.

Mr. PARSONS. Do they go back to Texas in the wintertime?

Mr. SULLINGER. In discussing this phase with the managers they informed me that this was the custom. But when you investigate the relief problem in these communities it presents evidence that this is not completely true. This presents a problem. I am acquainted with these circumstances in one district in which they have had around 20 of these Mexicans on relief. This community has tired of giving them direct relief, and is now requiring them to do some work to receive this relief. The names of these recipients of relief can be furnished on request. It is becoming more and more of a problem. Something has to be done about ironing out difficulties which exist between the States in respect to settlement laws. Illinois and Indiana, with their 3-year settlement law, and Ohio, with its 1-year law, create a problem, particularly for Ohio.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. SULLINGER. We are having that difficulty right now.

Mr. PARSONS. The competition right now is on the upward climb instead of being reduced.

Mr. SULLINGER. Yes; I do think we have enough labor in Ohio to take care of this situation. They are what is termed "beet weeding," "beet blocking," and "tomato picking." A lot of these Mexicans are now invading the tomato field. One carload consisting of 40 Mexicans was brought into this district a few days ago. This company is now requesting work in the tomato fields for these migrants.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that done on a contract basis, or do the employment offices aid and assist, or do the owners of these large tracts of land have a standing agreement with these fellows as to when to come in?

Mr. SULLINGER. It is usually the field men of these sugar companies who have some contact in Texas who import these men. They go to Texas and get a load. However, the Great Lakes Sugar Co. should be given much credit, as they send a doctor to these Texas fields to give this labor a health examination. This labor must have a clean bill of health before they are sent up here.

Mr. PARSONS. That is very fine.

Mr. SULLINGER. I was informed that they were going to see to it that these men were returned from whence they came. I cannot visualize any problem with that, except that they should be handled through a public employment service where a complete check can be kept on the coming and going of this labor. If 50 are brought in, 50 should be returned at the close of the season. This will give a complete count and check in the public employment service as to the location of these workers at all times.

Mr. PARSONS. Going back to Mr. Morgenthau, on another angle of it, do the employers in industry frequently recruit an excessive number of employees that they do not need?

Mr. MORGENTHAU. That has been true in the past. We have had, for instance, in Canton at one time—this was during the 1920-30 period again—a condition where the Timken Roller Bearing Co., to be specific, brought a trainload of Mexicans to Canton to work in the mills. When the mills closed down, these men were thrown on the city to be cared for. We have had the same thing happen in Cincinnati, although the Cincinnati people themselves have been successful in holding that down to a certain extent.

The thing that is causing us more trouble now, I think, than that is the fact that some adjoining States have fewer resources to our cities and some find work. They write to relatives in other parts of the country—in Kentucky, West Virginia, and in the South. Relatives come in and crowded housing conditions result with people becoming dependent very shortly after they are here, with all of the health and other problems that come along with bad housing. When we try to return these folks, we have great difficulty in, first of all, having their residences established in another State, and then we find that the other State says they are not giving relief, and that these folks should be advised if they do come back they are not giving relief, which, of course, creates a barrier which the people themselves are not willing to face.

Mr. CURTIS. Before you leave this Mexican labor situation, by "Mexican" you mean a resident of old Mexico? Or do you mean Mexicans from Southwestern States?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Mexicans from Texas and the southwestern part of the country.

Mr. CURTIS. They are Americans?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. They are living inside of the country; yes.

MIGRANTS AND CRIME

Mr. PARSONS. In your statement you mentioned that you had made a study or attempted to see whether or not migrants were the cause of increase in crime.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. What decision did you arrive at in that study?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. In one city, in Cincinnati, for instance, they have a transient shelter which is equipped to take care of non-residents for a short period of time.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that done by the Federal Government or the State, or by a cooperation of the two?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. It is done by the city of Cincinnati and the State on approximately a 60-40 ratio, the city bearing 60 percent and the State 40 percent.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. They found, in 19,000 cases brought into police court, that 763 of them were transients. About 90 percent were not transients. In other words, 8 percent were the migrants coming through. The rest were local people, according to police-court records. Of the 8 percent—763—over 90 percent were in on very minor crimes.

We have some small communities where the attitude toward the transient is, the best way to handle him is to put him in jail overnight in order to protect the community. That is just their way of handling them. They have committed no crimes. They merely lock these people in their jails overnight. The next morning they tell them to get out of town.

PROCEDURE FOR EMPLOYING AGRICULTURAL LABOR

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Sullinger, are you with the State employment service?

Mr. SULLINGER. The Ohio State Employment Service.

Mr. PARSONS. What kind of procedure have you developed for furnishing labor not only to industry but principally out in the agricultural sections? Do they try to clear through your office?

Mr. SULLINGER. That is right. It is rapidly growing.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you taken up the matter with the employment services of other States, if you cannot get labor in Ohio?

Mr. SULLINGER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. For instance, you say our people here in the North do not seem to be able to perform this stoop labor. Would you import any Mexicans for that purpose?

Mr. SULLINGER. If they had to have them. Before we would let a crop fail, or go to ruin, we would go out and get labor, after we had exhausted the supply of labor in the local community. That is the

first thing we do. Before we will let a crop spoil and go to waste, we will go out and move in enough to take care of the crop, but we return them immediately after the crop has been harvested. We see that they are returned.

In the northwest corner of the State it was raining this year. They could not get workers. We moved them in from Lucas County, but we immediately moved them back.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any difficulty in Ohio securing labor from W. P. A., getting people and taking them off the rolls and putting them into this agricultural work?

Mr. SULLINGER. Sometimes we have. We have had to go to the regional director of the district and get them to shut down a project to get the labor we needed. We have always been able to get it then.

Mr. PARSONS. Do the W. P. A. people accept that kind of employment or do they rather shun it?

Mr. SULLINGER. They like to shun it if they can, but according to regulations if they turn down any employment like that they are ineligible for W. P. A.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you consider the problem of agricultural labor more or less a problem of urban migration?

Mr. SULLINGER. Well, no. They are together. It takes them both to fit into the picture.

Mr. PARSONS. There is a considerable problem there, with respect to urban and suburban.

Mr. MORGENTHAU. I think perhaps that is true. I do not know whether Mr. Sullinger will agree or not. I think it is true that in the cities because of the dropping off of industry and the fewer number of men needed, and the fact that they are more acutely in need of funds, the extra people coming in creates a greater load for them. They feel it more than do some of the smaller communities or smaller counties because they have had so many more to take care of among their own local residents.

NEED OF UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mr. PARSONS. You mentioned the settlement problem, the problem of settlement laws a while ago. We have had varying testimony in all three places with respect to the settlement status, the requirements ranging all the way from 6 months to 5 years.

Mr. MORGENTHAU. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Would you advocate the abolishment of all settlement laws or try to arrive at uniformity among the States?

Mr. MORGENTHAU. From my experience in working with other State departments and people in our own State, it is our theory that uniform settlement laws are very much needed at the present time. We feel that the States are cooperative and willing to try to reestablish people where they have lived before, but the laws discriminate against them to such an extent that they are barred from giving them temporary assistance, even to help them get located.

Mr. PARSONS. If they were all uniform, say 1 year——

Mr. MORGENTHAU. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. The migrants themselves would very soon become familiar with the 1-year proposition.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Yes; that is true.

Mr. PARSONS. But if he is a wide traveler as we have found a lot of them are, traveling through 8 or 10 or 12 States in the course of a 12-month period, of course he would have to be a pretty good mathematician to keep up with the requirements in all of those States.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Of course, some States have passed laws to the effect that if you declare your intention of going elsewhere you lose settlement. By moving away from your home, if you make a public statement or sign an affidavit, you may lose settlement immediately, which creates considerable of a problem.

I would like to emphasize the fact that these residents of the United States—I have heard it mentioned here today by other people—the persons who have lost settlement at all points are one of our major problems. There is no way to work our plans for rehabilitation, even though they seem to belong more logically in other States, if we cannot get assistance from other States or other localities in developing plans. It is our feeling that along with a uniform settlement law the legislation which Mr. Voorhis, of California, has suggested, and with which you gentlemen are no doubt familiar, would be a good beginning. We are not sure it should go through exactly as it is, but it would give some kind of assistance to stabilize people at some point.

Mr. PARSONS. You would try to anchor them where they are, if it were possible to do it, either with Federal, State, or municipal aid, or a combination of all of them?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Somewhere where they have a possible opportunity of becoming self-supporting, and staying put, if you want to put it that way.

Mr. PARSONS. What is your comment upon the settlement laws?

Mr. SULLINGER. I substantiate his thought. I think they should be uniform. I think all States interested should meet and iron it out and get them uniform, so that we know just where we are.

Mr. PARSONS. But you would not advocate complete abolition of them?

Mr. SULLINGER. Oh, no.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. No.

Mr. SULLINGER. I would not do that. We have a case down there, for instance, of a man who happens to be in Fort Wayne, in the Fort Wayne Hospital now. He lived down in Ohio some years ago. He went to West Virginia and did not establish a residence there. Afterward he went to Fort Wayne and was in the hospital. He has run up an \$800 hospital bill, and they will not release him. The town says they will not pay it and should not pay it. He should have been released 6 months ago. He should be out, but he is still in there until they can find out who can pay it. West Virginia says, "He is not ours." Indiana says, "He is not ours." He is suffering.

Mr. OSMERS. He is in effect a prisoner, is he not?

Mr. SULLINGER. Yes. He is suffering. It is unintentional with him. That is why I say that uniformity of laws would eliminate that difficulty, and would average things up. We might pay for somebody

from Indiana and they might pay for us. After the thing was all balanced up, it would be pretty much of an equal proposition.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The way it stands now, it seems that all of the States are racing against one another in order to get rid of the responsibility.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. That is right.

Mr. SULLINGER. That is right.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. It is a matter of who can bring the most pressure to bear. They soon must realize that they are approaching the problem with the wrong attitude.

Mr. SULLINGER. They come in, and they do not even take the trouble to feed them. They pass them on to the next town, and say, "You take care of them." That does not encourage settling down or stability or anything. That just keeps them rolling. It is not encouraging.

Mr. CURTIS. In that connection, do you not feel too that someone who has settled and is on relief should be given every opportunity to go and try his luck at private employment if he has the strength and ambition to do so without holding over him the fear that he belongs to no one, if his venture does not succeed?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. That is right.

Mr. SULLINGER. That is right.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. From our viewpoint, I would like to emphasize what Mr. Sullinger has said about the matter of labor exchange, the matter of getting men to jobs and helping them find it, instead of following the pattern which has been followed for years of letting them go out and hunt jobs when the chances are they will not find them more often than they will.

CATALOG OF MIGRANTS FOR LABOR EXCHANGE

Mr. PARSONS. If we had all of these migrants cataloged and had a file on them—even if there are 4,000,000, it would not take such a long time to catalog those family groups, because there probably would not be more than a million family groups.

Mr. SULLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. PARSONS. If we had them cataloged and their children cataloged, and the employment offices had these files, and all of the States too, would that not help out the problem?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Quite so. I am glad you mentioned the children.

Mr. PARSONS. Then you would find out who was the type of migrant who was self-supporting, that was needed for labor in these various places. You would find out the professional bums, and you could take steps to weed them out of the picture.

In that way you could find out those that were the right type, and then find some way to anchor them, with Government aid or State aid, or a combination. Would that be too great a task to attempt?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. I am quite sure that many of these men represented in these figures here are looking for work. In fact, we know of some of the migrants who come into Cleveland and other cities and find jobs where local people do not. Why they do is a speculation. Some of them just have more "get out and go" than others. We feel that if

you can make it possible for a man to know where he can look for a job, rather than just getting out and blindly hunting for it, it would be better all the way around.

Then, too, you have the problem of children. We have families coming through, with children being taken from place to place. You have health problems, school problems, and so forth.

Mr. PARSONS. Very many of these children are working in the bean patches and berry patches and so forth because they do not have to do so much bending as the adults have to do.

Mr. SULLINGER. Here is another illustration for the need of the thing you just mentioned: In the southeastern part of Ohio we have a large coal field. Mechanization of the mines has created a problem so that where they have installed certain types of machinery, 20 out of 26 men are now out of work. That ratio exists in all of the mechanized mines.

Mr. PARSONS. Twenty out of twenty-six?

Mr. SULLINGER. Yes.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. For the most part those men stay there on relief. If they could be classified, as I understand they are now for the rearmament program, as to skills, through Mr. Sullinger's office, there will be some possibility of rehabilitating them. The ones who do go out, become nonresidents, which causes difficulty in other States.

Mr. PARSONS. That is right. With respect to that problem, I have one county very highly industrialized in coal mining, and another mining in fluorspar, in my congressional district, where they have mechanized the mines. Not only has it been difficult for those miners, but it removes any opportunity for their sons to go into the mines, which has been the case for the past two or three generations.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. That presents a very serious problem in the State of Pennsylvania. That is an old mining State. It presents a problem in West Virginia. It presents one in the coal fields of Illinois.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Exactly.

Mr. PARSONS. It used to be that these boys when they grew up went into the mines. Back during the old war days, and during the days following, the miners made more than anyone else, practically. They made \$12 or \$15 a day. The wage rate was \$5.50, at the lowest, up to \$12 or \$15 per day, and the sons followed the fathers' footsteps, because it was a very good job. Now, mechanization has not only thrown the men out of work, but it has also thrown the sons out of work, and removed any further opportunities of employment.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Exactly.

Mr. PARSONS. A few years ago down in southern Illinois one of the mining companies closed down one of their mines because it was not profitable to operate. They had them both mechanized. However, they then made this proposition to the men: If the men would work for \$1 a day less, I think it was \$5.50 and \$4.50, they would take out the loading machines in order to carry the whole load of both mines, or the one mine they still operated. The men signed up and it worked out very well, but 2 or 3 years ago all of the other mines mechanized around them in order to meet competition in the price of coal, and they

had to put the machines back in, and half of those men are stranded right now.

Are there any other questions?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. There is one more thing I would like to say. The people in Cincinnati have taken the position that when a man comes in, a transient comes in to ask for aid, he asks for work. In other words, he does some work in return for what he gets. They feel that is an important philosophy to hold towards that type of aid.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think so?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. We think it is a very good idea.

Mr. PARSONS. So do I.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. If any kind of Federal aid should be extended, we urge and suggest that it not be similar to the extent of the Federal Transient Program. That was very generous, may we say—

Mr. PARSONS. Too generous.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. We feel there is need to standardize settlement laws, but that assistance should not be a blanket sort of thing, such as the Federal Transient Program was.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there any other suggestions that either of you have to make?

Mr. SULLINGER. There is only one more thing I would like to say. I feel the State laws ought to be uniform. They ought to get together and iron this problem out, so we would have one uniform qualification for establishing citizenship.

Mr. PARSONS. This is a national problem, is it not?

Mr. SULLINGER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. Congress, of course, cannot tell the States what kind of settlement laws to pass, but if we prescribe legislation involving grants-in-aid, we can make it as a qualification.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. 1 year, 6 months, 18 months, or whatever we thought best under the circumstances.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Something they would all feel could be accepted. That was why our transient committee felt there was merit in the Voorhis bill. It did offer that possibility. It offered the possibility of Federal aid to States which would conform to this general level. The State departments have been working in that direction. I think we have worked with this problem long enough to be convinced that that is true. The American Public Welfare Association in Chicago has given considerable leadership to that through the conferences they have sponsored for State Welfare Department officials. I think we are firmly convinced that some kind of uniformity must be reached if we are going to get out of this tangle.

Mr. PARSONS. The State Governments Association has done a very fine work.

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Is Frank Bane connected with it?

Mr. MORGENTHAUER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. He left Social Security to take over that work.

Mr. MORGENTHAU. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. If we had had sense enough a good many years ago to open our employment offices, both Federal and State, we could have saved a lot of this problem of congestion in certain areas.

Mr. MORGENTHAU. That is right.

Mr. SULLINGER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. Of course, under the Constitution, we cannot regulate the activities of the States directly, even though in some instances it would be much better for them if we did regulate them. It is pretty much like the family group. Dad is always the boss of the family, or supposed to be, but the children sometimes resent being bossed, although it would be much better if they did not.

After all, they are just grown-up children to that extent.

Mr. MORGENTHAU. We feel that is true to a great extent. We feel that if we could get some help from some Federal agency when the States are in difficulties, it would be helpful. We went into deadlocks. We spend time writing letters and trying to arrive at some basis between us. We feel that would be very helpful.

Mr. PARSONS. Thank you, gentlemen. Both of you have contributed very greatly to us here by your testimony, and these statements you have filed. They will be received and made a part of our formal record.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you want to file these charts which you have presented as exhibits?

Mr. MORGENTHAU. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. We can receive them, I think, by special permission granted to us to cover such things in the hearing. These two charts showing the trends in the State of Ohio will be received and made a part of the formal record.

Mr. PARSONS. We appreciate your taking the time to come here, and we wish to thank you for the valuable information you have given us.

Mr. MORGENTHAU. We will be glad to cooperate further in any way we can.

Mr. SULLINGER. Mr. Hammond, director of the Ohio State employment service, asked me to express his regrets, but due to certain activities in connection with the preparedness program, he just could not get up here.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Hammond?

Mr. SULLINGER. Yes.

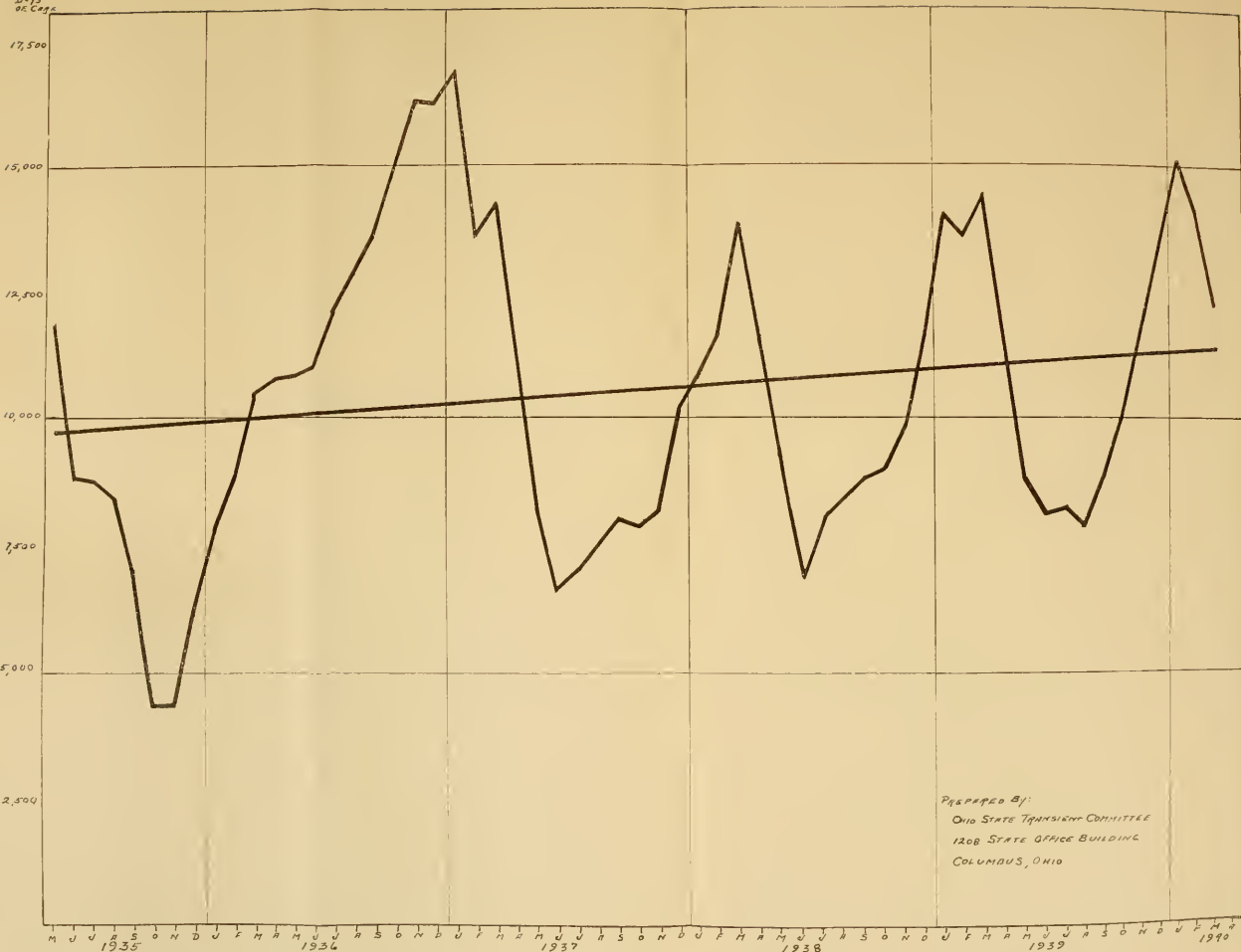
Mr. PARSONS. Very well, gentlemen. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Sullinger were excused.)

Mr. PARSONS. We will stand adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:50 p. m. a recess was taken until 10 a. m. tomorrow, Wednesday, August 21, 1940.)

MAN
DAYS
ON CASE



PREPARED BY:
OHIO STATE TENSIGN COMMITTEE
1208 STATE OFFICE BUILDING
COLUMBUS, OHIO

Number
of
men



Prepared By:
OHIO STATE TRANSIENT COMMITTEE
1208 STATE OFFICE BUILDING
COLUMBUS, OHIO

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the Federal Court Building, Chicago, Ill., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman) presiding:

Present: Representatives John H. Tolan (chairman), Claude V. Parsons, John J. Sparkman, Carl T. Curtis, and Frank C. Osmer, Jr.

Also present: Dr. Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; James S. Owens, chief field investigator; Abe Kramer, field investigator; John W. Abbott, field investigator; Ariel E. V. Dunn, field investigator; Joseph N. Dotson, field investigator; Robert H. Eagan, field secretary.

TESTIMONY OF P. D. BECK, DIRECTOR, REGION III, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee will please come to order. Mr. Beck will be the first witness. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will you state your full name, address, and capacity for the record, Mr. Beck?

Mr. BECK. P. D. Beck, director, region III, Farm Security Administration, Indianapolis, Ind.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Beck, you have filed with us quite a comprehensive statement that has been made part of the record, and will be gone over carefully. It might be that you want to summarize that, or else we might bring out some of the facts by questions. Whichever way you prefer to proceed, we will be glad to follow that course.

Mr. BECK. If it is agreeable with you, I would be very happy to have you just raise questions you think will be of particular interest.

The CHAIRMAN. Your entire statement will become part of the record.

Mr. BECK. I so understand.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY P. D. BECK, DIRECTOR, REGION III, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION,
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

REDUCING MIGRATION THROUGH ADJUSTMENT OF PEOPLE TO LAND

I am very grateful for your invitation to discuss some of the aspects of the problem of rural migration in the Middle West.

The Farm Security Administration is extremely interested in the present migration through this region, about which other witnesses are testifying at this hearing. Existing conditions among migrants are being examined here which call for corrective action by governmental agencies. The establishment of migratory labor camps, following patterns previously developed by the Farm Security Administration in other regions of the Nation, may be necessary to meet immediate problems of unhealthy, unsanitary, and intolerable living conditions, not only for the benefit of the migrants themselves, but also to protect established population from the infiltration of disease.¹ The provision of this type of assistance within the limits of available funds, is one of the tasks undertaken by the Farm Security Administration.

We also are extremely interested in the possibility of halting unnecessary and undesirable rural migration through the development of a program for needed rural works. Dr. Will W. Alexander, former Administrator of the Farm Security Administration; Mr. R. C. Smith, my predecessor as Farm Security Administration director in region III, who is now with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and other witnesses testified at length on such a program before the Senate Civil Liberties Committee in April.

Both of these approaches to the problem of rural migration—relief of present deplorable conditions and creation of new rural employment—are of major importance.

Inasmuch as your committee will doubtless explore these and other matters of direct national concern to the Farm Security Administration in Washington, I would like to discuss another problem affecting migration, which is of particular and growing concern to the people of this area.

That problem is the adjustment of people, or population, to available land resources.

This hearing is being held in the heart of one of the most abundantly endowed land areas of the Nation.

In 1934, when the National Resources Board reported on the land resources of the Nation, its inventory showed that a little more than 75 percent of the 101,000,000 acres of "grade A" land in the United States—the finest cultivable land—was within the five States which comprise Farm Security Administration region III (Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio) and Farm Security Administration region 2 (Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota). This "grade A" land the Resources Board described as "excellent land for the staple crops climatically adapted to the region in which it lies."²

The Board's inventory also showed that 36 percent of the Nation's 211,000,000 acres of "good," or "grade B" land, was in these two Farm Security Administration regions.²

There is, combined, more than 48 percent of the two "good" grades of land in the United States in these eight States.

With such abundant land resources, it might be expected that the area supports more than 24.7 percent of the farm population. That, however, is the percentage of the Nation's farm population within the eight States, as shown by the Agricultural Census of 1935.³

In other words, here in the Middle West, one-fourth of the farm population of America in 1935 was tilling one-half of the best croplands.

There is not sufficient data available to accurately estimate the relation of people to land resources in the eight States today.

¹ Michigan has anopheles mosquitoes, carriers of malaria. It is not now a malaria area, but the State has sent examiners to Texas to examine prospective migrant farm labor to prevent malaria carriers from introducing the disease in the northern State.

² See table 1, attached.

³ See table 2, attached.

However, we have been aware for some time that farmers are rapidly being displaced from the rich lands of the so-called Corn Belt. Displacement of farmers, and reduction in number of farm units through consolidation of farms, of course, widens the disparity between our percentage of farm population and available land resources.

Early this year we conducted a survey of the extent of displacement in the five States of region III through our county supervisors. This survey showed that out of 57,941 standard rehabilitation borrowers, 2,336 who had loans in 1939 and conducted farming operations were unable to get places for the 1940 crop season. The county supervisors reported that another 6,246 applicants for Farm Security Administration assistance, eligible for loans if they could find farms, were unable to get located. They also reported that they knew of 16,120 other renters, not applicants for Farm Security Administration assistance, who could find no place to farm during the present year.⁴

These figures, which we then considered conservative and now have additional reason to give credence, show a total displacement of 24,702 farm families in this rich land area. Apparently a similar situation exists in the three northern States of this Middle Western area—Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. I am advised that in our region II, made up of those States, there were 213 Farm Security Administration borrowers who had to be "closed out" and their farming equipment and livestock sold to satisfy Farm Security Administration loans because they could not find farms. Another 338 for various reasons migrated out of that region and were transferred out of the States in which they formerly resided. Most of them went to the West, to Iowa, and to Illinois.⁵

Some of these displacements undoubtedly were caused by migration into the region II States. The in-migration to region II, according to records kept in the office of Regional Director Harry Muir, amounted to 369 families.⁶ A majority of these families migrated eastward out of North and South Dakota, the drought areas, into Minnesota.

We have noted this same eastward movement out of the drought area into western Iowa and Missouri. Our county supervisors in those areas, stating the causes for the displacement which they reported in the spring, mentioned this eastward migration.

The situation apparently is continuing. I have just received a letter through our State director in Iowa which tells of displacement of Iowa farmers by people moving from Nebraska. The letter was written on August 7. An excerpt from it says:

"The field man for one of the insurance companies advised me on this date that of the 86 real-estate items which he managed in this territory he has sold 33 since January 1. Seventeen of these items have been in Clarke County. Of the 33 sold, 12 have been to Nebraska farmers who plan to move next March 1 to this territory. He further advises that, out of the 17 sold in Clarke County, he has definite knowledge that 12 of the present tenants will be forced to move on next March 1. It has been the policy of this particular insurance company in the past to make every effort to place their tenants on one of their farms if the tenant's present farm was sold. However, he advised me that for the coming year he feels that it will be almost impossible for them to take care of more than 1 or 2 of the 12 in this county which he knows for sure will have to move."

The principal causes the supervisors cited for displacement throughout our region III, however, were the enlargement and consolidation of farms because of mechanization, return of owners from rural urban areas to their farms, deterioration of land resources, and failure of farmers to "make a go of it" either through lack of ability or because of reverses beyond their control.

While we have been aware for some time of this displacement, we have just obtained some preliminary data in region III indicating the extent to which consolidation of farms and decline in number of farm units is reducing the opportunity for farmers to find a place on the land in the Middle West.

Our county supervisors have reported to us, where obtainable, the number of farms enumerated in their counties in the 1940 census enumeration.

⁴ See table 3, attached.

⁵ See table 4, attached.

⁶ See table 5, attached.

Tabulation of these reports shows that in 94 of Missouri's 114 counties, where 231,137 farm units were reported in the Agricultural Census of 1935, the 1940 census takers found only 217,146 farm units this year. This is a decline of 13,991 farm units in the 94 counties. It is a loss of 6.05 percent which, if applied to the total of 267,176 farm units in the State in 1935, would indicate a decline of 16,146 farms in the State between 1935 and 1940.⁷

Missouri is known as one of the five States contributing most heavily to Pacific coast migration. This decline in farm units in the State in the past 5 years may be one reason why. Every time a farm unit disappears, there is a farm family which must provide for itself elsewhere, either through migration to another area or to an urban center to get employment in private industry or on Work Projects Administration or direct relief.

Despite Missouri's recognition as a major source of migrant farm workers, the decline in farm units in that State is not at all out of line with the decline in other rich Middle Western States.

Census takers in 50 of Indiana's 92 counties have reported disappearance of 9,135 farm units since 1935. This decline, at the rate of 8.065 percent, indicates a possible total decline for the State of 16,197 farms.⁸

In Ohio we have preliminary census reports from 69 of the 88 counties, and there is a loss of 14,130 farming units between 1935 and 1940 reflected in those counties. This is at the rate of 6.92 percent, indicating a possible total decline of 17,681 farm units for the entire State.⁹

We have the preliminary census data from only six counties in Illinois. They reflect a loss of 491 farm units out of 12,853 enumerated in 1935.¹⁰ Probably no close estimate of total decline of farm units in the State is justified from such meager data, but final census tabulations will show a disappearance of farming units proportionate to adjacent States, we believe.

In the State of Iowa our officials have used another base for determining the situation, the reports of assessors on farms of 3 acres and more. These reports show that in spite of a large increase in the number of farm units between 1930 and 1935, when the depression caused a considerable "back-to-the-farm" movement and piling up of surplus farm population, there were even fewer farms in Iowa in 1940 than there were in 1930. There were 210,343 farm units in 1940, as compared to 213,993 in 1930. The agricultural census for 1935, the intervening period, shows 221,936 farm units in the State. The decline between 1935 and 1940 appears, conservatively, to have been at least 10,000 units.¹¹

Extremely significant Iowa figures which have also been reported to me concern the size of farms. The assessors' reports indicated that the average size of farms in 1930 was 159 acres. The 1935 Census showed this had declined to 154.8 acres. The 1940 assessors' reports show that it has again grown to 164 acres per farm—an average of 5 acres larger than in 1930.

We frequently receive individual reports from our personnel telling of the clients who are being displaced by expanding operators. I am attaching an excerpt from one such recent report which shows not only how one of our client farmers is being displaced but indicates the intense competition for land among renters which too frequently is resulting in overly high rents and wasteful mining of the soil to meet these excessive rental payments. In this case, our client, Mr. Joseph A. Arnaud, was farming 100 acres and paying \$400 rent. He has been notified to move next March 1 because another farmer, already farming 325 acres, is offering \$450 rent for the place to add to his present acreage.

I believe that on the basis of available data a conservative estimate of decline in farm units between 1935 and 1940 for the 5 States mentioned would be 70,000 units.

The people so dislocated will by no means all become interstate migrants. Many of them undoubtedly will, however, and their ranks will be swelled by farm laborers who, as well as farm owners and tenant farmers, have been "tractored off" the land.

An indication of what is happening to these people is contained in a study which the Indiana State Unemployment Compensation Service has just made for us.

⁷ See table 6, attached.

⁸ See table 7, attached.

⁹ See table 8, attached.

¹⁰ See table 9, attached.

¹¹ See table 10, attached.

On the week of August 5, they ran a survey of cards of 8,073 applicants for work in 6 cities and towns. Out of the 8,073, they found that 1,487, or a little more than 18 percent, had been farmers, tenants, or farm laborers within the last 3 years. Only 95 of the 1,487 have been able to obtain employment. There were another 271 employed by the Work Projects Administration.¹²

This decline in farm units is occurring in face of an ever-increasing population on farms. Farm population estimates as of January 1, 1940, issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, indicate that in the 5-year period our farm population has grown from 31,800,907 persons to 32,245,000—an increase of about 445,000 persons.

In spite of a net migration from farms to cities ranging from 202,000 to 447,000 each year, farm population is piling up—the ever-increasing surplus apparently subsisting as migrant workers, or on Work Projects Administration or relief.

The Farm Security Administration, because of this dangerous displacement from the land, has interested itself in encouraging rehabilitating and implementing the efficiency of so-called family-sized farms.

In the richer land areas—and there is no major area with more extensively abundant land resources than the Middle West—we are especially interested in this problem. In 1934 the census shows that there was an average of 51.8 acres of land harvested in each farm in the East North Central States, and 77.1 acres harvested per farm in the West North Central States. This compares to average harvested acreage of 25.6 in New England, 37.4 in the Middle Atlantic, 24.4 in the South Atlantic, 22.6 in the East South Central States, 42.4 in the West South Central, 54.0 in the Mountain States, and 43.6 in the Pacific States.

Even these figures on harvested acreage must be considered along with land grades, which I have previously mentioned, to get a true picture of the present adjustment of people to land resources in this area as compared with other areas of the United States.

Here in the Middle West, our agricultural press and daily newspapers are raising the question whether or not we must make a choice between family-sized farms or, as one paper put it, "Grapes of Wrath."

The Farm Security Administration is doing as much as it can with available appropriations to help disadvantaged and financially distressed farmers retain their foothold on the land.

In the 8 States in regions II and III, we now have outstanding standard loans to more than 91,000 farm families who were unable to get credit from any other private or governmental agency. These loans were made to permit them to obtain materials needed for a live-at-home program, and for stock and equipment necessary for a sound farming operation. In addition, we have outstanding more than 70,000 emergency loans, made for short periods to tide distressed farmers over some such emergency occurrence as a storm, flood, drought, or crop failure.

There has also been developed a community and cooperative service program to assist groups of small farmers to obtain the advantages of the modern machinery and purebred sires which they could not individually afford. In several thousand cases in the Middle West, where single farmers couldn't justify expenditure for a purebred sire or modern machinery, the Farm Security Administration has loaned groups of them money to buy sires and equipment to be used cooperatively. Through these cooperative groups they are able to make a sound investment, improve their stock, increase their income, and meet the competition of large commercial farms.

On several of the projects which the Administration has developed in this area, or which it took over from the Resettlement Administration, an attempt is being made to find patterns under which the security of family-sized farm operators can be reestablished in face of technological progress giving a competitive advantage to the large farm operator.

At Deshee Farms, near Vincennes, Ind., more than 40 families have pooled their croplands into a single large cooperative farming operation. Each farmer has his individual home and subsistence garden tract. But their dairy and livestock herd is handled cooperatively and their large fields are cultivated and harvested with equipment which only such large-scale operations make economically feasible. The members of the cooperative draw 15 cents an hour for their work at the time

¹² See table 11, attached.

the work is done. They are entitled to participate in any profits at the end of the year on a basis of work participation. This income plus the food produced on their individual subsistence tracts has made it possible for them to improve their living conditions and find a measure of security. As their obligations to the Government are reduced they will have increasing distributable income.

At LaForge, Mo., we have another project where 100 families work individual farms. A 6,700-acre tract was purchased and divided into farms for 100 families. The entire group, although on individual tracts, have a large cooperative which runs their cotton gin, a store, a sire service, and blacksmith shop for them. They also have small cooperative groups, using more expensive equipment jointly to reduce individual overhead.

These families, with only two or three exceptions, have met all their obligations to the Government, including rent and payments on equipment and livestock loans. Their large cooperative has paid \$7,500 annual rent to the Government and is now a year ahead with payments on its operating loan. This year it will distribute back to the 100 families about \$3,500 in profits after paying the extra year's payment. The incomes and the standards of living of the families have been increased remarkably in the 2 years the project has been in operation.

Through the tenant purchase program, administered by the Farm Security Administration under the Bankhead-Jones Act, the Farm Security Administration has been able to subdivide some large holdings into family-size farms and is making an effort to do more of this during the coming year.

With all of this, however, the decline in farm units, the increase in migration, and the displacement of farmers and farm workers by machinery appears to keep steadily ahead of us.

An adjustment of people to land which will effectively reduce displacement and reduce migration is going to require far larger allocations of loan funds than have been available in the past.

Because we have, in this Farm Security Administration region, a small group of cotton counties, with which we could deal separately, we have been able to start an intensive area program based on adjustment of people to land. It is a comparatively small example of what might be done in large regions of the Nation.

I refer, of course, to the southeastern Missouri "bootheel," where there are seven cotton counties in the northern tip of the Mississippi River Delta. Cotton was introduced as a crop into the area in 1923. In succeeding years, as land was cleared and cotton cropping increased, there grew up a continuous migration in and out of southeast. Displaced workers from further south were enlisted during cotton-chopping and picking seasons. Some settled in shacks, some returned home, and some moved on to other States. There was little security of tenure for tenants, sharecroppers, or laborers.

On January 10, 1939, about 300 families who had been given eviction notices moved out on two main Federal highways in demonstration of the fact that they had no place to go except this narrow strip of public domain.

These "roadside strikers" were eventually reabsorbed on farms or moved into camps, where they lived precariously close to the starvation level.

During 1939 citizens of southeastern Missouri, Governor Stark of that State, and other leading citizens determined to seek a solution to the situation. Governor Stark called together a committee, including landowners, tenants, farm laborers, and representatives of Farm Security. We had made surveys of the land resources, the agricultural practices, and the labor supply needed in the area.

One survey, made in four counties, showed a fluctuation of nearly 700 percent in farm-labor requirements.¹³ In January and February 5,000 farm workers could handle the farms in the four counties. In March and April, plowing season, this demand doubled. In June and July, respectively, cotton-chopping season, 31,000 and 28,000 laborers were needed. The labor demand then fell back until October, when opening of the cotton-picking season normally sends it to a peak of 35,000 to 36,000 pickers.

It was apparent that southeastern Missouri, during 4 months each year, needed a tremendous number of seasonal laborers.

¹³ See *Crisis in Missouri's Boot Heel*, by Charles S. Hoffman and Virgil L. Bankson, *Land Policy Review*, January-February 1940.

The Missouri Employment Service, cooperating with the Governor's committee, conducted a registration of southeastern Missouri families unable to find homes for the 1939-40 crop season. A total of 925 families registered as being without anywhere to go, and it was generally believed that adverse weather conditions kept that many more from going to the registration offices. These people were ready to join the army of migrants or to camp again on the roadside, when the Farm Security Administration's so-called five-point program was started.

This program was designed to attain two general objectives: To stabilize and encourage small-farm ownership in the area and to stabilize and improve the living conditions of needed farm laborers.

To accomplish the first end, the Farm Security Administration expanded its standard loan program in the bootheel, making loans to approximately 250 more farmers clinging precariously to their land than could have been done under normal allocations. Special real-estate loans of less than \$1,000 were made to other small landowners, in danger of losing their farms because of inability to refinance comparatively small obligations. A cooperative purchasing association financed by the Farm Security Administration, through which groups of farmers might buy large tracts of land jointly and subdivide them, was organized. It has now purchased one 2,500-acre tract of land, to be settled by 40 families, and has options on considerable additional land.

To accomplish the second end, the stabilization of needed farm labor in the area, three plans have been set in motion, which are illustrated in an exhibit here today.

First, the Farm Security Administration made subsistence garden grants and cow loans to 1,700 farm families on relief or eligible for relief who were able to get land rent-free from landowners for gardens and pasturage. The results of this program have been most gratifying. Sharecroppers and farm laborers who once lived in shacks with cotton growing to the doorsteps now have fine gardens beside their homes. They are using the time when they are not needed in the fields to grow and can the food which they will need this winter, to build food storages, repair their houses, seal their wells, and improve their living conditions. The cooperation we have been given, both from the landowners who gave rent-free subsistence tracts, and from the people who have been assisted through this program, has been both amazing and gratifying. Landowners readily gave subsistence tracts. We asked each of the 1,700 families assisted to can at least 80 quarts of food for each person in their family for winter use. We are today confronted with a request for more fruit jars. Scores of the families are already approaching their 80-quart goal and want to can at least 100 quarts per person. There will be vegetables and meats on southeastern Missouri tables this winter, where a year ago there was only a little corn bread and side meat.

The second workers' phase of the program was construction of scattered workers' homes costing about \$500 each. Within a few months our southeast Missouri staff secured 10-year, rent-free leases on 337 subsistence tracts scattered throughout the cotton areas of the bootheel, where modest but substantial houses are being built for farm-labor families. In some cases the people who go into these homes will have enough rent-free crop land, in addition to their garden tracts, to make repayments to the Farm Security Administration on their houses. In other cases, where no crop land in addition to subsistence tracts has been provided, the landowners themselves will make the repayments. At the end of the 10-year lease the house will go to the landowner—but it will be there to shelter and offer subsistence to a needed labor family.

The final phase of the plan for the stabilization of workers has been the development of 8 groups of workers' homes, where 502 farm-labor families will be rented houses owned and maintained by the Government. Along with each house will go a subsistence tract where the family will be expected to grow most of their own food, freeing their cash income from farm labor for rent, needed medical care, and improvement in living standards.

Contracts for these eight groups of houses have been let, and construction is already under way on the first group at East Prairie. Before winter nearly all of the houses should be complete and ready for occupancy.

The success of this plan for the stabilization of farm workers in an area of former heavy migration depends very largely on the cooperation of landowners and workers with the Missouri State Employment Service. All families cooperat-

ing in the program are required to register for farm work with the employment service. Landowners, with a very few exceptions, are obtaining their labor supply from the service instead of trucking it up from Arkansas or other areas, as some planters have done in the past.

If the cooperation of all groups is maintained, and we have every reason to hope that it will be, this varied plan for southeastern Missouri promises to end migration, with its instability, insecurity, and unrest, and greatly to improve the health and living conditions of the people.

At the same time, a small farm pattern has been established at the LaForge project, which is being encouraged through the cooperative farm purchasing associations, which in years to come may more completely adjust and firmly establish the population on the land.

In the development of this program, we have attempted to overcome migration, and to stabilize farm workers so their time not used in the fields can be used about their homes and on their subsistence tracts in self-help through food production. Migrants, on the road when they are not working, have no opportunity to make such use of their surplus time.

It is my belief that in the varied program set up in southeastern Missouri, there are patterns which might well be applied in many of our rural "sore spots" to adjust people to land.

A citizens' committee in Dickinson County, Iowa—a rich county—is now studying the possibility of resettlement on land of the three-fourths of their relief clients who are displaced farm families. If funds can be made available, it is entirely possible that through the purchase and subdivision of large tracts in the county, a desirable readjustment of land and people can be made.

The problem of the Ohio mucklands, and other areas of rich land and poor people, have points of similarity to the southeastern Missouri situation, which might be met with one or more of the patterns established there.

Such readjustments of people to land require very considerable sums of money. It is not money spent, however, never to return even in part, to the Federal or State treasuries.

The collection records of the Farm Security Administration show that a large percentage of rehabilitation loans are repaid, a fact which Congress recognized when it authorized financing of Farm Security Administration loans this year through advances from Reconstruction Finance Corporation rather than by direct appropriation. It is anticipated, after 5 years' experience, that at least 85 percent of our standard rehabilitation loans will be repaid. An even larger percentage of tenant purchase loans is being repaid. Tenant purchase repayments to date, including prepayments, exceed maturities. There is a delinquency of less than 4 percent. That delinquency, of course, does not represent a net loss. Doubtless there are people present who have been a little delinquent in their payments on debts, but have eventually paid them up in full. We anticipate most of our present small percentage of delinquent tenant purchase borrowers will do the same.

The National Resources Planning Board has frequently indicated that they consider readjustment of people to land a subject of major importance. In their recent publication, *Public Land Acquisition: Rural Lands*, we find the paragraph:

"Finding better opportunities for disadvantaged people is, of course, a major problem. Although the committee does not wish to make specific recommendations on this subject, it is believed that the public acquisition of better lands for the purpose of resale or lease to such people holds promise and should be given intensive study."

I would like to repeat that I do not consider the readjustment of people to land a complete solution of halting rural migration. In the agricultural Middle West, we can make necessary adjustments at an actual savings to taxpayers, by the extension of credit for a program encouraging family-sized farms. The rehabilitation of farm families has cost less than \$75 per family, under the Farm Security Administration program. This is only a fraction of the cost of work relief or direct relief, on which the majority of migrants, displaced farmers, or farm workers too frequently must depend.

The Farm Security Administration's experience indicates, consequently, that in the field of agricultural population, it is cheaper to resettle, rehabilitate, and re-

adjust people to land than it is to maintain them indefinitely in an unsatisfactory and costly relief status.

In terms of internal defense and human welfare, the Nation cannot afford to permit existing trends to continue and to permit a vast group of migrating, land-and-job-hungry, ill-clothed, and ill-fed people, physically and mentally ill, to develop.

While the extensions of credit which will be necessary to make a readjustment of people to land will be very considerable, they would not approach the sums we are now spending for external defense and the money would be for the most part eventually repaid into the Treasury.

For the convenience of your committee, I am submitting a number of reports on special situations which are in our files and concern the migration problem in this area.

These reports include:

- (1) A letter, previously mentioned, reporting the displacement of a Missouri farm family by an expanding farm operator.
- (2) A report of a recent community council meeting in Paulding County, Ohio, on the Mexican beet labor problem.
- (3) Excerpts from a county planning study for Franklin County, Ind.
- (4) Excerpts from a county planning study for Henry County, Ind.
- (5) Excerpts from a study of population and migration into and out of Indiana made by Lester Engel for the Indiana State Planning Board.
- (6) Excerpts from a State planning board survey on the Johnson County, Ind., tomato area, with newspaper clippings concerning the arrest of migrants there a year ago.
- (7) A Missouri State Employment Service survey of the seasonal workers in the strawberry harvest of southwest Missouri.
- (8) Three reports sent me by region II, Farm Security Administration, concerning migratory workers in Berrien County, Mich.; fruit picking in Door County, Wis.; and sugar-beet workers in Michigan.
- (9) A study made in 1938 of unemployment in the Scioto marsh, Hardin County, Ohio, area by H. R. Moore.

EXHIBIT No. 1

[Copy]

JULY 25, 1940.

MEMORANDUM TO P. G. BECK

DEAR SIR: * * * I am enclosing a notice recently received by one of our clients. This is for the family of Joseph A. Arnaud.

Last year we set up two cooperatives in this county to enable more economical operation. One of these was a tractor cooperative and the other was a combine cooperative. It would seem now that more must be done if we are to continue our family-sized farm.

The information that we have is that Mr. Arnaud has been paying \$400 cash rent on approximately 100 acres of ground. All of this land is subject to overflow from the Missouri River. Last year it required all of his wheat crop and a portion of the corn crop to meet the rental payment. This year he had sufficient amount from his wheat crop to pay for combining and the rent in full. This leaves the corn crop unencumbered by rent for the use of the family to meet their living expenses, other farming and operating expenses, and the Farm Security Administration payment. It is doubtful that a sufficient amount will be obtained to meet the entire Farm Security Administration payment that will be due.

This client is an excellent worker and his wife cooperates.

I am told that the party that has overbid Mr. Arnaud has offered \$450 per year and will pay \$200 cash at the time of signing the lease. The party planning to do this owns 75 acres and is renting 250 acres that he has been operating. This means that he will be operating a farm of 425 acres and at the same time displacing a Farm Security Administration family.

Yours very truly,

HENRY W. SMITH,
County Rural Rehabilitation Supervisor.

TABLE I.—*Land productivity classes*

	Grades of land									
	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3		Grade 4		Grade 5	
	Acres	Per-cent	Acres	Per-cent	Acres	Per-cent	Acres	Per-cent	Acres	Per-cent
Region III.....	58,911,475	58.3	40,258,935	19.1	38,102,782	11.0	18,134,626	5.0	8,748,324	1.0
Illinois.....	14,777,030	14.6	6,847,145	3.2	6,223,171	1.8	6,621,568	1.8	960,993	.1
Indiana.....	5,262,498	5.2	6,438,377	3.1	7,743,581	2.2	2,436,801	.7	1,133,367	.1
Iowa.....	25,983,110	25.7	6,906,158	3.3	1,392,680	.4	1,007,416	.3	344,556	(1)
Missouri.....	8,674,763	8.6	13,833,050	6.6	12,303,627	3.6	4,258,868	1.2	4,914,778	.6
Ohio.....	4,214,074	4.2	6,234,205	3.0	10,439,723	3.0	3,809,973	1.1	1,374,625	.2
Region II.....	17,093,674	16.9	35,629,994	11.9	21,295,058	6.2	18,692,290	5.2	31,639,114	3.6
Michigan.....	2,251,155	2.2	8,961,198	4.2	5,386,738	1.6	7,228,991	2.0	13,223,254	1.5
Minnesota.....	12,022,243	11.9	12,138,815	5.8	7,511,325	2.2	6,898,992	1.9	13,144,839	1.5
Wisconsin.....	2,820,276	2.8	14,529,981	6.9	8,396,995	2.4	4,564,307	1.3	5,271,021	.6
Total region II and III.....	76,005,149	75.2	75,888,929	36.0	59,397,840	17.2	36,826,916	10.2	40,387,438	4.6
United States.....	101,037,573	100.0	210,934,728	100.0	345,871,800	100.0	362,559,173	100.0	881,735,414	100.0

¹ Less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 percent.

Percentage of grades: 1 and 2 land in regions II and III, 48.68 percent.

TABLE II.—*Farm population, United States Agricultural Census—Farm Security Administration*

Area	Farm population Jan. 1, 1935	
	Number	Percent
Region III.....	5,149,527	16.2
Illinois.....	1,017,650	3.2
Indiana.....	852,994	2.7
Iowa.....	967,979	3.0
Missouri.....	1,183,499	3.7
Ohio.....	1,127,405	3.5
Region II.....	2,699,515	8.5
Michigan.....	840,514	2.6
Minnesota.....	928,487	2.9
Wisconsin.....	930,515	2.9
Total, regions 2 and 3.....	7,849,042	24.7
United States.....	31,800,907	100.0

TABLE III.—*Displacement of farmers in region III, 1940*

[Compiled from reports by county supervisors of the Farm Security Administration]

	Total Farm Security Administration borrowers	Borrowers unable to find farms	Eligible Farm Security Administration applicants unable to find farms	Other renters unable to get farms as reported by supervisors	Total
Illinois.....	7,850	352	1,516	3,091	4,959
Indiana.....	9,591	422	1,059	2,378	3,859
Iowa.....	9,800	442	1,095	3,388	4,925
Missouri.....	19,000	619	1,690	4,863	7,172
Ohio.....	11,700	501	886	2,400	3,787
Total.....	57,941	2,336	6,246	16,120	24,702

TABLE IV.—*Transfers from region II, July 1, 1939, to July 1, 1940*

To—	From—		
	Minne- sota	Michi- gan	Wiscon- sin
Arizona.....			1
Arkansas.....		1	3
California.....	25	1	8
Colorado.....	1		1
District of Columbia.....	2		1
Florida.....	1	1	2
Idaho.....	2		3
Illinois.....	15	4	70
Indiana.....	2	8	4
Iowa.....	20		15
Kansas.....	1	1	1
Kentucky.....			1
Missouri.....	4		3
Montana.....	7		6
Nebraska.....	2		1
New Jersey.....	1		
New York.....		1	
North Dakota.....	12		4
Ohio.....		5	
Oregon.....	19		7
Pennsylvania.....	1		1
South Dakota.....	30	1	3
Texas.....			1
Utah.....	1		
Virginia.....	1		
Washington.....	22		9
West Virginia.....		1	
Totals.....	169	24	145

Grand total, 338.

TABLE V.—*Transfers into region II, July 1, 1939, to July 1, 1940*

From—	To—		
	Minne- sota	Michi- gan	Wiscon- sin
California.....			1
Colorado.....			1
Florida.....		3	1
Georgia.....		1	
Idaho.....			1
Illinois.....	2	3	9
Indiana.....		19	
Iowa.....	25	1	5
Kansas.....	1	2	
Kentucky.....		1	
Louisiana.....		1	
Missouri.....	7	7	1
Montana.....	3		2
Nebraska.....	3		
New Mexico.....		1	
North Carolina.....		1	
North Dakota.....		8	12
Ohio.....	80	17	
Oklahoma.....		1	
Oregon.....			1
South Dakota.....	112	11	19
Texas.....	1		
Virginia.....			1
Washington.....	2	1	1
Total.....	236	78	55

Grand total, 369.

TABLE VI.—Number of farm units—Missouri

[Based on the United States Agricultural Census for 1935 and totals given Farm Security Administration supervisors by county Census Supervisors after completing their 1940 census]

County	Number farms, 1940	Number farms, 1935	County	Number farms, 1940	Number farms, 1935
Buchanan.....	2,467	2,479	Butler.....	2,950	1,947
Caldwell.....	1,798	1,904	Dunklin.....	3,575	3,659
Carroll.....	2,676	2,996	Mississippi.....	2,248	2,287
Clay.....	1,947	1,835	Bates.....	3,002	3,515
Clinton.....	1,589	1,548	Benton.....	2,127	2,242
Jackson.....	3,885	4,136	Cass.....	2,773	3,142
La Fayette.....	3,268	3,026	Cedar.....	1,985	2,462
Livingston.....	2,167	1,927	Chariton.....	3,306	3,201
Platte.....	2,074	1,927	Henry.....	3,500	3,040
Ray.....	2,481	2,841	Hickory.....	1,400	1,448
Adair.....	2,205	2,343	Johnson.....	3,042	3,344
Clark.....	1,675	1,879	Morgan.....	1,833	1,993
Knov.....	1,780	1,816	Pettis.....	2,336	2,793
Lewis.....	1,699	1,798	Saline.....	2,639	2,971
Linn.....	2,371	2,375	St. Clair.....	2,320	2,427
Macon.....	3,889	3,706	Vernon.....	3,304	3,412
Schuyler.....	1,541	1,276	Montgomery.....	1,940	2,085
Shelby.....	1,720	2,106	Warren.....	1,203	1,266
Sullivan.....	2,431	2,600	St. Louis.....	3,263	4,186
Audrain.....	2,109	2,389	St. Charles.....	2,190	2,027
Boone.....	2,837	3,108	St. Genevieve.....	1,342	1,273
Callaway.....	3,560	3,010	Jefferson.....	2,662	2,696
Camden.....	1,322	1,413	Cape Girardeau.....	2,694	2,806
Cole.....	1,733	1,724	Carter.....	668	777
Cooper.....	2,082	2,295	Crawford.....	1,905	1,897
Howard.....	1,617	1,920	Iron.....	1,216	1,109
Marion.....	1,738	1,734	Madison.....	952	1,049
Miller.....	2,160	2,243	Oregon.....	2,010	2,055
Moniteau.....	1,697	1,858	Perry.....	1,859	1,922
Monroe.....	2,865	2,515	Reynolds.....	1,283	1,289
Randolph.....	2,030	2,216	Shannon.....	1,691	1,610
Barry.....	3,353	3,926	St. Francois.....	1,474	1,598
Dade.....	2,459	2,282	Wayne.....	1,567	1,823
Greene.....	4,391	4,559	Andrew.....	2,498	2,324
Jasper.....	3,075	3,548	Atchison.....	1,519	1,674
McDonald.....	2,464	2,758	Daviess.....	2,368	2,746
Newton.....	4,125	4,255	DeKalb.....	1,772	2,040
Polk.....	3,062	3,400	Gentry.....	2,032	2,056
Stone.....	1,811	2,166	Harrison.....	2,839	3,032
Dallas.....	2,241	2,898	Holt.....	1,592	1,812
Howell.....	3,266	3,164	Mercer.....	1,794	1,865
Laclede.....	2,727	2,888	Nodaway.....	3,411	3,614
Maries.....	1,569	1,603	Worth.....	1,085	1,207
Ozark.....	2,126	2,066			
Pulaski.....	1,382	1,729			
Webster.....	2,838	2,974			
Stoddard.....	4,013	4,475			
Pemiscot.....	2,945	4,475			
New Madrid.....	3,577	4,267			
Scott.....	1,892	2,004			
			GRAND TOTALS		
			94 out of 114 counties.....	217,146	231,137
			Total change (94 counties).....	-13,991	
			Percent change.....	-6.05	

Indicated total decrease in farms for State (267,176 farms in 1935 x .0605), 16,146.

TABLE VII.—Number of farm units—Indiana

[Based on the United States Agricultural Census for 1935 and totals given Federal Security Administration supervisors by county census supervisors after completing their 1940 census]

County	1935	1940	County	1935	1940
Boone.....	2,723	2,649	White.....	1,927	1,570
Clay.....	2,510	2,150	Adams.....	2,150	2,002
Daviess.....	2,661	2,441	Allen.....	4,148	3,714
Fountain.....	1,826	1,622	DeKalb.....	2,390	2,130
Gibson.....	2,422	2,288	Putnam.....	2,596	2,421
Green.....	3,251	2,939	Sullivan.....	3,212	2,633
Hamilton.....	2,678	2,577	Vermillion.....	1,289	1,160
Hancock.....	1,988	1,838	Vigo.....	2,916	2,096
Hendricks.....	2,680	2,405	Warren.....	1,300	1,184
Johnson.....	1,994	1,943	Grant.....	2,756	2,583
Knox.....	2,436	2,231	Howard.....	2,025	1,888
Madison.....	3,427	3,424	Huntington.....	2,461	2,400
Marion.....	2,964	3,070	Jay.....	2,463	2,433
Martin.....	1,464	1,163	Tipton.....	1,676	1,424
Monroe.....	2,444	2,171	LaGrange.....	1,934	1,824
Montgomery.....	2,560	2,484	Noble.....	2,545	2,137
Morgan.....	2,343	2,070	Steuben.....	1,703	1,508
Owen.....	1,719	1,701	Wells.....	2,487	2,264
Parke.....	2,261	1,974	Whitley.....	2,173	2,041
Benton.....	3,175	1,140	Blackford.....	1,089	946
Carroll.....	1,831	1,748	Clinton.....	2,310	2,036
Cass.....	2,345	2,335	Wabash.....	2,427	2,228
Fulton.....	2,099	1,976	Miami.....	2,225	2,088
Jasper.....	1,833	1,792			
Marshall.....	2,808	2,689			
Newton.....	957	1,050			
Pulaski.....	1,720	1,656			
			Total.....	113,261	104,126

Loss in farms in 50 out of 92 counties..... 9,135
 Percent loss..... 8,067
 Estimated State loss (200,835 farms in 1935, x .05065)..... 16,195

TABLE VIII.—Number of farm units—Ohio

County	Farms, 1940	Farms, 1935	County	Farms, 1940	Farms, 1935
Ashtabula.....	4,884	5,196	Clark.....	2,258	2,625
Carroll.....	1,919	1,877	Clinton.....	2,018	2,230
Columbiana.....	3,655	4,102	Darke.....	4,711	5,123
Cuyahoga.....	2,580	2,251	Greene.....	2,182	2,335
Geauga.....	2,506	2,550	Hamilton.....	2,935	3,085
Harrison.....	1,843	1,925	Logan.....	2,520	2,765
Lake.....	1,613	1,639	Miami.....	2,896	3,071
Portage.....	3,369	3,729	Montgomery.....	4,231	4,587
Stark.....	4,718	4,750	Preble.....	2,586	2,741
Summit.....	2,943	2,800	Shelby.....	2,273	2,550
Trumbull.....	4,064	4,213	Warren.....	2,465	2,575
Tuscarawas.....	2,850	3,240	Allen.....	2,580	3,016
Athens.....	2,710	2,658	Auglaize.....	2,395	2,555
Belmont.....	3,134	3,883	Fulton.....	2,791	2,955
Guernsey.....	2,634	3,174	Hancock.....	2,842	3,270
Meigs.....	2,707	2,886	Henry.....	2,468	2,694
Monroe.....	3,395	2,889	Lucas.....	2,353	2,730
Morgan.....	2,219	2,318	Mercer.....	2,807	3,026
Muskingum.....	3,899	3,843	Paulding.....	1,780	1,964
Noble.....	2,263	2,493	Putnam.....	2,877	3,135
Perry.....	2,133	2,267	Van Wert.....	2,373	2,629
Washington.....	3,837	4,029	Wood.....	3,412	3,911
Adams.....	2,869	3,030	Coshocton.....	2,532	2,956
Brown.....	3,179	3,460	Delaware.....	2,823	3,000
Clermont.....	3,329	4,007	Fairfield.....	3,440	3,428
Gallia.....	2,755	2,924	Franklin.....	3,627	3,842
Highland.....	2,982	3,265	Knox.....	2,937	3,003
Hocking.....	1,414	1,791	Licking.....	4,029	4,453
Jackson.....	1,767	1,891	Madison.....	1,558	1,696
Lawrence.....	2,828	2,491	Marion.....	1,833	2,055
Pike.....	1,713	1,944	Morrow.....	2,422	2,641
Ross.....	2,404	2,967	Pickaway.....	1,879	2,153
Scioto.....	2,757	3,300	Union.....	2,710	2,566
Vinton.....	1,334	1,460			
Butler.....	2,936	2,902			
Champaign.....	2,058	2,344			
			Grand total.....	189,773	203,903

Total loss in 69 out of 88 counties..... 14,130
 Percent loss..... 6.93
 Estimated loss for State (255,146 farms in 1935 x 0.0693)..... 17,861

TABLE IX.—*Number of farm units—Illinois*

[Based on the U. S. Agricultural Census for 1935 and totals given Farm Security Administration supervisors by county census supervisors after completing their 1940 census]

County	Farms, 1940	Farms, 1935	County	Farms, 1940	Farms, 1935
Ogle.....	2,815	2,897	Stephenson.....	2,598	2,706
Jo Daviess.....	2,021	2,143	Boone.....	1,181	1,218
Winnebago.....	2,116	2,144			
Carroll.....	1,631	1,745	Total.....	12,362	12,853
Loss.....				491	
Percent loss.....				3	
Total farms in State.....				231,312	

TABLE X.—*Number of farms of 3 acres or more and average size by counties, 1930 and 1940*

[Based on assessor's reports and tabulated by Leslie E. Carl, statistician—by crop reporting districts]

County	1930		1940		County	1930		1940	
	Num- ber of farms	Aver- age size	Num- ber of farms	Aver- age size		Num- ber of farms	Aver- age size	Num- ber of farms	Aver- age size
Buena Vista.....	2,065	173	2,044	176	Jasper.....	2,924	154	2,926	155
Cherokee.....	1,890	190	1,797	199	Marshall.....	2,217	158	2,286	156
Clay.....	1,835	191	1,855	192	Polk.....	2,704	118	2,716	119
Dickinson.....	1,225	192	1,229	192	Poweshiek.....	2,159	170	2,143	171
Emmet.....	1,275	193	1,268	195	Story.....	2,207	157	2,205	159
Lyon.....	1,862	196	1,878	196	Tama.....	2,647	167	2,698	167
O'Brien.....	1,926	183	1,911	187	Webster.....	2,573	167	2,551	174
Osceola.....	1,309	191	1,294	194	Benton.....	2,589	170	2,562	175
Palo Alto.....	1,836	187	1,852	189	Cedar.....	2,224	158	2,240	160
Plymouth.....	2,942	184	2,817	192	Clinton.....	2,859	148	2,712	169
Pocahontas.....	2,059	174	2,026	180	Iowa.....	2,210	163	2,172	169
Sioux.....	2,863	165	2,857	166	Jackson.....	2,321	166	2,192	180
Butler.....	2,232	158	2,228	160	Johnson.....	2,550	144	2,578	147
Cerro Gordo.....	1,977	176	1,962	178	Jones.....	2,341	151	2,261	157
Floyd.....	1,831	165	1,808	171	Linn.....	3,515	119	3,559	119
Franklin.....	2,107	172	2,094	174	Muscatine.....	1,745	147	1,759	149
Hancock.....	1,946	182	1,961	183	Scott.....	2,161	124	2,259	120
Humboldt.....	1,503	177	1,458	185	Adair.....	2,157	167	2,130	170
Kossuth.....	3,007	200	3,050	198	Adams.....	1,694	157	1,556	172
Mitchell.....	1,758	162	1,707	168	Cass.....	2,127	165	2,135	166
Winnebago.....	1,593	155	1,656	152	Fremont.....	1,758	170	1,687	184
Worth.....	1,592	156	1,525	164	Mills.....	1,647	157	1,464	180
Wright.....	1,998	180	1,925	188	Montgomery.....	1,609	163	1,559	168
Allamakee.....	2,256	170	2,250	174	Page.....	2,218	150	2,105	157
Black Hawk.....	2,404	142	2,458	140	Pottawattamie.....	3,665	151	3,679	156
Bremer.....	2,056	129	2,051	132	Taylor.....	2,228	148	2,126	157
Buchanan.....	2,254	156	2,241	158	Appanoose.....	2,232	140	2,174	144
Chickasaw.....	2,000	151	2,013	153	Clarke.....	1,524	171	1,492	180
Clayton.....	3,117	149	2,994	158	Decatur.....	2,090	159	2,010	167
Delaware.....	2,253	157	2,210	161	Lucas.....	1,669	158	1,750	161
Dubuque.....	2,271	160	2,328	159	Madison.....	2,230	157	2,167	164
Fayette.....	3,128	142	3,099	147	Marion.....	2,399	141	2,224	154
Howard.....	1,740	169	1,668	177	Monroe.....	1,697	152	1,589	167
Winnesiek.....	2,843	149	2,824	152	Ringgold.....	1,938	169	1,814	185
Audubon.....	1,791	156	1,807	155	Union.....	1,713	153	1,571	169
Calhoun.....	2,016	174	1,940	183	Warren.....	2,388	145	2,331	150
Crawford.....	2,599	172	2,490	179	Wayne.....	1,880	171	1,817	180
Carroll.....	2,216	160	2,157	165	Davis.....	1,987	156	1,901	164
Greene.....	2,081	169	2,054	173	Des Moines.....	1,904	129	1,787	138
Guthrie.....	2,338	157	2,345	158	Henry.....	1,874	141	1,850	148
Harrison.....	2,764	152	2,602	165	Jefferson.....	1,859	142	1,829	146
Ida.....	1,443	188	1,434	190	Keokuk.....	2,595	138	2,478	145
Monona.....	2,143	194	2,075	203	Lee.....	2,172	141	2,092	147
Sac.....	1,931	181	1,989	181	Louisa.....	1,377	166	1,375	174
Shelby.....	2,204	166	2,099	179	Mahaska.....	2,754	128	2,683	132
Woodbury.....	3,039	172	2,974	178	Van Buren.....	1,923	153	1,834	160
Boone.....	2,473	141	2,428	144	Wapello.....	2,015	128	2,079	126
Dallas.....	2,319	157	2,332	157	Washington.....	2,247	154	2,212	147
Grundy.....	1,765	176	1,799	176					
Hamilton.....	2,234	159	2,177	166					
Hardin.....	2,158	162	2,126	165					
					For State.....	213,993	159	210,343	164

Farms in State, 1935 Agricultural Census..... 221,986
Average acreage..... 154.8

TABLE XI.—*Indiana Unemployment Compensation Division, Indiana State Employment Service—Field office operations*

[Survey of active file, week of Aug. 5, 1940]

Office	1 Number of cards checked	2 Applicants with farm experience					3 Type of employment sought								
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
		Number	Single	Married	Employed	W. P. A.	Owner or tenant	Farm laborer	Skilled construction	Skilled industrial	Skilled service	Unskilled construction	Unskilled industrial	Unskilled service	All other
Anderson.....	980	85	44	41	2	10	8	40	2	3	---	3	17	12	---
Columbus.....	528	175	74	101	6	18	6	80	---	3	1	17	62	4	2
Indianapolis.....	3,200	416	240	176	23	5	30	54	45	56	31	71	60	47	22
Kokomo.....	1,100	197	129	68	13	25	38	74	1	4	2	5	59	8	6
South Bend.....	1,455	227	102	125	13	30	21	29	10	27	2	56	77	4	1
Vincennes.....	810	387	132	255	38	183	55	130	18	31	3	79	51	5	15
Total.....	8,073	1,487	721	766	95	271	158	407	76	124	39	231	326	80	46

EXPLANATION OF ITEMS

1. Cards of male applicants only were checked in industrial and service occupational sections of the file on a sampling basis. Cards in the commercial or professional sections of the file were not checked.
- 2 (a) Total of all applicants who have worked as farmers, tenants, or farm laborers within the last 3 years.
- (b) Total of all applicants listed for item 2 (a) who were single, divorced, separated, or widowed.
- (c) Total of all applicants who were married.
- (d) Total of all applicants now in private employment, including those self-employed as farmers or tenants.
- (e) Total of all applicants whose cards indicated they are now working on W. P. A.
3. Classification of all applicants included under item 2 (a) according to these nine occupations. Primary occupation only used.

TESTIMONY OF P. D. BECK—Resumed

MR. SPARKMAN. What is your region?

MR. BECK. The Farm Security region in which I work comprises Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. In addition, I have gathered together some information on region II from Mr. Harry Muir, its director, which includes Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota.

MR. SPARKMAN. Your statement, then, is made to relate to the two regions?

MR. BECK. It relates to the two regions; yes.

MR. SPARKMAN. I understand you have made some studies of rural migration, and the number of rural people. Would you tell the Committee what those studies are?

MR. BECK. I might just mention them briefly. It so happens that prior to the time I worked in Farm Security, I was quite interested in this question, and did some studies while in Ohio on migration to and from farms. We have done some additional things. The study on rich-land poor people, which was made in southeastern Missouri, is one. We have made some rather informal studies, of course, of situations that affect the standard population in the Appalachian-Ozark area, where there was a combination of farming and forestry, and the forestry is going out, or has gone.

We have made similar studies of situations like the labor situation in the Ohio mucklands, and things of that type. They are more or less informal things in which we have been interested, because of our interest in the problem presented there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you think the major problem with respect to migration is in the Middle West?

Mr. BECK. It varies a great deal, I think, in the Middle West, from the problem in some of the other places. I would like to give you a little background material there, if you would like to have it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We would be very glad to have it.

LAND RESOURCES OF MIDDLE WEST

Mr. BECK. In 1934 when the National Resources Board reported on the land resources of the Nation, its inventory showed a little more than 75 percent of the 101,000,000 acres of grade A land in the United States, that is, the best cultivatable land, was within the five States which comprise Farm Security region 3 and region 2.

The CHAIRMAN. How many was that?

Mr. BECK. Seventy-five percent was in these two regions, regions 2 and 3.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BECK. They comprise the States of Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Grade A land is the best type of land, dividing it into five grades.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The total acreage was 101,000,000 acres?

Mr. BECK. 101,000,000 acres.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is what they had?

Mr. BECK. That is the total of the United States.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Roughly, 75,000,000 acres of that would be in this area?

Mr. BECK. That is right. Seventy-five percent of that would be in this eight-State area in the Middle West. This same inventory showed that 36 percent of the grade B land, which is second-grade land, which is very good, was in these two regions. In other words, combining it, 48 percent of the two top grades of land in the United States was in these eight States.

In this same region, you have less than 25 percent—these are 1935 figures—of the farm population of the United States. In other words, we have about 50 percent of the two best grades of land and about one-fourth of the farm population of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BECK. That does not mean that there are no problems in this general area, because there are the problems of the cotton areas of the South and the problems of the Appalachian and hill areas where very poor land is being farmed.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BECK. Based on those figures, we have a problem it seems to me in this region of the adjustment of people, pretty largely one of the adjustment of people to available land resources. In other words, there are people over here on poor land and there are people over here

on good land and in large farms. You have the problem of adjustment there, and that is a problem of major importance.

However, we do have these relatively minor problems of migratory labor and semimigratory labor in areas like southern Missouri, the starvation regions of Missouri, the mucklands of Ohio, and the tomato growers of Indiana. They are very definite problems, but the big problem in my opinion is the adjustment of people to land resources.

DISPLACEMENT OF PEOPLE IN MIDDLE WEST

Mr. SPARKMAN. As I understand you, you say that people are being displaced on the land in this rich land area. Do you have any further figures, census figures to back up that statement?

Mr. BECK. Of course, the 1940 census has just been taken. We do not have very late figures yet. However, we have picked up a few preliminary things. We have made a few checkups ourselves.

We have known for some time that people are being displaced in this area of very rich lands, where there are not so many of them now. Our supervisors are reporting it all the time. We made a survey of displacement in the five States here in region 3 this spring through the county supervisors. It showed that out of some 58,000-odd standard rehabilitation borrowers—those are the people to whom we have loaned money, and with whom we are working trying to help develop a satisfactory system of farming of family sized farms—2,336 out of 57,941 who had conducted farming operations last year, had not been able to get farms. We carried that thing just a step further, and asked the county supervisors to check up with the county agents and other informal people in the counties as to how many other people there were in the same boat. They reported they knew of some 16,000 other renters who are not applicants for F. S. A. assistance who could find no place. Add those together, and you have a total displacement of 24,702 farm families in this rich-land area, in region 3, which is in the neighborhood of 2 percent of the total.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that over a period of 1 year?

Mr. BECK. Those are people who had farms last year, but had not yet found farms in late March of this year.

RESETTLEMENT ON FEDERALLY OWNED LAND

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Beck, has the Farm Security Administration or any other governmental agency, to your knowledge, made a survey of Federally owned land from the standpoint of resettlement of migrants?

Mr. BECK. I cannot give you any information on that. We have had a number of discussions with various agencies, Federal or quasi-Federal, about that problem. I am thinking when I say "Federal agency," of the land banks. They are corporations.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think that would be a very useful thing?

Mr. BECK. I think that would be extremely valuable.

The CHAIRMAN. Former President Hoover and Mrs. Roosevelt each have resettlement for a hobby.

Mr. BECK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I was thinking of the State of Oregon. I have traveled through Oregon many times. Half of the land in the State of Oregon is zoned by the Federal Government.

Mr. BECK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I knew it was some such figure. I did not know exactly how much.

The CHAIRMAN. Excuse me, Congressman Sparkman. Proceed.

Mr. BECK. The percentage owned outright in this area by the Federal Government would not be much, except for forest purposes and things of that type. However, there is a lot of land owned by the Federal land banks that are corporations, and by the Federal farm-mortgage corporations.

We have had quite a few discussions with the people in the land banks about some method of working out things. We are still carrying those on.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think, Mr. Beck, that the displacement of people from the farms is going to increase? Some of that land, for instance, in the South and in the Southeastern States, has been plowed over for years and years and years. There is a top soil there; no wonder they have dust storms.

Mr. BECK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They are trying reforestation with it, but there is a limit to the fertility of the soil. There is not any question about that. It looks to me, speaking for myself, as though the farm problem would increase rather than decrease. Do you not think so?

INCREASING FARM POPULATION

Mr. BECK. I would expect that it would because, of course, we have an increasing population, and the largest increase in our total population is always in the farm population.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BECK. I think the farm population of the United States, according to latest records, is producing somewhere between 50 and 60 percent more children than are needed to replace the present population. Someone has estimated that if half as many as those would go to the cities between 1930 and 1940 as went between 1920 and 1930, we would still have an increase of over 20 percent in the working population on farms. That would be the result if only half as many went. Of course, a lot of them went between 1920 and 1930, and of course they started back just before 1930. It looks like the problem might increase.

However, there are a number of factors in the situation that might help, in terms of work the Government has already done through the A. A. A. and otherwise, to get better-balanced rotation and limit row crops that tend to decrease the fertility of the soil, which would tend to slow up the depleting of the soil that has been going on.

The CHAIRMAN. I know of three different projects in California under which private individuals would finance these migrant families,

that is, give them the land; they would put in their labor for the home, and have a 10-acre tract, and every one of them is a success. Undoubtedly you know that your administration has taken care of 800,000 families.

Mr. BECK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, you staked them to a horse, a mule, a cow, and seed. Dr. Alexander told me in Washington that 85 percent of them are paying the money back.

Mr. BECK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But the problem is, you have 500,000 families still uncared for.

Mr. BECK. More than that.

The CHAIRMAN. More than that?

Mr. BECK. Yes; depending upon the level of living which you would set as being the minimum which we should tolerate in America. That would probably vary as a practical matter from area to area over the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any solution to this problem yourself?

FAMILY-SIZED FARMS

Mr. BECK. Well, we have tackled a few things on it. I have some data here which I would just like to refer to, as to what we have been trying to do in this area. Of course, the thing we have encouraged in this Middle West region with this situation facing us is that people operate on family-sized farms and not spread out all over the landscape.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What would that average in this region, the family-sized farm?

Mr. BECK. That will vary a great deal. In attempting to say what a family-sized farm is, you have to know your people as well as your land. The familiarity of people with certain types of farming is going to influence it. You cannot state it in acres. However, we are thinking of it in terms of the amount of land which a farmer and his family can operate without hiring outside labor, except, possibly, in the very peak season, and produce a minimum living, a minimum adequate living, depending upon where you want to set that.

It would probably vary from—well, I do not know where to set the figures. I am thinking in terms of some of the project work we have done. In southeastern Missouri we have around 60- or 65-acre farms where cotton is in rotation. We are trying out some farms of 60 and 70 acres in Ohio, around Madison and Ross Counties in Ohio, with some of the best land. It runs on up; with some of the poor land it takes several hundred acres to make a family-sized farm.

FARM LOANS

Mr. SPARKMAN. With respect to the farm tenant purchase program, do you do much of that in this region?

Mr. BECK. We have quite a few loans. I do not have the exact figures, but I think last year we spent about \$5,000,000 in the five States here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is there a high degree of tenancy through this section, or is it relatively low?

Mr. BECK. It ranges from half in certain areas of Iowa, Ohio, and northern Illinois on down.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe the average for the United States is 42 percent?

Mr. BECK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Forty-two percent for the whole United States.

Mr. BECK. The highest tenancy, of course, is in your best land areas. It is more than 50 percent in some Iowa counties, or right around that. There is a large percentage in Ohio, in some of the Ohio counties.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are the farms becoming larger, displacing farmers and farm laborers, or are they becoming more mechanized, or what is being done with reference to that?

Mr. BECK. We think very definitely that farms are becoming larger, and we have a lot of isolated data that would indicate that. I was just looking here for some figures we have on that. A check-up was made in Iowa recently. The assessors' reports there indicated that the size of farms in 1930 was 159 acres. The 1935 census showed this had declined to 154.88 acres. The 1940 assessors' reports indicate it has grown to 164 acres per farm, an average of 5 acres larger than 1930. That is just a little data that we have on that.

I think generally that is happening, because you are getting into this situation as far as the development of family-sized farms is concerned: The land is usually worth more to the neighboring farmer; that is, he can afford to pay more for it than the small farmer can afford to pay for it and put a set of buildings and improvements on it. It is a fundamental problem here in the development of family-sized farms.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has that increase come about by reason of the purchase of additional acreage? It would not be through reclamation of land, because that would be part of the farm, would it not?

Mr. BECK. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is it resulting in the displacing of any tenants?

Mr. BECK. Very definitely. We have evidence all the time of that type of thing. A man tears down one set of buildings and has one tenant instead of two, which he can do through power farming and adjusting his operations to that method of operation. That is going on all over the Middle West.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Could you tell us the number of Farm Security standard rehabilitation clients you have in these two regions?

Mr. BECK. Our standard loan program—in other words, those are the folks with whom we are working not only to loan money, but working with them in helping them to improve their farming methods, and helping them to correct some of the errors they may have made that got them into this situation. We have 91,000 families.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In the two regions?

Mr. BECK. In the two regions. In addition to that, we have some 70,000 emergency loans outstanding that were made to farmers in the case of drought, storms, or floods; in other words, where some emer-

gency came along and no assistance was available from any other agency, we have stepped in and helped the situation.

FIVE-POINT PROGRAM OF F. S. A. IN MISSOURI

Mr. SPARKMAN. Can you tell us something about the five-point program that you have used in southeastern Missouri in your effort to stabilize farm conditions there?

Mr. BECK. In southern Missouri, as many of you know, there is a small group of cotton counties in which quite serious problems of relief have developed. There are some seven counties there in which we have been working. It developed into a cotton area rather late, I think in around 1923. Anyway, in the twenties cotton came in.

EXPANSION OF FARM LOANS

As the land was cleared and cotton cropping increasing, there grew up a migration into and out of that place. There was little security for anybody. Two years ago in January 1939 the thing was brought rather forcibly to our attention by 300 families that moved out on the road and sat down and said "We have no place to go." These roadside strikers, as they were called, were eventually gotten back on farms, or into camps and various places, living rather precariously.

In 1939, quite a few of the citizens of that area together with some of the larger landlords and the Governor of the State, Governor Stark, determined to see what could be done about it. The Governor called together a committee consisting of landlords, tenants, farm laborers, and representatives of the Farm Security, Extension Service, and others. We worked together. We made some surveys of land resources and agricultural practices and the labor needed in the area to get a better idea of what was needed to be done. One survey we made showed a fluctuation of nearly 700 percent in farm-labor requirements from month to month. You know, with respect to cotton, there is not much labor needed until chopping. Then there is some, not much, until picking. When picking starts, there is lots of it needed.

The Missouri Employment Service, working with the Governor's committee, made a little check-up on families that had no place to go. There were some 925 registered, and because of the weather and other conditions, our estimate was in the seven-county area that figure should have been twice that. So we tried to work out a program there and do two things, to stabilize and encourage small-farm ownership as far as we could go with that stabilizing, and improve living conditions of farm laborers which are needed in that area to carry on the type of cotton operations that are there.

To get this job done, we expanded our standard loan program and made loans to some 250 additional families to whom we otherwise would not have loaned, because of needs elsewhere. We assisted some small landowners whose land was in jeopardy to refinance the land. In no case did we loan them more than \$1,000 to save their farms. We also organized a cooperative association to see if we could not stabilize the methods by which land, new land that is being opened up down there, can be brought into production. It is a helter-skelter system,

and the tenant usually loses it when he gets it developed, or partially developed.

We have now made it possible to purchase a 2,500-acre tract of land, and we expect to assist perhaps with 6,000 or 8,000 acres in there, in an attempt to see if there is a pattern that we can follow there, that might help us.

SMALL GARDEN FARMS

In order to stabilize farm labor, we discovered that the movement of farm labor in that area was not necessary; that it moved in and out all the time because there are at most enough labor there to take care of the peak season, but they had nothing to do which was very profitable between peaks. There were not even many of them producing their own gardens which would be a valuable use of their labor.

We set three plans in motion to tackle that problem. The first thing we did was to say to the landlords in the area and to the relief administration in Missouri, and to the people who would be helped by it, "If a family, a labor family living on your plantation, Mr. Landlord, can get garden space, and you are willing they should have a building and pasture for a cow, in addition to any wages they might get from you or somebody else, we will help these families. These families are either on relief, or eligible for relief. They are certified by the State relief agency. We will help them to get started in the production of gardens and in the canning of food and to get a cow so they may have enough milk for the kids."

We were startled by the reception that program got. The only thing that stopped us was money and personnel to handle the job. We finally ended up with about 1,700 families. They are growing gardens, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Beck, in the early days of this country, about 85 percent of the people lived on farms and they were growing their own food.

Mr. BECK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, it is down to about 25 percent.

Mr. BECK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There are large farms and ranches in the United States upon which there is not even a vegetable garden.

Mr. BECK. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if everyone in the United States today had all the food they wanted, there would not be much trouble in this country, would there?

Mr. BECK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You are hitting right at the basic thing. However, as you say, you are limited in the amount of money you can get.

Mr. BECK. Money and personnel to do the job. There is no use of trying to do too much. In that same connection, this program, although it involves the expenditure of very little money, also involves money expended in the form of grants. It had to, because these folks could not pay it back. There were cases in which a cow was gotten through a loan. They will pay that back over a period of years by selling calves.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you set that out in your statement, those things to which you are referring?

Mr. BECK. In some detail; yes. Following up your statement, in terms of this whole problem of national defense, it is awfully hard for a hungry man to be patriotic. If we can show these folks how to produce their own food with their own labor, it seems to me we have something.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have hit the nail right on the head. There are 4,000,000 people moving annually from State to State, destitute people. If they are not given some status and taken care of in some way, it strikes at the morale of our country. In other words, you have to have a real country to fight for, is that the idea?

Mr. BECK. That is what I was trying to say. I was trying to say further, that in handling a situation like that you can do it in two ways. You can either give folks something outright, or you can help folks get something for themselves. This program does a little of both. Primarily, it enables them to use their own labor, which otherwise would be wasted to produce food for themselves and their family, and thereby increase their real income.

HOUSING

In addition to that program, which included some 1,700 families, we had the problem of housing, the actual problem of getting enough housing available for the labor needed in there. We tackled that in two ways. The first way was to work with the landlords in cases where they would give some land rent free to a tenant, or a labor family for a period of 10 or 15 years. We have made loans to some of those tenant families to build \$500 houses. I think you will see a picture of that house there on the bulletin board. The house will revert to the landlord at the end of the period. It was an attempt to work out a method of getting more housing out on spots where the people will need them. We are building about 300 of those.

Mr. OSMERS. The tenant pays it off, but it reverts to the landlord; is that right?

Mr. BECK. That has been handled in two ways. In some cases the loan for part of the cost of the building was made to the landlord himself. He, in addition, gave some land. In cases where the landlord would give more than 3 acres, maybe up to 5, 7, 8, or 10 acres, the tenant will pay off the part of the loan he can afford to pay off, and the house reverts. It will still be there for labor to occupy, regardless of that. It was the best arrangement we have found ourselves able to work out to get some low-cost housing in there.

These houses are little two-bedroom houses. They are nothing to brag about, but they are good and dry, small houses.

Mr. OSMERS. They are three-room houses?

Mr. BECK. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. A general kitchen-livingroom proposition, with two bedrooms?

Mr. BECK. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Beck, I wish we could go into more detail, but our time is limited.

Mr. BECK. I would like to just mention one more thing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. BECK. The third thing was to develop in and around the towns some group homes, planned a little bit after the idea of the labor camps, but designed to furnish housing for laborers and to give them enough land to grow some subsistence.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Who owns those houses?

Mr. BECK. Those houses will be owned by the Federal Government.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will they charge any rent?

Mr. BECK. There will be some rent charged.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do they cost per unit?

Mr. BECK. The cost of the house will run a little over—between \$700 and \$750. Those are three-bedroom houses.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are they individual houses?

Mr. BECK. Individual three-room houses.

Mr. SPARKMAN. On Government-owned land?

Mr. BECK. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The other class of houses, as I understand it, were built by the Government, but to be paid for either by the client or by the landlord?

Mr. BECK. They were built under our supervision through our loaned and granted funds, funds we made available to a tenant or to his landlord, or to both.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wish we could spend more time on it, because you have given us a very fine paper, and particularly was I interested in the five-point program you have just outlined for stabilizing labor and migratory conditions in that section of the country.

I wonder if I might ask you just this final question: Do you advocate migratory labor camps, or do you think a proper solution is the adjustment of the people to the land back at the point of origin?

Mr. BECK. It will have to be a dual program. I think I would want to go back to my original statement that the major problem is one of adjustment of the people to the land, but there are probably spot situations where you have crops that require migrants, where their circulation around, their living conditions, and so forth, affect not only themselves but the community in which they are moving.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, it is a dual problem?

Mr. BECK. Yes; where you need things of that type. I do not believe we can sit back and say that the answer is to get everybody on a family-sized farm and say "We aren't going to do anything else until we get that worked out," because that is not going to be worked out probably in your lifetime or mine. There are some other things very pressing that may have to be done in the meantime. That was our theory in this situation.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no single solution for the problems of life anyway.

Mr. BECK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. They are so variable.

Mr. BECK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement which you have prepared has been received and will be made part of the formal record.

Thank you very much, Mr. Beck. We think you have made a very valuable contribution.

(Whereupon, Mr. P. G. Beck was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF OWEN HARDEN

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Owen Harden?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. HARDEN. At the present time?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HARDEN. Berrien County, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. HARDEN. Berrien County, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. HARDEN. Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. How long ago?

Mr. HARDEN. Thirty years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. You are of Indian-Irish descent?

Mr. HARDEN. Indian-Irish descent; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Had your family lived long in Missouri?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long?

Mr. HARDEN. About all of their lives.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they do for a living?

Mr. HARDEN. Farmed.

The CHAIRMAN. For generations they have tilled the soil there?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your father a successful farmer?

Mr. HARDEN. No; not so much. He was just a small farmer.

The CHAIRMAN. You are married, are you not?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What State does your wife come from?

Mr. HARDEN. Arkansas.

The CHAIRMAN. Were her people farmers?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They rented farms?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes. They rent.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the education of your wife?

Mr. HARDEN. Third grade.

The CHAIRMAN. Third grade?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How old was she when you married her?

Mr. HARDEN. Fifteen.

The CHAIRMAN. How old is she now?

Mr. HARDEN. Nineteen.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any children?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. HARDEN. One.

The CHAIRMAN. You lost two, did you not?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you come to Michigan?

Mr. HARDEN. For work.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you get here?

Mr. HARDEN. April.

The CHAIRMAN. April of this year?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What work did you find?

Mr. HARDEN. Farm labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been steadily employed?

Mr. HARDEN. Up until about 3 weeks ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you physically well?

Mr. HARDEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have asthma, have you not?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How are you living now? How are you supporting yourself now that you are not employed?

Mr. HARDEN. I just pick up odd jobs, just as I can find them, over the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the welfare authorities at Benton Harbor suggest that your family return to Missouri for the winter?

Mr. HARDEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not?

Mr. HARDEN. No; they didn't say nothing about it with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any contact with them at all?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The times that you went there?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes. They said I was an emergency case.

The CHAIRMAN. I beg your pardon?

Mr. HARDEN. They said I was an emergency case.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of a home are you living in now?

Mr. HARDEN. A small house.

The CHAIRMAN. A small house?

Mr. HARDEN. A small house. It ain't so well fixed.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you paying rent for it?

Mr. HARDEN. No; not at the present. I get the house by working for the fellow. I get the house from the fellow I was working with. He furnishes me the house to live in through the summer, although it ain't fitten for the winter.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you do for groceries? What do you do for food?

Mr. HARDEN. I buy them as I make the wages.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you expect another baby in the family?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think you will make it all right this winter in Michigan?

Mr. HARDEN. Yes. I have to get a different house, though.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to get a different house?

Mr. HARDEN. I have to. The house ain't fitten to winter in.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had a nice little farm in Missouri and could get along all right, you would never have come to Michigan, would you?

Mr. HARDEN. I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have stayed right there?

Mr. HARDEN. If I could get by. If I could get by, I would have stayed in Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Are there any other questions? [No response.] If not, you are excused.

(Whereupon Mr. Harden was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. AND MRS. JOHN A. JOHNSON

The CHAIRMAN. The next witnesses will be Mr. and Mrs. John A. Johnson. Congressman Osmers will interrogate you.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you give you full name to the reporter, Mrs. Johnson?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Opal Johnson.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Johnson, what is your full name?

Mr. JOHNSON. John A. Johnson.

Mr. OSMERS. Where were you born, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. In Norway.

Mr. OSMERS. When were you born, what year?

Mr. JOHNSON. 1895.

Mr. OSMERS. When did you come to this country?

Mr. JOHNSON. 1896; to the United States.

Mr. OSMERS. You were a year old, and brought here by your parents, I suppose?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. What did you do when you got here?

Mr. JOHNSON. My father worked at laboring, as a day laborer, until I was 11 years old. He took up a homestead out in North Dakota.

Mr. OSMERS. How long did you stay on the farm?

Mr. JOHNSON. That was 1928, somewhere around 1928.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you stay there after you were married?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you and Mrs. Johnson live with your parents after you were married?

Mr. JOHNSON. About a week or so.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. Mrs. Johnson, where are you from?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Missouri.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Johnson, did you ever have a farm of your own in North Dakota?

Mr. JOHNSON. I had 40 acres I bought there on a contract.

Mr. OSMERS. How many children do you have, Mrs. Johnson?

Mrs. JOHNSON. I have six living.

Mr. OSMERS. Six living out of how many?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Eight.

Mr. OSMERS. Are these very nice looking youngsters over here yours?

Mrs. JOHNSON. They sure are.

Mr. OSMERS. How long did you stay in North Dakota after you had your own farm, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Why, about 2 years after I bought the farm I had a drought and hot weather, and it burned up the crops.

Mrs. JOHNSON. We lost the boy, too.

Mr. JOHNSON. We lost the boy. That made it bad for us.

Mr. OSMERS. When was that? What year, I mean.

Mr. JOHNSON. I believe it was 1930. I couldn't say for sure.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. Where did you go then?

Mr. JOHNSON. I went to Missouri.

Mr. OSMERS. How long did you stay in Missouri?

Mr. JOHNSON. Four years.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you like it there, Mrs. Johnson, in Missouri?

Mrs. JOHNSON. I liked the climate all right, but not the wages and the conditions.

Mr. OSMERS. Is that why you left?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Because economic conditions were so bad?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Where did you go then?

Mrs. JOHNSON. We went to Arkansas to pick cotton.

Mr. OSMERS. How long were you there, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. We were there 4 years.

Mr. OSMERS. What happened then?

Mr. JOHNSON. We could not make a living there, so we thought we would try somewhere else, where we could make us a home and make a better living.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you ever have any trouble with floods?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; we did.

Mr. OSMERS. What was the effect on your family's health as a result of this flood, Mrs. Johnson?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Malaria, and I don't know what; we were sick all the time.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you lose all of your buildings when the floodwaters came along?

Mrs. JOHNSON. We did.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you go back there to that farm after the flood was over?

Mrs. JOHNSON. We went back there. He came to Michigan that spring.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you have any work then?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I got work right away when I got here.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you go alone to Michigan, or did your family go with you?

Mr. JOHNSON. No. I came alone, first, and then sent back for the family.

Mr. OSMERS. How much did it cost you to bring your family up to Michigan?

Mr. JOHNSON. It cost me \$50.

Mrs. JOHNSON. \$50.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you want to go, Mrs. Johnson?

Mrs. JOHNSON. To Michigan?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mrs. JOHNSON. I sure did. I didn't like it there.

Mr. OSMERS. How did it work out for the family, Mr. Johnson, the move to Michigan?

Mr. JOHNSON. Pretty good.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you like it up there, Mrs. Johnson?

Mrs. JOHNSON. I sure do.

Mr. OSMERS. Have you been able to be entirely self-supporting, or have you had to ask for relief?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have had to ask for relief a couple of times during the winter.

Mrs. JOHNSON. The latter part of the winter.

Mr. JOHNSON. The latter part of the winter, when things were dull.

Mr. OSMERS. You have a son named Romaine?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. He works with you part of the time?

Mr. JOHNSON. He works with me part of the time. Part of the time he doesn't.

Mr. OSMERS. Is he married?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Have you been able to find any work to help out, Mrs. Johnson?

Mrs. JOHNSON. I have been doing housework.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you get considerable of it to do?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes. During the vacation, you know, we have the tourists, that is all.

Mr. OSMERS. At the resorts?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Have you always notified the welfare agencies whenever you were able to secure employment?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. So they would know about it?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Have your children been in school since you have been in Michigan?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Except the one that is married?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes. He wouldn't go any. He was too old when we brought him here.

Mr. OSMERS. Tell me: Did this married son of yours get an opportunity to go to school?

Mrs. JOHNSON. He did not.

Mr. JOHNSON. No.

Mr. OSMERS. I take it he cannot read or write?

Mrs. JOHNSON. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Do both of you read and write?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. You feel that the Michigan move was an improvement for you?

Mrs. JOHNSON. It was.

Mr. JOHNSON. It was.

Mr. OSMERS. I believe that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? (No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. Son, what is your name? (No response.) What is your name, son?

CLIFTON JOHNSON. Clifton.

The CHAIRMAN. Clifton?

CLIFTON JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you?

CLIFTON JOHNSON. Ten—nine.

The CHAIRMAN. Nine?

CLIFTON JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You will be 10?

CLIFTON JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

IRENE JOHNSON. Irene Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you like it in Michigan?

IRENE JOHNSON. I like it.

The CHAIRMAN. What about you, Cliff?

CLIFTON JOHNSON. I like it, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you like it better than Missouri?

CLIFTON JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, what you came here for, Mrs. Johnson, was to better your condition, your financial condition?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes. We started five children in first grade when we came here. You can imagine how I felt, and how they felt. These are the youngest ones. We have three older. They all started in first grade. She is in fifth. In 3 years we have been here, she has advanced up to fifth.

Mr. OSMERS. Have the other youngsters moved along pretty well?

Mrs. JOHNSON. They are all in fifth, and he is in third.

Mr. OSMERS. He is the youngest?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When you were picking cotton, did any of the children help you?

Mrs. JOHNSON. They all helped, her and him both.

The CHAIRMAN. How long ago was that?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Three or four years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. They were not very old then, were they?

Mrs. JOHNSON. They wasn't, but we had to work to make a living.

The CHAIRMAN. The two children you have here with you were in the cotton fields with you?

Mrs. JOHNSON. They was all in the cotton fields with us.

The CHAIRMAN. How many children were in the cotton fields with you?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Six of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Six of them?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How old was the youngest one picking cotton?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Why, this boy here. He is 9 now. He soon will be 10. You can take it back. He was 6.

The CHAIRMAN. It was simply a question of getting something to eat, was it not?

Mrs. JOHNSON. It sure was.

The CHAIRMAN. What would the children make a day picking cotton?

Mrs. JOHNSON. They wouldn't make very much.

The CHAIRMAN. No?

Mrs. JOHNSON. How much did you pick, Irene?

IRENE JOHNSON. I don't know. I think about a half a hundred a day, sometimes.

Mrs. JOHNSON. She picked about 50 pounds. That is only 35 or 40 cents. We did get up to 75 cents a hundred, so you can imagine about what she made.

The CHAIRMAN. How many hours did the children work in the field?

Mrs. JOHNSON. As long as we could all hold out.

The CHAIRMAN. How long could you hold out?

Mrs. JOHNSON. From sunup until sundown.

The CHAIRMAN. And the children right with you?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Of course, they couldn't hold out as steady as we could. They would quit, and then would come back again.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the old man? Did he hold out all right?

Mrs. JOHNSON. The old man done all right. He would get tired, every now and then, like all the rest of us, but he done all right.

Mr. JOHNSON. When I didn't get malaria fever too bad.

The CHAIRMAN. When you did not have malaria fever too bad?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I had the chills all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get the \$50 to come up here on?

Mr. JOHNSON. I worked it out, at one of my neighbors.

Mrs. JOHNSON. He has brought us through without any cash. He was hired out to his neighbor, and that is the way he brought us here.

Mr. JOHNSON. I worked 2 years to pay it off.

The CHAIRMAN. When you got here, you were pretty well broke, were you not?

Mrs. JOHNSON. We didn't have anything. I had one dress.

The CHAIRMAN. You kept it on all the time?

Mrs. JOHNSON. I sure did.

The CHAIRMAN. Then after you got here with that one dress, what did you do then? What was the first thing you did to get food?

Mrs. JOHNSON. The neighbors made up between them, and brought us food and brought us clothes. They brought clothing in, and the like, and set us up.

The CHAIRMAN. You have taken on weight in Michigan, have you not?

Mrs. JOHNSON. I have. I only weighed 130 when I came here.

The CHAIRMAN. So the neighbors helped you out?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is how you got a toehold?

Mr. JOHNSON. They gave us a living right away. They gave us a start.

The CHAIRMAN. Michigan must have a lot of good people. There will be a lot of migrants coming in there.

Mr. JOHNSON. We have some real neighbors out there.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else?

Mr. CURTIS. Whereabouts in North Dakota were you?

Mr. JOHNSON. The southwestern part, close to Montana and South Dakota.

Mr. CURTIS. When you bought the 40-acre farm, was that all you were farming?

Mr. JOHNSON. No. I leased or rented land besides that. The last crop I put out I had 300 acres into wheat.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson. Thank you, children. We wish you a lot of good luck.

(Whereupon, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson were excused.)

(The following extract from a letter to the chairman is inserted at this point. Miss Breckinridge is a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago:)

Congressman JOHN H. TOLAN,

Chairman, Special Committee on Interstate Migration,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: * * * The point on which I wish to ask your attention is the evidence presented by this case of the great desirability of a national program in education. Our education, like our relief, is generally highly local, yet under the constitutional right to migrate, the costs of neglect in any community may have to be borne by the citizens of other communities. Some program by which the Federal Government could intervene, either to cooperate with local education authorities or to assume the responsibility when there are no local education authorities is shown by this case—and thousands of such cases could be assembled—to be a fundamental necessity of a sound national program. It was one of the shocking inequalities brought out by the World War that in so many cases able young soldiers failed to receive the recognition in promotion which belonged to them by virtue of their native ability because of the deficiency in their educational development. I was one of those who hoped that out of that experience would come a demand for a national minimum in education. Certainly one of the reasons why persons like the Johnsons and like other victims of backward community organization leave their places of origin and move to other communities is the search for opportunities of this kind; and it is most unfair that the cost of these opportunities should be borne by the citizens of the forward-looking communities. They should certainly receive help from the National Treasury since the Nation benefits from the resources they provide.

I am quite certain that this point made itself clear to you; but I thought that I should like to be sure that it not only registered in your highly intelligent response, but likewise in the records of the committee.

Yours very truly,

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE.

TESTIMONY OF RUSSELL ELSE

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. Else. Congressman Curtis will interrogate you, Mr. Else.

Mr. CURTIS. Will you state your name for the record, please?

Mr. ELSE. Russell Else.

Mr. CURTIS. You are a former Nebraskan, are you?

Mr. ELSE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You lived in or near Litchfield?

Mr. ELSE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What county is that in?

Mr. ELSE. Sherman, near the very center of the State.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are you?

Mr. ELSE. Thirty-six.

Mr. CURTIS. How large a family do you have?

Mr. ELSE. I have two children.

Mr. CURTIS. Is your wife living?

Mr. ELSE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are your children?

Mr. ELSE. A boy 14 and a daughter 12.

Mr. CURTIS. Where were you born?

Mr. ELSE. Out near Litchfield, Nebr.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you live there?

Mr. ELSE. My entire life.

Mr. CURTIS. Until you moved here?

Mr. ELSE. Until I moved here.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you leave?

Mr. ELSE. Three years ago.

Mr. CURTIS. That would be 1937?

Mr. ELSE. The spring of 1938.

Mr. CURTIS. 1938?

Mr. ELSE. It was in March 1938. I have not been here 3 years yet.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you remember what year you started farming for yourself?

Mr. ELSE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What year was it?

Mr. ELSE. 1927.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you renting a farm or did you buy one?

Mr. ELSE. I rented at that time.

Mr. CURTIS. You rented at that time?

Mr. ELSE. Yes; and I attempted to buy one 2 years later.

Mr. CURTIS. What sort of crops did you get in the late twenties?

Mr. ELSE. Fairly good crops. Average for that section. Satisfactory.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you buy your farm?

Mr. ELSE. In 1929.

Mr. CURTIS. How much did you pay for it?

Mr. ELSE. Well——

Mr. CURTIS. Or how much did you agree to pay for it?

Mr. ELSE. I assumed a \$5,400 mortgage on a quarter section.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you pay down, if anything?

Mr. ELSE. My father helped me make a payment of \$1,400.

Mr. CURTIS. \$1,400.

Mr. ELSE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. That would be a total of \$6,800 for 160 acres?

Mr. ELSE. Correct.

Mr. CURTIS. \$55 an acre?

Mr. ELSE. Approximately.

Mr. CURTIS. How did the crops go after you bought that place?

FARM LOSSES IN NEBRASKA AND CAUSES

Mr. ELSE. The first year I had a very good crop, but prices were beginning to fall. The second year was—oh, probably an average crop for that territory.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELSE. I moved on the place in 1930. The 1930 crop was a very good crop, but prices were not too good.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELSE. 1931 was a fair crop, but prices were very low. In 1932 we just had a fair crop.

Mr. CURTIS. Prices were again very low?

Mr. ELSE. Prices were again very low. In 1933 we had an average crop for that section, but still low prices. Since 1933 it has been practically a total loss, from that time on.

Mr. CURTIS. It has not changed, since that time?

Mr. ELSE. From all reports, I do not believe it has, very much.

Mr. CURTIS. My home is only about 50 miles from Litchfield.

Mr. ELSE. Is that right?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. A great deal of that territory is having its seventh consecutive total crop failure.

Mr. ELSE. I am sorry to hear it.

Mr. CURTIS. What was the last year you farmed there?

Mr. ELSE. 1937.

Mr. CURTIS. The extreme drought hit in 1934, did it not?

Mr. ELSE. Yes. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. That was almost State-wide?

Mr. ELSE. I believe so. It was complete in my neighborhood.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELSE. I remember that.

Mr. CURTIS. There were a few spots over near Greeley County that were a little worse than Sherman County, were there not?

Mr. ELSE. Well, there were spots in all counties that probably raised a slight crop.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELSE. There were places—I remember we had one rain that summer. It overflowed some low ground, and in those few spots, they raised a small forage crop.

Mr. CURTIS. I have been told the railroads have been abandoned in Greeley County?

Mr. ELSE. I understood that, too.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you lose your farm?

Mr. ELSE. Well, in 1933 I asked them to accept a deed to it, the loan company, which they did, to avoid further complications.

Mr. CURTIS. You did that to avoid any threat of a deficiency judgment against you?

Mr. ELSE. They gave me a year's rent for my equity.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you go then?

Mr. ELSE. I moved on my father's farm, owned by him, near there. He was old, and retiring.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELSE. At least, he had not retired. He was still on the farm, but he was unable to operate it any longer.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you farm your father's farm?

REHABILITATION IN WISCONSIN

Mr. ELSE. Until I came to Wisconsin.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELSE. Let's see: From 1935 until 1937, inclusive.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you sell all of your machinery and livestock out there and buy again in Wisconsin, or how did you do that?

Mr. ELSE. No; I did not. I kept my machinery and livestock. I shipped it through, two carloads. I transported it to Douglas County.

Mr. CURTIS. In what part of Wisconsin is Douglas County located?

Mr. ELSE. The extreme northwest corner.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you make any inquiry up there? How did you get in touch with the owner of the farm?

Mr. ELSE. At the time I first came there, I did not know a single person in Douglas County, with the exception of a speaking acquaintance. I had met a man on the train once before and visited with him two or three hours. I had been interested in Wisconsin as a dairying country. We had been forced to depend on our cows and had always depended on our cows largely in Nebraska. I talked to this one party, and he gave me a definite idea of that particular section of the State.

That was how I happened to go to Superior.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you make a trip up there before you shipped your stuff up?

Mr. ELSE. Yes. I made an investigation in November of 1937. I worked a month on a dairy farm near Superior.

Mr. CURTIS. What size farm did you rent up there?

Mr. ELSE. One hundred and five acres.

Mr. CURTIS. How many cows are you now keeping?

Mr. ELSE. I have 16, and will have 22 next year.

Mr. CURTIS. What livestock do you have?

Mr. ELSE. A team. We have had chickens just for our own use.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELSE. Otherwise, I am depending on dairying.

Mr. CURTIS. You raise feed?

Mr. ELSE. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. You do not own a tractor?

Mr. ELSE. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Else, you have never been on public or private relief, have you?

Mr. ELSE. No, sir; I have not.

Mr. CURTIS. You moved out before the wolf got that close to your door in Nebraska?

Mr. ELSE. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. What loans have you made with the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. ELSE. When I was in Nebraska, I was carried by the local bank there.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes?

Mr. ELSE. I knew that with another drought, the banker would not wish to carry that loan, because I had stretched my credit about as far as I could reasonably expect. In order to move up there, it was necessary for me to get a \$900 loan at Superior. Later in the fall I had a surplus of feed. I decided more cows were necessary, and I obtained \$300, which would be a total of \$1,200.

Mr. CURTIS. That is working out all right? You are able to cut it down according to their schedule?

Mr. ELSE. I am paid up exactly, at the present time.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, Mr. Else, your testimony is valuable to this committee because it shows the problems that farmers of drought-stricken areas have been faced with, many of them being forced to go to some other part of the country. Do you know of your own knowledge, or through hearsay or other sources, of neighbors or other farmers from your territory who have likewise had to move?

Mr. ELSE. Yes. A very large number. They have scattered, probably, all over the Union, you might say, in several directions.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELSE. There have been a few who have come to investigate in my territory, simply because they knew me.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELSE. They were discouraged in looking for a place.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it not true that some very honest and energetic people have hoped the next year would be better?

Mr. ELSE. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. They have stayed there until they were entirely destitute?

Mr. ELSE. There are a lot of people who still have a high degree of pride, and that is all they have.

Mr. CURTIS. They guessed it the other way, rather than the way you did?

Mr. ELSE. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. They stayed until all of their resources were exhausted?

Mr. ELSE. That is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. With respect to these people who have had to leave out there, have they gone some other place to farm, or have some of them tried to get work?

Mr. ELSE. Well, both. There were many who had always been farmers, who became discouraged at that and went to other places attempting to find work. A number just wanted to establish themselves as farmers. I think they used the best judgment, because those who have tried to establish themselves as farmers—there is a good chance they can, if they find the right location. That is all that is necessary.

Mr. CURTIS. Someone who has devoted their entire life to farming?

Mr. ELSE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. They would do better at farming than anything else?

Mr. ELSE. Yes. In fact, that is all they can do, after they are middle-aged.

Mr. CURTIS. With a well-planned farm, which includes garden, cows, and so forth, they can protect their family from starvation, regardless of what has happened to the various markets of the world?

Mr. ELSE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is that not true?

Mr. ELSE. That is right. Since we have moved we have always had garden truck to throw away. We have been able to raise more than we could possibly use. That is a new experience for us.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you happen to know what the census loss was for Sherman County?

Mr. ELSE. No, sir; not offhand. I would imagine it was considerable. I do not recall what it is for the county.

Mr. CURTIS. Some of my counties lost as much as 25 percent, or one person out of four.

Mr. ELSE. I am sure I could mention 200 people who have left that I know, who have moved from there.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they all Republicans?

Mr. CURTIS. Sherman County is not in my district. However, I might have the record show that all the people I know from Sherman County are mighty fine people. Some of the lawyers in Loup City used to give me a good beating once in a while. I still love them.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further?

Mr. OSMERS. How old did you say you were?

Mr. ELSE. Thirty-six.

Mr. OSMERS. Have you any children?

Mr. ELSE. Two.

Mr. OSMERS. You have two children and your wife is living?

Mr. ELSE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How old are your children?

Mr. ELSE. Fourteen and twelve. A son 14 and a daughter 12.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is, simply, that there comes a time when you cannot make a living at home, and no matter how badly you want to remain there, you stick it out as long as you can and then you have to move to some other State?

Mr. ELSE. That is right. I would like to add that my father had been in that same community and owned a farm there; he had been there about 58 years. My grandfather settled there before him in that particular county. I had never moved a mile from where I was born

until I came to Wisconsin. I lived on four farms that joined corners in that community.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, we have American people, good American citizens, and their families, moving from State to State. They want to stay home if they possibly can, but there is one thing about an American: He certainly will starve moving before he will sit down and starve. Is that not right?

Mr. ELSE. That is right. In fact, most people aren't whipped without trying.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for your very valuable statement. We appreciate your coming here.

Mr. ELSE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Your testimony is exceedingly valuable.

Mr. CURTIS. I am Congressman from Nebraska, Mr. Else.

Mr. ELSE. I am pleased to meet you.

Mr. CURTIS. My district is south of the Platte.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, it is very well represented, in spite of the fact he is a Republican.

Mr. CURTIS. Let the record further show that it has not rained in Nebraska since the wicked New Deal came into power.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused, Mr. Else.

(Whereupon, Mr. Else was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF EDITH ABBOTT, DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Miss Abbott.

Miss ABBOTT. I am from Nebraska, too.

Mr. CURTIS. Here is a distinguished constituent of mine.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Abbott, I come from California. I am a Democrat.

Miss ABBOTT. I am a registered Republican who votes Democratic part of the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your full name and position for the record, please, Miss Abbott?

Miss ABBOTT. Edith Abbott, dean of the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.

Mr. CURTIS. You come from the city of Grand Island, Nebr.?

Miss ABBOTT. I was born in Grand Island. It is still my home, although I have lived in Chicago for 35 years. Grand Island, Nebr., is still my real home.

Mr. CURTIS. I believe the Abbott family almost started Grand Island. They have done a very good job of maintaining it since that time.

Miss ABBOTT. I do not know about that. My father was a pioneer lawyer there.

Mr. CURTIS. Your brother is mayor, is he not?

Miss ABBOTT. One of my brothers is.

Mr. CURTIS. You are a sister of the late Grace Abbott?

Miss ABBOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have prepared a statement, Miss Abbott, that will go into the record.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY EDITH ABBOTT, DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I requested the privilege of appearing before this committee in order to ask your consideration of a new plan for caring for migrant laborers by means of more adequate methods of providing for the unemployed. As long as we have unemployed men and women, we shall have migrants hunting for work. We sometimes forget that the migrant unemployed are the most vigorous and resourceful members of that great army. The migrants are the men and women who, when they are intelligent enough to see that there is little or no hope of restoring employment conditions in their locality, have courage to leave and try to find work in more hopeful areas.

We have sections of Illinois, particularly in some of our bituminous coal mining counties, where very large numbers of people ought to leave. These people ought to be advised and helped by some expert body—in England they have what they call a transference board, which moves unemployed people from hopelessly depressed areas to places where they can find work. At the present time, in our country, unemployed men who are eager and ambitious, and determined not to "sit around on relief" or be content with part-time employment on "work relief," go out on their own and try to find a new home for themselves and their families instead of sitting day after day, week after week, and year after year, waiting for something to turn up.

WILLIAMSON COUNTY—A TYPICAL DEPRESSED AREA IN ILLINOIS

If you are interested in some of these coal-mining areas in Illinois, I need only remind you of Williamson County, "old, bloody Williamson" as the newspapers say, the county of labor troubles and the so-called Herrin massacre.

In 1869, bituminous coal was discovered in the northern half of that county and from that time until the early 1920's, there was rapid expansion followed by swift decline. The population of Williamson dropped from 61,092 in 1920 to 53,880 in 1930, and the 1940 census will undoubtedly show a still further decline. In fact, I understand that the county seat has demanded a reenumeration in the 1940 census because some of the county residents do not believe its decline can be so great as the preliminary census reports are said to indicate. The decline in two towns is said to be especially marked—Pittsburg from approximately 4,000 to 700, and Clifford from 3,000 to 75.

Many of the mines are worked out; others are flooded, and it is not probable that they can ever again compete with better districts even if there should be an increase in the use of bituminous coal. The absence of water power is a problem there.

It is probably no exaggeration to say that the wheels of business are kept turning there only because of the Federal and State money which is used in the county. This is the county of the Crab Orchard Lake project.

The reports of the Illinois Emergency Relief Committee show that in no month since January 1936 have fewer than 38 percent of the total population received some form of public aid and in 6 months of the period, over 50 percent have received either public assistance or Work Projects Administration work. The figures for the first 6 months of each year since 1936 are:

Percent of population receiving public assistance, Williamson County, 1936-40

	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940		1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
January.....	39.8	39.9	37.8	47.3	45.7	April.....	42.5	38.7	45.4	47.1	46.8
February.....	41.0	40.4	38.7	49.5	47.6	May.....	40.3	42.2	50.9	47.7	45.4
March.....	40.9	40.8	45.3	48.6	47.7	June.....	41.8	44.8	54.0	59.7	42.7

We ought to have some kind of unemployment board trying to help these people migrate from Williamson County instead of letting them stay there helpless and hopeless as they have done for these long years.

Housing conditions throughout the county are notoriously bad. Mine operators have torn down many of their houses so that former employees have crowded into other houses. In other cases, houses have been sold for whatever they would bring, and moved to other counties. All of this has resulted in a housing shortage in spite of the declining population. Rents are high, and overcrowding is prevalent. Families live in garages and barns, anywhere—everywhere. They even live in tents and in shacks constructed of odd scraps of tin, corrugated paper, and old boards. I talked with a social worker who had been there recently, and she told me of a family of nine who lived all last winter in a tent. The father suffers from asthma, bronchitis, and heart trouble. They have no toilet facilities whatsoever. They bathe and wash clothes in ditch water, and haul drinking water from wherever they can get it—first from the ice plant until the manager said they were a nuisance, then from a neighbor who said they used too much. None of the children attended school last year. The father was a competent respected worker for 30 years, but he has not had steady work for 10 years. This family ought to migrate and the Federal Government ought to have plans of migration for these people. This social worker told me of one woman, who had lived in Williamson County all her life, who reported that they had managed to get along "somehow" until 1930, and then they went to her people in Arkansas. But conditions were no better in Arkansas, and so they came back to Williamson County. They applied for relief, and "had an awful time getting signed up" because the relief office tried to make them go back to Arkansas, but they refused and finally got a Works Progress Administration assignment.

Another woman, expecting her first baby in September, cried as she told of her fear of having her baby born in their terrible shack—built of odd bits of lumber, with cracks between the boards and no floor except a few pieces of tin laid on the ground. What this was like in the 17° below zero weather last winter, I leave to your imagination.

With no hope of employment, and with these housing and health conditions, migrants from Williamson County are found in other sections of the State and Nation where they hope some time to be again independent, self-respecting citizens.

A NEW METHOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF NEEDED

But, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I only cite Williamson County as one of the places from which migrants are coming, and from which increasing numbers of people must migrate. I have been a close-range observer of the administration of relief, not only in Illinois, but through former students who are connected with the social welfare program in different parts of the country, I have known something of general policies as to unemployment relief—and the lack of relief—in many places, and I wish to emphasize the importance of making a wholly new attack on this question of what to do for the unemployed instead of leaving them to inadequate relief and hapless migration.

The end of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration at the close of the year 1935 left the unemployed, and particularly the migrant unemployed and their families, in a precarious condition of great insecurity. I believe we need a radical change in relief methods—a new deal for the New Deal—in unemployment relief.

I was a member of a small committee of social workers appointed at the time when the present Social Security Act was under consideration, to present certain recommendations regarding relief. It was as a member of that committee that I first heard of the proposal to return a large part of the relief work carried by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to the States.

I take the liberty of reminding you of the demobilization of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration program and the serious results of this demobilization. I prophesied disaster when Mr. Hopkins proposed to return direct relief to the States and I wrote an article published in the Nation, January 9, 1935, called "Don't Do It, Mr. Hopkins!" In this article I said the people on relief would really be returned not to the States, but to thousands of local authorities

all over the country with thousands of different standards of relief, and that they would be deprived of the barest necessities of life. It was clear then that a new crop of migrant laborers would be created and that men, women, and children would be driven by starvation to try to find some means of subsistence somewhere.

Congressman Curtis here comes from my State, Nebraska, and I am sure, although he does not come from Omaha, he has heard of what our Nebraska Supreme Court called the "dire conditions" among the unemployed in Douglas County.

What I am coming to is this: The problem of the migrant is one of the problems of unemployment, and the migrant laborers are often—and usually—the most eager to work and the most competent of all the unemployed.

As a matter of fact, things turned out to be far worse than my prophecy. Mr. Hopkins not only turned the unemployables back to the States and local authorities, but he turned back from about one-third to one-half of all of the employables. The States and local communities (and Douglas County, Nebraska, Congressman Curtis, you will remember, was in this group)—these States and local communities many of them refused relief to able-bodied men and their families. Of course many of these men, women, and children became migrants; they were evicted from their homes; in many places they had to leave the only place where they had a legal right to relief because the counties and townships could not or would not provide even inadequate relief for them. They have been people in dire need; they have been without money for rent, for shoes, for clothing, and they have been eating surplus commodities or remnants of food picked up here and there and hunting through garbage cans. These are the indignities to which we have subjected these honest, hard-working people who are unemployed through no fault of their own.

We are the greatest and the richest country of the world, and we have turned our unemployed men and women, citizens of the great Republic, into unemployed migrant laborers. We have let them subsist on the most inadequate doles of food grudgingly handed out. In many places the children of the unemployed have not had shoes to go to school or decent clothes to wear. Our unemployed have been driven from pillar to post, from garret to basement, and then put in the street.

REMOVE THE UNEMPLOYED FROM THE RELIEF ROLLS

I am opposed to any system of Federal grants-in-aid for general relief as a means of helping the unemployed. General relief is a survival of an old inadequate outworn system of social welfare. We must have some better method of taking care of the unemployed group. Theoretically, we got the employed out of the general relief program 5 years ago. I wish to remind you that the President is committed to providing for the unemployed in another way. The case against relief for this group was very vigorously put in the message the President sent to Congress on January 4, 1935, in which he discussed a federally administered work relief plan and the withdrawal of the Federal Government from the rest of the relief program.

I have here a copy of this message in which, having described the vigorous efforts that had been made by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration, the National Industrial Recovery Act, and the Public Works Administration, he came to what he called "the stark fact" that great numbers still remained unemployed.

A large proportion of these unemployed and their dependents had, he said, been forced on the relief rolls and the burden had grown with great rapidity. Continued dependence upon relief, he said in this message, "induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fiber. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. It is contrary to the dictates of sound policy. It is in violation of the traditions of America. Work must be found for able-bodied, but destitute, workers."

When the President announced his plan for Works Progress Administration in this message early in January 1935, he said the new organization would take care of those whom he called "the victims of a Nation-wide depression caused by conditions which are not local but national. The Federal Government is the only

governmental agency [he said] with sufficient power and credit to meet this situation. We have assumed this task, and we shall not shrink from it in the future. It is a duty dictated by every intelligent consideration of national policy to ask you to make it possible for the United States to give employment to all of these three and one-half million employable people now on relief, pending their absorption in a rising tide of private employment."

THE UNEMPLOYED SHOULD BE A FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. Chairman, now, in 1940 it is clear that if we are to go forward and not backward we must have a Federal program for the unemployed, federally financed and federally administered, and not a grant-in-aid program. A proper program for the unemployed must be a Federal program, because unemployment is a national problem. Because it calls for heroic remedies and heroic expenditures that are beyond the resources of the individual States and beyond any but a national administrative system; because dealing with the question of unemployment calls for skilled and specialized administrators; because it calls for a pooling of the Nation's best brains and most vigorous, courageous action, pooled on behalf of the whole 48 States instead of the grant-in-aid system, with good work in one State and miserable, makeshift, half-hearted efforts in another.

A FEDERAL WORK AND UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE DIVISION

I come back to the fact that we need a new attack on the problem of what to do for the unemployed, and I propose that this should be done by the Federal Government. We need a new Federal agency that will have complete responsibility for the unemployed, continue the work program (Work Projects Administration) and also take care of the people who do not get on the work program. More than this, the new authority—call it the Federal Work and Unemployment Assistance Division—should have charge of transference or migration, of retraining these men and women and restoring to them what we once called "the promise of American life."

Mr. Chairman, I am proposing a method of dealing with the unemployed that will stop the kind of migration that is induced by starvation—and I am sorry to say that that is not too strong a word.

What I propose is a new examination of this problem. I propose that we take all of the unemployed off the local relief lists—all of the men and women who are able to work and this will include all those who have been certified for Work Projects Administration (and not given assignments on Work Projects Administration) plus all those who ought to be certified for Work Projects Administration. If we did this, we should immediately reduce our relief problem in many areas by 50 percent. I propose that we take this great group of the unemployed and give the Federal Government complete responsibility for salvaging them. That is, a Federal system of work for the unemployed, plus Federal responsibility for those not provided with work. No grants-in-aid for this group, no local work-relief systems, no hanging on to general relief—what we need is a continuation of the Federal work program with a new parallel Federal program for all the unemployed who cannot be given work.

I should like to propose that we put this new work and employment security division, this new program for the unemployed, in the Department of Labor. The care of the unemployed ought to be centralized there—the Employment Service, which the reorganizers recently took from the Department of Labor, ought to be restored to that Department and Unemployment Compensation ought to be placed there. If any group belongs to a department of labor, surely the unemployed belong there. They belong to a department of labor and not to any relief category.

However, I believe in being realistic, and since we now have a separate works department, it may be necessary to have this continued and to give the new division to the new Federal Works Agency and let them take on the whole job. That is, assistance in its various forms to the unemployed—supplementing of unemployment compensation, supplementing the wages from the work program when that is necessary, providing for an orderly migration from depressed areas and, most important of all, providing unemployment assistance when work is not provided—certainly all belong together.

We have had 5 years of the great program that we call the W. P. A., and those of us who have known something of relief problems are convinced that this program

should not be destroyed but that it must instead be enlarged and strengthened. But, we must find a way to prevent the tragedy of the past 5 years which has given work to some and starvation to others. And I am convinced that this can only be done by making the same Federal agency responsible for all provision for the unemployed. I wish to go back to the time-honored labor slogan—the demand for “work or maintenance,” and this means maintenance on a self-respecting basis. We have here a basic demand that goes back to the very foundations of our democracy. What basis is there for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness if men do not have work, do not have food for their children, do not have a roof over their heads?

That is, this proposed Federal agency must be made to provide not only work but maintenance until work can be given, or until some new plan can be made for the unemployed man and his family—maintenance during a resettlement or retraining period—and special provision also for planned, orderly, and assisted migration.

Mr. Chairman, I come from the West—Nebraska is my real home, and I would say that what we need now is a united effort in a great reclamation movement. We need to reclaim the lost land of opportunity for men and women who have struggled hopelessly to maintain their independence and have sunk into the morass of our inadequate relief system. To do this, we need something more than new grants-in-aid. We need to open new frontiers and give these people new hope of a life of self-respect.

A method of reclaiming this vast area means a new recognition of the dignity of man. I think we should face our issue squarely. These unemployed men and women do not want Federal grants-in-aid for general relief. That will not solve their problem—they have been asking for work and a chance to establish decent and stable homes, and they do not want anything labeled “relief.”

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am proposing that we open a new frontier for the unemployed, and this includes the migrant unemployed. Those of us who come from the West are the children of the pioneers, and we are not afraid of crossing frontiers. The old method of relief that provided the only care furnished at public expense gave a kind of rude security that belonged to pioneer days. But people should not continue to endure these same hardships in the settled country of today and in a country that is supposed to be a land of plenty.

Another President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, said in one of his state papers that he believed that “the leading object of the Government is to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all: to afford an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life.” Can we think the unemployed are going to have this “fair chance” after we shuttle them back and forth from Work Projects Administration to 48 State-relief programs and thousands of different county and township programs and accidental, hopeless methods of migration?

Mr. Chairman, we need both courage and faith in dealing with this question. Faith in the unemployed and courage to work out a new road to freedom that they can follow.

TESTIMONY OF EDITH ABBOTT—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would just take a few moments to emphasize the points you care to stress before the committee.

Miss ABBOTT. Mr. Congressman, I want to emphasize the fact that this problem of migration is part of a general problem of unemployment.

RECOMMENDS FEDERAL WORK RELIEF AGENCY

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Miss ABBOTT. What I want to try to get before your committee, if I can—I do not know how clearly I have stated it here—is the fact that we have to have a new method of dealing with this whole question

of unemployment relief. We have had W. P. A. which has provided work part of the time for, let us say, half of the unemployed that were certified, and part of the time for only one-third of them, and so forth, so that we have carried a very large number of unemployed people—

The CHAIRMAN. It is not the answer, though, is it?

Miss ABBOTT. What do you mean, W. P. A.?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. It is part of the answer, but it is not the answer, is it?

Miss ABBOTT. It is part of the answer, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss ABBOTT. The difficulty with W. P. A. is, it has meant that part of the needy and part of the unemployed had help, and the other part had starvation. Congressman Curtis knows something, I am sure, about conditions in Douglas County.

Mr. CURTIS. Nebraska?

Miss ABBOTT. Yes. That is Omaha.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Miss ABBOTT. I was sorry that I failed to put into the material you have a citation to that Nebraska case that our Supreme Court in 1937 handed down—that is, the opinion in that case—Boxberger against Burns, 132 Nebraska, page 31. That case is quite an important case. There was an attempt on the part of a group of these unemployed citizens of Omaha to mandamus the county commissioners there in order to make the county commissioners give them relief. Nebraska is one of only about a half a dozen northern States that have had no State relief for the unemployed. They have been left entirely to the local communities.

Many of the local communities, as you know, Mr. Chairman, all over the country—and it is true North and South both—have done nothing for the able-to-work people. They have said, "You belong to the Federal Government and we won't do anything for you." Douglas County has been in that category, and the unemployed there have just lived on surplus commodities and have lived out of garbage cans. They have burned what little furniture they had for fuel. Their children have to be put in bed in the winter instead of going to school, because they do not have shoes to wear to school. Conditions became almost indescribable.

What I think we should do is to have one Federal agency that gives both work and/or relief. I am not for having the unemployed live as they have been in the last 5 years, subject to this multitude of local authorities all over the country. I think we should have one Federal agency. I do not care what it is called. Anybody can think up a new name for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yesterday, were you here when the man from Ohio was here?

Miss ABBOTT. No. I am sorry, I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. He testified there were 1,700 local agencies.

Miss ABBOTT. In the State of Illinois?

Mr. CURTIS. That was under the system where they had the township form of administration.

MISS ABBOTT. We have 1,554 different local authorities here in Illinois. Of course, we have some State help. I have given you the figures here for Williamson County. We get a good deal of State help.

We have county relief in Nebraska. We have State poor laws such as the other States have, that require or make it mandatory on the local authorities to give relief. Well, they just do not do it, that is all. These people in Douglas County tried to mandamus the commissioners, to make them carry out the provisions of the State law and take care of them. The Supreme Court said, "Well, it is true that it is a terrible situation," and they talked about the dire condition of need, and so forth, but they said, in effect, "After all, there are other responsibilities that are mandatory on Douglas County. We are not going to give you the writ you are seeking," and the unemployed families have just continued to go hungry ever since.

My plan is that we should have a Federal agency that is more comprehensive in its scope than W. P. A. That is, it should be an unemployment work and assistance agency, so that this agency would take care of providing either work or maintenance or retraining or transference to another area, or whatever the unemployed needed; but that the unemployed people, instead of being left to all of these local authorities all over, would be the responsibility of a Federal agency.

Now, Mr. Chairman, and Congressmen, you will all remember what the President said about that in 1935. I quoted that in my statement that I have submitted here. I have a copy of that message of the President's, because the President really said very effectively that the Federal Government is the only governmental agency which has sufficient power and credit to meet this situation. These were all the unemployed that had not been taken care of by any of his F. E. R. A.'s, N. I. R. A.'s, C. C. C.'s, or anything else. The President said: "The Federal Government is the only governmental agency with sufficient power and credit to meet this situation. We have assumed this task, and we shall not shrink from it in the future."

Well, we have shrunk from half of it. The President said, "It is a duty dictated by every intelligent consideration of national policy to ask you to make it possible for these United States to give employment to all of these three and one-half million employable people now on relief." Well, you know the appropriation you gave him for next year will employ about a million people. That means that all of the people who are certified and who cannot be employed on W. P. A. are, in great numbers of places, going to get nothing at all, unless you make the agency that provides work responsible also for providing assistance for those that do not get work.

This idea that you can give work to one group and then let the other group just starve, and forget about them until the local authorities take care of them—that is what we have been doing for 5 years. We have had work for half of them, and starvation for the other half. That is about what has happened. We have not only done that, but we have failed in the relief situation because we have charged the relief rolls with this large group of employable people who should be taken care of by the Federal Government out of Federal funds.

BRITISH UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

Mr. Chairman, while I did not include it in the document I submitted to you, there should be a reference to this British system. Since 1934 the British Government have done just this, taking all the unemployed away from all of the local authorities. They have the same kind of poor law system we have, or perhaps I should say, we have the same kind as they have. But they have taken all the unemployed away from the local authorities and put them under their unemployment assistance board.

With respect to this unemployment assistance board, you will find in this Blue Book an account of their government training centers, instructional centers, industrial transference committee, and so on, and so forth. The Central Government has to take care of the unemployed and the local authorities have nothing to do with it any more. I also want to call your attention to this Canadian report. It is a very recent 1940 report.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the British system, they undertake to take care of all of them; they just do not single out one-third, do they?

Miss ABBOTT. They do take care of all of them. No unemployed man goes to poor relief. He goes to the unemployment assistance board.

Mr. OSMERS. Is it true that in England they have no work relief; that they rely entirely upon a dole?

Miss ABBOTT. They do not rely entirely upon it. They have a good many instructional centers. They have a good many training centers. They have had a good deal of work relief at one time or another. They would have spent more for work relief if they had not had to spend all of their money to get ready to go to war——

Mr. OSMERS. Before we allow ourselves to become too involved in a discussion of the British system, before the war started and before the preparedness program started——

Miss ABBOTT. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Did they depend upon a dole?

Miss ABBOTT. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all.

Miss ABBOTT. If you want to call it a dole. I think that is a poor name for it. I would call it unemployment assistance.

Mr. OSMERS. Miss Abbott, I am trying to make a distinction between work relief and unemployment assistance.

Miss ABBOTT. I would not say they depended entirely upon it. They have had work programs from time to time, but they claim they are too expensive.

Mr. OSMERS. When was the last work program that you know of or that their report shows?

Miss ABBOTT. They had them right up to the war. I have not had any report since the war, but they had these training programs, which are work programs, of course, in these training centers.

Mr. OSMERS. You could not consider them work programs, training.

Miss ABBOTT. I do not know of any direct work program.

Mr. OSMERS. You do not know of any?

Miss ABBOTT. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Is that right?

Miss ABBOTT. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. When they went on the dole, rather than the work program, because of the saving, were they referring to the saving in material or extra cost in supervision and overhead?

Miss ABBOTT. Well, the extra cost in materials and all the rest of it. They claim it costs about three times as much to provide work as to provide relief.

Mr. OSMERS. My understanding, if I may interrupt, of the English reasoning behind the unemployment assistance program was this: They were faced with the very same problem we are.

Miss ABBOTT. Yes; a little earlier.

Mr. OSMERS. Instead of giving relief, fair relief to a few, they decided they would give the best relief they could afford to all of the unemployed. Was that the reasoning as you understand it?

Miss ABBOTT. Well, not quite. They continued their unemployment-insurance system.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Miss ABBOTT. They continued that. But, in the old days, when a man ran out of insurance, they began this transitional-payment system. That took care of them anyway.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Miss ABBOTT. They stopped that and put everybody who was in need under the unemployment-assistance board.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, there have been a great many people in this country who have come almost to the same conclusion, that there is not enough money in the world to conduct Federal work programs, and that sooner or later this Nation will have to adopt somewhat the same system, and give the best standard of relief they can afford to all of the unemployed.

AID TO UNEMPLOYED

Miss ABBOTT. Well, Mr. Congressman, I think it is very important that the unemployed be dealt with as unemployed, and not as part of a general relief program. They get lost there. No one pays any attention to the basic need which is work.

I think we have done wonderful things under W. P. A. I am not for scrapping it at all. I think this country can afford to, regardless of the great burden. Great Britain has been bankrupt ever since the last war. Of course, she had to get ready for the next war, and she was getting ready for it good and hard all of the time. We have not had to do those things. I do not think we should.

We are now and have been for some twenty-odd years the greatest and richest country in the world. We can get money to do the right thing for our people, and the poorest plan we can follow either for a defense policy or for anything else is to waste our human resources. You waste human resources if you let people stay on the dole. You have to provide some work for them in order to keep up morale. What I do not want to do is to have any of this talk go through about turning this work program back to the States. That would be a

tragedy, an absolutely unparalleled tragedy, because then you would get 48 kinds and varieties of inadequacy instead of one competently organized administrative agency.

Mr. OSMERS. I would like to bring a little of the other side into that, if I may, because it has been my experience to hold municipal, State, and Federal office through all of the years of the depression, in that order. I have been familiar with municipal relief, State relief, and Federal relief.

Miss ABBOTT. This is in the State of New Jersey?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes; in the State of New Jersey.

Miss ABBOTT. Yes; where they were going to disfranchise them because they were getting relief.

Mr. OSMERS. That happens to be the law for 150 years in the State of New Jersey. Somebody suggested they enforce the law.

Miss ABBOTT. You never dared to carry it out, did you?

Mr. OSMERS. No.

Miss ABBOTT. No.

Mr. OSMERS. You probably have a similar law on the books of your State, do you not?

Miss ABBOTT. No, we do not; not west of the Mississippi. You will not find any here in Illinois.

Mr. OSMERS. We are not west of the Mississippi.

Miss ABBOTT. You won't find it in northwestern territory.

Mr. OSMERS. I want to point out a few of the foibles in connection with the vast Federal program you have advocated. In my own State of New Jersey, we found that whenever there is a Federal election, the cost of Federal work programs goes up, whether there is any increase in the need of the people or not, and we have found that when expenditures go down, political friends stay on the Federal relief rolls and needy cases are dropped off to shift for themselves.

In municipal relief, such as I have seen in the moderate-sized community, that was not the case, because it was politically impossible for a municipal government to carry out any such procedure. It is not politically impossible for the Federal Government to do it, as the records will show.

As to State relief, I feel, and my whole experience has been, that the further away from home that you get relief administration, the poorer it gets and the more political it gets, and the more wasteful it gets.

Now, I believe that the Federal Government must contribute to the cost of supporting the unemployed in this country. I believe it should be on certain standards. But I am not convinced that it must be administered by the Federal Government as a vast bureaucracy from Washington where it will be the tool of political necessity.

Miss ABBOTT. Mr. Congressman, in the first place, of course, W. P. A. has at different times been charged with being political.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean, it has been charged, or it has been?

Miss ABBOTT. I said "charged." I read the testimony before Senator Sheppard's committee. In some areas, unfortunate things have, perhaps, occurred. But, Mr. Congressman, you can change all of that

by putting your whole W. P. A. organization and your whole Federal relief organization on a competitive civil-service basis, as is never done in most of these local relief administrations. There has been every kind of politics. I think you have had an unusually favorable experience in the areas where there is no politics in local relief.

Mr. OSMERS. I said, in the moderate-sized community. I am not referring to the big cities, because——

Miss ABBOTT. I know lots of them where they are moderate-sized, where they have a backdoor relief system. They have collusion with the grocery people, with the druggists, with the landlords, and with everybody in sight. The uncles, cousins, aunts, and all the rest of them that have somebody in the local relief administration get all the purchases of food. They get all the purchases of drugs. They get the purchases of clothing and all the rest of it. There is just every kind of collusion in local relief. That is the reason I would like to get away from it, absolutely.

Mr. OSMERS. You have found no evidence of collusion in the Federal relief work?

Miss ABBOTT. I would say that the F. E. R. A. in the old days, which was a grant-in-aid system——

Mr. OSMERS. That is all over. Let's talk about W. P. A.

WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION INSUFFICIENT

Miss ABBOTT. I am not going to talk about W. P. A. as it is now, as an ideal system, because I began by telling you that I want to change that system. I want to have that system made responsible for all the unemployed as the President said he was going to do in 1935. I want to make him do it. I do not think they can do that, or ever will do it, by providing enough work for all of them, because it is too expensive. I do not share your belief that all of this W. P. A. money has been wasted money.

Mr. OSMERS. I did not make that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. No; he did not.

Mr. OSMERS. I did not express that thought.

Miss ABBOTT. All right.

Mr. OSMERS. I did not express that thought.

Miss ABBOTT. I think it has been very competently done, the administration of W. P. A., as I have seen it in my home State, in this State and a great many other States. I think the weakness of W. P. A. organization is, as I have already said, it has given work to some people, a pretty good quality of work to some people, but it has given nothing to the other unemployed.

Mr. OSMERS. That is right.

Miss ABBOTT. The local authorities have refused to help them, and they have been driven from pillar to post, from attic to basement; they have been put on the street; they have had to migrate, because there was nothing they could get at home. They have lived out of garbage cans all over the country, north and south, east and west. I do not believe you can stop that, Mr. Congressman, unless you make some

Federal authority responsible both for work and assistance that they need in place of work and all of the other things they need.

A great many of them are now getting unemployment compensation, but in many of the larger families they need that to be supplemented. Some of them need to have their W. P. A. wages supplemented. We need somebody that can study, some particular committee or agency that can study this whole question of transference, of moving these people out of counties like Williamson County, Ill., and counties all over the country where there is nothing but deterioration, and get them a new chance to work, where their work may be needed.

Mr. OSMERS. I certainly want to agree with that part of your statement, the latter part of it.

Mr. CURTIS. As I understand the point you are stressing, you feel we would avoid all of that passing the buck?

Miss ABBOTT. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Where, if an administrator of one branch of relief hears a pitiful story, he can pass it off and say, "The other group should take care of it"?

Miss ABBOTT. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. By placing it under one central authority, that would be avoided?

Miss ABBOTT. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. But this central authority would have different departments where it could meet that case?

Miss ABBOTT. Yes; in the way that was best for the particular case. If there was work available, they could give them work.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Miss ABBOTT. If there was not, they ought to do something for them.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Miss ABBOTT. They could help them migrate to the right place instead of the wrong place. They could give them a course of training, if that is going to be needed before they can be restored to working competency. They can give them assistance for the time being if they need it. However, you have got to have one authority responsible and the complete responsibility centered there for the care of the unemployed. This business is just passing the buck, as you said before, Congressman Curtis.

POLICIES OF LOCAL RELIEF AGENCIES

Mr. CURTIS. There is one other question I would like to get your opinion on. Do you feel that there are cases where the relief agency should supplement private income, even where investigation shows that the person is not entirely destitute? I shall illustrate.

I have in mind this case, called to my attention, of a rather old lady who took care of some roomers and was provided with enough income so she could almost get along, and was very happy about it. She made a request to a local relief agency and said that if she could have \$2 or \$3 a week, or some such amount made available, she would

get along very well. She was informed that as long as she had this bit of old property, this rooming house—it was not a rooming house, but just a dwelling—she could not qualify; that she would either have to get along just as she was getting along or sell that, and when the substance was gone, which would not amount to much, be supported entirely by relief.

Miss ABBOTT. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you think as a general policy we should step in and supplement private income before the need becomes too great?

Miss ABBOTT. Oh, I think there is a great deal of that being done all the time, but in this particular case, of course, I would want to know whether she really was maintaining too expensive an overhead there that was not bringing in the proper return, and so forth.

Mr. CURTIS. I did not mean to ask you to pass upon the merits of that particular case.

Miss ABBOTT. With respect to the general principle, yes. We have to do that all the time.

Mr. CURTIS. I am rather inclined to believe that there are some local agencies—

Miss ABBOTT. They are living in the days before the war, if they do that.

Mr. CURTIS (continuing). That do not adhere to that practice. There is a tendency to force people to a point where they are almost entirely helpless before they get assistance, and I have never been able to believe that was either wise or economical.

Miss ABBOTT. Well, I am sure it is not either wise or economical. I do not think that good social service agencies would do that.

Mr. CURTIS. No.

Miss ABBOTT. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to take too much of your time, but before I leave I want to call your attention to this very recent report from the Canadian Royal Commission on what are called dominion provincial relations in Canada. This Royal Commission also comes to the conclusion that the matter of dealing with the unemployed by a grant-in-aid system is unsatisfactory and impossible. They think that the dominion should assume responsibility for the relief of the able-bodied unemployed, and that they should have the same kind of jurisdiction over the whole subject of unemployment and unemployment assistance that they have had under the British unemployment assistance board. That is the point I tried to make in this statement I submitted to you.

I am sorry to say that a great many social workers agree with you, Mr. Congressman. They would like to have all the money given to the States, to the local authorities to spend. They think they can spend it better than the Federal Government. I have a great deal more confidence in the Federal Government than I do in the local authorities.

Mr. OSMERS. I would like to correct that impression, if I have given it to you. I think the Federal Government should turn money over to local authorities. In my own experience, my own definite experience—

I would like to attempt to outline certain actual results I have seen through these various ways of handling relief—but, I would like to say this:

If the Federal Government is to enter into a grant-in-aid program, either to the States or to the municipalities directly, that must be given only when a certain standard of relief is maintained, and not just given to them because they need the money or would like the money; and that the local community should participate to some extent, probably the extent that it is able to participate in the financing of the problem.

MISS ABBOTT. Well—pardon me.

MR. OSMERS. I have found that if there is local attention and community responsibility in this problem, it ends more quickly with the leaders of the community attempting to solve the problem. They attempt to create work. The nearer home the administration is, by and large, over the vast proportion of American—the nearer home it is, the better it is, if certain standards are maintained.

I would not defend all of the local relief administrations in the United States, because I know some of them are outrageous.

MISS ABBOTT. Most of them are.

MR. OSMERS. We have had them in New Jersey.

MISS ABBOTT. I maintain most of them are.

MR. OSMERS. We have 564 communities in New Jersey, for example. I do not know what the figure is now, but I believe about 140 of the 564 are unable to finance their own relief. They must receive assistance from the State. In the bulk of the communities, three hundred and twenty-odd or four hundred and twenty-odd, I should say, relief is not a problem, and what little there is, is very intelligently handled.

Then in the smaller communities—there are only 5 communities in the State of New Jersey that have a relief problem and those are cities over 100,000 population—the rest of the State runs along pretty well.

MISS ABBOTT. Well, of course—

TRAINING FOR UNEMPLOYED

MR. OSMERS. I am more interested in one thing you said than in anything else, and that is your suggestion for sensible training for the unemployed. I have questioned one victim witness after another before this committee, and have found that though some of them had had high-school education and some college education, they are not able to go out in the world and make a living.

MISS ABBOTT. That is true, but the important thing is the kind of training organization; that cannot be done by any 30,000 different local authorities in this country. It has got to be done by a national agency with national resources back of it.

MR. OSMERS. Again, disagreeing on the Federal administration and agreeing on the national resources behind it, I might say that the training I have in mind for the unemployed is training that will fit those unemployed for employment about where they are located, in general. In other words, in my area we are making airplane motors and parts and instruments, and the vocational training should be for

that. It should not be for something the Federal Government wants to train them for.

Miss ABBOTT. Out in the part of Nebraska where I live, you cannot train them for anything. There is nothing to train them for. We are not making airplane motors out there.

Mr. OSMERS. Perhaps you will be, if they adopt this suggested program of moving that industry into the center of the country.

Miss ABBOTT. What they should give us is a program that will give us some rural electrification, so that our farms will not be drought stricken.

Mr. OSMERS. I think that rural electrification and adequate training with respect to agriculture would do a good deal of good in the State of Nebraska.

Miss ABBOTT. I am not so sure about the training. What we need most is irrigation.

Mr. CURTIS. We can use some qualified rain makers, can't we?

Miss ABBOTT. We used to have them in the days of my childhood, but now we have to depend on irrigation pumps. The only thing is, they cost too much for us.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Miss ABBOTT. I have an interest in some farms out there. We have a pump on one farm, and that is all we can afford. We would have to mortgage the other farms if we put pumps on them.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Abbott, I am tremendously interested in what you said today, speaking for myself. Now, there are two Republicans and three Democrats on this committee. We do not know anything about politics. We have gotten along just 100 percent, and we will in our report. Therefore, with respect to any questions we ask, do not assume from those questions that we are exactly committed a certain way.

I am tremendously interested in what you say about W. P. A. I voted for the highest appropriation. They cut it down.

Miss ABBOTT. I am sorry.

The CHAIRMAN. They said to 800,000 people in the United States "Your neighbors are going to get rent paid. They are going to get food. But you 800,000, you just get nothing."

Miss ABBOTT. "You starve."

The CHAIRMAN. "You starve."

Miss ABBOTT. That is what they said. I have seen them starve.

The CHAIRMAN. My conscience would not permit that. I may be wrong. I have heard talks on the floor, hundreds of them, on the Budget, of course, but I would rather see that Budget broken to pieces than have on my conscience as an American citizen the shame of millions of our people going hungry and naked.

Miss ABBOTT. They have been very hungry, in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about it.

Miss ABBOTT. Many unemployed are made unemployable by just that.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. For instance, let us take this example. I think you will agree with me. Assume I am the father of five chil-

dren. Assume I have five children. All right. Two of them are out of work, and they come to me and they say "Dad, we are out of work. We are hungry. We want something to eat." "Well," I say, "children, that is too bad, but I have not any cash." They say, "Oh, we know that; but you have credit." I have credit, all right. So I say, "Well, I know I have got credit, but I have got to take care of that credit. I have got to keep my budget balanced. I know this will break up my family, but I can't give you anything. You can go hungry. Good-bye, children. But I will keep that old budget balanced." That would be a fine thing for me as a father to do to my children, would it not?

MISS ABBOTT. I should certainly say so.

MR. OSMERS. They have not gotten it balanced yet, Mr. Chairman.

MISS ABBOTT. We have taken care of a great many of them who would certainly have starved.

THE CHAIRMAN. There is not any question about that. Think what it might have been. I know there has been talk about politics in W. P. A. There probably have been abuses.

MISS ABBOTT. There has been plenty of politics to local relief, regardless of what our friend the Congressman from New Jersey says.

THE CHAIRMAN. There are not any human activities in which there are not some abuses, even down to a small village store, or anything else. The inference is that the administration—that is, the Democratic Party—profited by the W. P. A. I want to call your attention, Miss Abbott, to the election of 1938. There were 71 Republican Congressmen elected. There were 71 Democratic incumbents defeated. If there was such a political power there, it certainly was not apparent in my district, and I do not think the election returns bear that out at all.

MISS ABBOTT. Congressman Curtis is a Republican; is that right?

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes. I just signed up for him a few minutes ago, though. One more thing and then I am finished. With respect to this migrant problem here, there are 4,000,000 people who are moving annually, they say. There are thousands of them today on the roadside. One-third of the 4,000,000 are children. We do not have the answer, Miss Abbott. We are trying our level best to get the facts about it. Whether they are a special class by themselves, or what, we do not know.

However, I say this, and I think you will agree with me: This Nation will never go into decay by taking care of its own people.

MISS ABBOTT. It is the first line of defense.

THE CHAIRMAN. Of course it is.

MISS ABBOTT. Thank you.

MR. OSMERS. You have been a very fine witness, Miss Abbott. We appreciate your having come.

THE CHAIRMAN. The statement which you submitted has been made a part of our formal record.

If there are no other questions, and if you have no other comments, that will be all, Miss Abbott.

(Whereupon Miss Edith Abbott was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF PAUL L. STANCHFIELD, CHIEF, RESEARCH, STATISTICS, AND PLANNING SECTION, MICHIGAN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION COMMISSION

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. Stanchfield. Congressman Osmer's will interrogate you, Mr. Stanchfield.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Stanchfield, will you give your name, address, and occupation to the reporter for the record?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Paul L. Stanchfield, chief of research and statistics, Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission.

Mr. OSMERS. You have submitted a statement to the committee with reference to the situation in Michigan?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. We are going to put it into our record.

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Yes.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY PAUL L. STANCHFIELD, CHIEF OF RESEARCH, STATISTICS, AND PLANNING SECTION, MICHIGAN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION COMMISSION

PART I. THE MAGNITUDE AND GEOGRAPHIC CHARACTER OF INDUSTRIAL MIGRATION AS INDICATED BY INTERSTATE CLAIMS AGAINST THE MICHIGAN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION FUND

Data collected from unemployment-compensation records can provide some significant information concerning the migration of industrial workers, but cannot indicate the entire dimensions of this type of movement. At best it will indicate the number and characteristics of workers who actually obtained work in Michigan before moving to other States, plus a few others who filed benefit claims in other States. It will tell us nothing about the experience of workers who moved to Michigan seeking industrial work and failed to obtain it. The administrative records of the commission, however, contain enough data to establish that many thousands of workers who work in Michigan industries do move between States when they are unemployed, and that the number of such workers who actually draw benefits from Michigan is greater than the total number who draw benefits in some of the smaller States.

These data are especially interesting as evidence of the direction of migration, since they show the States to which the workers migrate when they become unemployed. A supplementary statement will indicate to what extent the industrial workers who draw benefits in other States subsequently return to Michigan and find reemployment.

More interstate claims are filed against Michigan than against any other State except New York and California. During 1939 a total of 20,321 interstate initial claims were filed against Michigan, 20,409 against New York, and 22,976 against California. The number filed against Illinois and Texas was about 14,000, and less than 10,000 against any other State.

I would like to point out here that considerable movement away from the industrial centers occurs within the State during periods of seasonal lay-offs, and is as apparent as the movements to other States during such periods. Some of the northern local office areas in Michigan, for example, find that as much as half their claims during the summer months are filed by automobile workers, even though no automotive plants are located within the area.

Before proceeding further it is probably well to explain that the 51 States and Territories operating unemployment-compensation programs have entered into a cooperative agreement providing for the clearance of claims between States, which was framed to permit workers to move from State to State in search of jobs without losing the benefit rights they had accumulated in other

States. The unemployment-compensation agencies, in other words, recognize that movement of workers from one industrial center to another should not be penalized. Under the interstate benefit system a worker is required to draw all the benefits to which he is entitled in the State of his current residence before he may draw benefits against another State. Claims filed in a particular State against another liable State usually are mailed direct from the local office of acceptance to the central office of the liable State. Thus, except for the somewhat greater time involved in mailing, interstate claims can be cleared almost as rapidly as claims filed within the system of a single State.

There are probably three reasons why industrial workers who have been employed in Michigan and file claims and draw benefits in other States shift from one State to another. The two major reasons for shifting from one State to the other involve adjustments during a period of unemployment. The worker who becomes unemployed in Michigan may move to another State either (1) to seek other employment or (2) to reduce his cost of living. The first reason is easily understandable in that the worker naturally will go to other parts of the country where he believes he has some possibility of obtaining employment at his trade. Workers in the construction industry, especially in heavy construction and highly specialized trades, and workers in the resort industry, who shift to summer vacation spots for one season of the year and winter resorts for the other season, are good examples of such shifts. Persons who when unemployed move to other States to lower their cost of living usually return to localities in which they formerly resided and in which they may have homes with their immediate family, relatives, or friends. Strictly speaking, such moves are not necessarily away from the possibility of reemployment, especially for individuals such as automobile workers who are employed for most of the year in the automobile industry and who have established seniority rights which entitle them to reemployment after seasonal shut-downs for retooling and change-over to new models. By maintaining contacts with their employers during the lay-off period, such workers probably have as much of an opportunity for early reemployment as though they remained within commuting distance of their plant. Of course, some individuals who migrate to their former homes in other States at a distance from the industries in which they are experienced may have lost their attachment with their particular employer. In such cases migration may reduce their chances of reemployment which obviously are best in the centers in which the industries of their experience are located.

A third type of interstate movement (probably of minor importance) may involve no unemployment whatsoever. In such a case a worker employed in Michigan may obtain better or more desirable employment in another State and migrate without losing his attachment to employment. If such a worker later becomes unemployed, he may after exhausting any rights to benefits which he has accumulated in his new State of residence draw benefits from Michigan, provided he fills all the eligibility conditions.

In this report we are primarily interested in industrial workers who built up benefit rights in Michigan and later filed claims or drew benefits against Michigan while resident in other States. We are also interested in the geographic distribution of such claimants and beneficiaries, in the seasonal pattern of such claims as compared with all Michigan claims, and in the type of industry which employed these workers in Michigan. The amount of employment in Michigan and the benefit rights to which such workers were entitled as compared with the benefit rights of all Michigan workers is also important. A major question which cannot be answered completely until data are compiled on earnings in Michigan after the unemployment-compensation period is to what extent workers who file claims or draw benefits outside of Michigan are employed only in Michigan, and to what extent they actually work in more than one State.

During the first 2 years in which the Michigan claims and benefit program has been in operation—that is, the period July 1938 through June 1940—almost 46,000 initial claims have been filed against Michigan in other States (table 1). Initial claims are either new claims which, if allowed, establish a new benefit year, or subsequent claims in the benefit year which mark the beginning of new periods of unemployment for the workers concerned. These initial claims filed in other States represent slightly less than 3 percent of all initial claims filed against Michigan during the 2 years.

A large percentage of the workers who file initial claims in other States fail to qualify for benefits and a large portion of those who do qualify exhaust their benefit rights before they succeed in finding new employment. Thus there is a definite problem of insecurity for the interstate worker.

TABLE 1.—*Monthly number of interstate initial and compensable claims filed against Michigan compared with the total number of Michigan claims, July 1938 to June 1940*

Month	Initial claims filed against Michigan in other States		Compensable claims filed against Michigan in other States	
	Number	Percent of all Michigan initial claims	Number	Percent of all Michigan claims
1938:				
July	4,363	1.5	-----	-----
August	4,012	3.6	4,188	0.6
September	2,271	3.9	12,711	1.5
October	1,451	3.5	16,975	2.5
November	1,264	3.7	24,663	5.0
December	1,527	3.2	14,795	5.1
Total, July to December	14,888	2.5	73,332	2.4
1939:				
January	2,337	5.6	16,039	6.1
February	1,603	4.0	11,708	5.7
March	1,745	4.2	13,474	6.7
April	1,505	3.7	9,040	5.9
May	1,449	1.9	10,043	5.8
June	1,622	.9	8,401	3.8
Total January to June	10,261	2.5	68,705	5.6
July	3,718	2.4	6,857	2.7
August	1,516	1.9	11,941	2.4
September	1,016	3.1	7,277	3.2
October	1,299	1.5	5,094	3.8
November	1,342	3.9	4,585	2.9
December	1,169	3.2	4,619	4.0
Total July to December	10,060	2.4	40,373	2.9
1940:				
January	2,116	3.2	6,652	4.5
February	1,475	3.6	6,942	4.1
March	1,499	4.8	7,522	4.4
April	2,251	4.8	7,117	4.5
May	1,670	3.8	7,901	4.7
June	1,554	1.9	8,265	4.6
Total January to June	10,565	3.4	44,399	4.5
Total to June 30, 1940	45,774	2.6	226,809	3.4

In general the Michigan interstate movement involves workers who are employed in Michigan and spend part of their unemployment period in other States. The number of workers who have employment in other States and come to Michigan when they are unemployed is much smaller.

Since workers sometimes file initial claims in Michigan before going to other States and since workers who draw benefits in other States have a greater tendency to exhaust their benefit rights, the ratio of total compensable claims which are filed in other States against Michigan is somewhat higher (table 1). More than 222,000 compensable claims were filed in other States against Michigan during the 2 years ending with June 1940, and these claims represented 4.3 percent of all compensable claims filed against Michigan during the 2-year period.

In general, initial claims filed in other States and compensable claims filed in other States follow a monthly seasonal pattern similar to the pattern for the State totals for each type of claim. There was somewhat less fluctuation, however, in the monthly number of claims from out of State than in the monthly number of claims within the State. During 1939, for example, the total number of initial claims filed in the peak month (June) was more than 5 times as great as the lowest monthly total (in November). The peak monthly total of interstate initial claims (in July) was only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the total for September, the low month.

Although the number of interstate benefit claims were not a large percentage of the Michigan total, they were greater than the total number filed under laws of several of the smaller States, and only slightly less than the number filed in several others. Missouri, Nevada, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Alaska, for example, had less than 20,000 initial claims in 1939 as compared with the 20,321 out-of-State initial claims filed against Michigan during that year. Delaware, Utah, and Wyoming had a total volume of initial claims only slightly greater than the number of interstate claims filed against Michigan. All the States mentioned had a smaller number of continued claims than Michigan's 135,431 out-of-State claims.

Although data are not available on the total number of individuals who filed out-of-State claims during the 2-year period, information is available on the number of individuals who drew benefits outside the State from July 1938 through June 1939. At least 12,130 different individuals received benefits in other States during this period. Although some of these same individuals probably received out-of-State benefit payments during the last half of 1939 and the first half of 1940, a great many received benefits for the first time or were receiving benefits out of State for the first time, and the total number of different individuals to date probably approaches 20,000. If those who were unable to qualify for benefits were included, the total number of interstate claimants could be estimated as 30,000.

In reviewing the State of origin of interstate claims filed against Michigan it is advisable to segregate the three adjacent States, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin, because some workers who reside in these States near the Michigan boundary are regularly employed in Michigan industries but must file claims in their own State. It is significant, however, that less than 20 percent of the 20,321 initial claims filed against Michigan in other States in 1939 (table 2) originated in these three States, 8.9 percent, 7 percent, and 3.8 percent from Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin, respectively. More than 80 percent originated in nonadjacent States. Kentucky accounted for 9.3 percent of all interstate initial claims filed against Michigan in 1939, Tennessee for 8.5, Pennsylvania for 5.3, and New York for 5.1 percent. All other States except California with 7.8 percent and Missouri with 4.8 percent had much smaller ratios.

TABLE 2.—*Interstate initial claims filed against Michigan and filed in Michigan against other States, by State of origin or liability, calendar year 1939*

State	Initial claims filed in the State named, against the Michigan unemployment compensation fund		Initial claims filed in Michigan against the unemployment compensation fund of the State named		Initial claims filed in Michigan as percent of initial claims filed against Michigan
	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total	
Total.....	20,321	100.0	5,292	100.0	26.0
Adjacent States.....	3,889	19.2	1,458	28.5	37.5
Ohio.....	1,700	8.4	762	14.4	44.8
Indiana.....	1,432	7.0	419	7.9	29.3
Wisconsin.....	757	3.8	277	5.2	36.6
Nonadjacent States:					
New England.....	359	1.8	196	3.7	54.6
Massachusetts.....	212	1.1	102	1.9	48.1
All other.....	147	.7	94	1.8	63.9

TABLE 2.—*Interstate initial claims filed against Michigan and filed in Michigan against other States, by States of origin or liability, calendar year 1939—*
Continued

State	Initial claims filed in the State named, against the Michigan unemployment compensation fund		Initial claims filed in Michigan against the unemployment compensation fund of the State named		Initial claims filed in Michigan as percent of initial claims filed against Michigan
	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total	
Middle Atlantic.....	2,257	11.1	855	16.2	37.9
Pennsylvania.....	1,074	5.3	223	4.2	20.8
New York.....	1,042	5.1	499	9.5	47.9
New Jersey.....	141	.7	133	2.5	94.3
Illinois.....	2,443	12.0	755	14.3	30.9
East South Central.....	3,993	19.6	433	8.2	10.8
Kentucky.....	1,888	9.3	117	2.2	6.2
Tennessee.....	1,731	8.5	166	3.1	9.6
All other.....	374	1.8	150	2.9	40.1
South Atlantic.....	1,595	7.8	376	7.1	23.6
Florida.....	586	2.9	149	2.8	25.4
West Virginia.....	283	1.4	48	.9	17.0
All other.....	726	3.5	189	3.4	26.0
West South Central.....	1,417	7.0	207	3.9	14.6
Arkansas.....	667	3.3	58	1.1	8.7
Texas.....	403	2.0	81	1.6	20.8
All other.....	347	1.7	65	1.2	18.7
West North Central.....	2,253	11.1	457	8.6	20.3
Missouri.....	976	4.8	167	3.1	17.1
Minnesota.....	500	2.4	141	2.7	28.2
Iowa.....	326	1.6	58	1.1	17.8
Kansas.....	278	1.4	46	.9	16.5
North and South Dakota and Nebraska.....	173	.9	45	.9	26.0
Mountain States.....	314	1.5	210	4.0	66.9
Pacific.....	1,780	8.8	382	7.2	21.4
California.....	1,577	7.8	305	5.8	19.3
Washington and Oregon.....	203	1.0	77	1.4	37.9
Alaska-Hawaii.....	21	.1	11	.2	52.4

That the Appalachian States of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee have provided much of the industrial labor force of the North Central States since the rise of the automobile industry has been well known, and the large concentration of interstate claims originating in those States would indicate that such workers tend to return to their former places of residence when they become unemployed.

Comparison of the seasonal fluctuations in initial claims from the three adjacent States of Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin, the Appalachian States of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and all other States, show that the adjacent States have the least variation in the monthly number of initial claims filed and that the Appalachian States have the greatest fluctuations (table 3). Except for a pronounced rise in the number of claims filed in July, which marks the peak in summer seasonal lay-offs in the automobile industry, the monthly volume of claims was fairly constant in all groups of States. If initial claims are lumped together by quarters, the July-September quarter is by far the highest and the following quarter is the lowest.

TABLE 3.—*Monthly number of interstate initial claims filed against Michigan as liable State originating in 3 groups of States, January to December 1939*

Month	Total, all States	Three adjacent States ¹	Appa- lachian States ²	All other States
1939:				
January.....	2,337	442	586	1,309
February.....	1,603	266	423	914
March.....	1,745	323	432	990
April.....	1,505	292	392	821
May.....	1,449	236	411	802
June.....	1,622	349	368	905
Total, January to June.....	10,261	1,908	2,612	5,741
July.....	3,718	608	1,323	1,787
August.....	1,516	326	341	849
September.....	1,016	217	144	655
October.....	1,299	285	224	790
November.....	1,342	305	188	849
December.....	1,169	240	144	785
Total, July to December.....	10,060	1,981	2,364	5,715

¹ Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin.² Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The number of initial claims filed in Michigan in 1939 by workers formerly employed in other States was only one-fourth as great as the number of initial claims filed in other States against Michigan (table 2). A relatively large proportion (28.5 percent) of the 5,292 claims filed in Michigan against other States were claims against the adjacent States of Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Some of the nonadjacent States which accepted a relatively large proportion of claims against Michigan had a relatively small proportion of claims filed against them in Michigan while some States which accepted relatively few claims against Michigan had a relatively large proportion of claims filed against them in Michigan. Kentucky and Tennessee, for example, accounted for 17.8 percent of all initial claims filed against Michigan in 1939 but only 5.3 percent of the claims accepted in Michigan against other States were for these two States. New York, on the other hand, accounted for only 5.1 percent of all out-of-State initial claims filed against Michigan in 1939 but received 9.5 percent of all claims filed in Michigan against other States.

This does not mean, however, that Michigan accepted more claims against New York than New York accepted against Michigan. As a matter of fact, the number of claims filed against Michigan in each State was greater than the number of claims accepted in Michigan against each of the other States. Michigan accepted only 6 claims against Kentucky for each 100 claims accepted against Michigan by that State. Michigan accepted less than 10 claims against Tennessee for each 100 filed in Tennessee against Michigan. The most nearly even exchange was with New Jersey, for which 94 claims filed in Michigan for each 100 Michigan claims filed in that State.

PART II. LARGE PROPORTION OF INTERSTATE CLAIMANTS UNABLE TO QUALIFY FOR BENEFITS

Enough data have been presented to indicate that large numbers of workers employed in Michigan industries migrate to other States when they became unemployed. It is important to know whether the bulk of these workers obtain really adequate protection against unemployment through the interstate machinery which has been set up under the Federal-State unemployment-compensation system.

Data on interstate claims filed by former Michigan workers make it clear that a very large percentage of the migrants are unable to qualify for benefits at all, and that the great majority of those who do qualify for benefits receive compensation for a period which is far too short to cover the total length of their unemployment. The large proportion of interstate claimants who are unable to meet the

qualifying earnings requirement is demonstrated when the number of claims disallowed because of insufficient prior earnings is compared with the total number of claims filed by migrants.

Until June 1939 the amount of prior earnings required was either an aggregate of \$250 in 3 calendar quarters, or a minimum of \$50 in each of 3 calendar quarters during the 5 calendar quarters preceding the claim. Since June 1939 the requirement has been an aggregate of \$200 in a 12-month base period, with at least \$50 in each of 2 different calendar quarters. On either basis, it would appear that this requirement could easily be met by wage earners who are fairly steadily attached to private employment, and the proportion of denied claims has in fact been very low among claimants residing within the State. The percentage of disallowances for the State as a whole was only 12.5 percent during 1939 and only 12.3 percent during the 24 months ending June 1940.

Table 4, which compares the proportion of denied claims among interstate claimants and among all claimants, shows that this percentage has been much higher among the migrant group in every calendar quarter since benefit payments began in Michigan. During 1939 and 1940 the percentage of denied claims among migrants has ranged from 28.5 to 51 percent, and for the calendar year 1939 41.6 percent of all interstate claims were denied. The ratio for the 24 months ending June 1940 is about the same (34.1 percent).

TABLE 4.—Quarterly number of determinations issued on interstate claims by number disallowed and reason for disallowance on first determination, July 1938 to June 1940

	Interstate determinations issued		Net disallowances as percent of all determinations		Percent distribution of interstate disallowances by reason—		
	Total	Net disallowed	On interstate claims	On State total	Insufficient wage credits	No wage record	Other
1938							
July to September.....	8,633	1,582	18.3	9.4	62.7	36.1	0.2
October to December.....	3,348	1,094	32.7	12.7	51.9	47.4	.7
1939							
January to March.....	4,214	2,035	48.3	21.2	42.6	56.9	.5
April to June.....	2,042	866	42.4	8.3	38.4	59.9	1.7
July to September.....	3,999	1,141	28.5	8.2	53.8	45.2	1.0
October to December.....	2,309	1,183	51.2	20.8	41.1	56.9	2.0
Total, Calendar year 1939.....	12,564	5,225	41.6	12.5	44.0	54.9	1.1
1940							
January to March.....	3,228	1,503	46.6	23.6	51.4	48.1	.5
April to June.....	3,129	1,126	36.0	23.8	64.9	34.5	.6
Total, 24 months.....	30,903	10,530	34.1	12.3	50.9	48.1	1.0

These data mean that about two-fifths of the interstate claimants are unable to receive any protection from the unemployment compensation system, unless they acquire the right to benefits under the law of some other State. This failure to earn qualifying earnings throws considerable light on the economic status of the migrant group, since such a large proportion of the migrants who work or seek work in Michigan have failed to earn even the small sum needed to qualify for benefits.

Some further light is thrown on the problems of these workers by data on the reasons for disallowance of their claims (table 4). The exact proportions vary from period to period, but in general about half of the denials represented workers who had some "wage credits" in Michigan, while the remainder represented claims by individuals who had no wage record under the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Act. The absence of wage record does not necessarily indi-

cate that the workers had no employment in this State, since they may have earned wages in noncovered industries (such as agriculture or domestic service) or may have been employed by concerns with less than eight employees, which are exempt under the Michigan law. The fact that a claim was filed probably indicates that there had been some employment in Michigan, even though it was not the type of employment covered by the insurance system.

Though we do not know how many of the ineligible claimants had been employed in noncovered employment, we do have evidence that the interstate migrant who files a claim for benefits is very likely to have insufficient earnings to qualify him for any actual protection under the system.

PART III. BENEFIT AMOUNT AND DURATION OF BENEFITS TO WHICH INTERSTATE CLAIMANTS WERE ENTITLED

A further indication of the insecurity of interstate migrants may be found in data on the benefit rights of those individuals who actually drew benefits after filing interstate claims. Table 5 presents such data covering 16,256 cases in which the first benefit payment was based on a claim filed outside Michigan.

TABLE 5.—*Comparison of average benefit rate and duration allowed to interstate benefit recipients and to all Michigan beneficiaries by major industry group, August 1938–December 1939*

Major industry group	Average weekly benefit account		Average maximum duration (weeks)		Average maximum benefits	
	Interstate claimants	All claimants	Interstate claimants	All claimants	Interstate claimants	All claimants
Total, all industries	\$13.46	\$13.78	13.0	14.1	\$181.01	\$200.90
Mining and quarrying	14.18	13.96	13.5	14.5	199.13	205.83
Contract construction	14.00	13.25	12.2	13.2	179.07	182.31
Manufacturing, total	13.75	14.14	13.0	14.2	185.30	207.53
Automobiles	14.23	14.87	13.3	14.6	196.15	221.31
Other durable goods	13.60	12.88	12.6	13.8	167.88	182.90
Nondurable goods	13.02	11.64	12.7	13.2	170.52	161.76
Transportation, communication, and utilities	12.89	13.06	12.9	14.0	175.86	187.98
Trade	12.61	11.68	12.9	13.6	168.94	166.00
Finance, insurance, and real estate	12.59	11.89	13.9	14.2	180.63	172.67
Service	11.44	10.73	13.2	13.6	155.98	149.17
Miscellaneous	11.07	10.55	10.5	11.5	134.47	132.47

The average weekly benefit rate for interstate claimants was only slightly lower than the average rate for claimants filing within the State—\$13.46 as compared with \$13.78. This difference, however, results largely from the fact that automobile workers, whose benefit amount was highest in both groups of claimants, represented only 43 percent of the migrant group as compared with 56 percent of the claimants as a whole. Among automobile workers, and among workers last employed in transportation, communication, and utilities, the benefit amount of interstate claimants was below the average for all claimants. In each of the other major industry groups, the interstate claimants qualified for a higher benefit rate, although the difference was less than \$1 in all industries except nondurable goods manufacturing.

Since the weekly benefit amount is approximately equal to half the worker's weekly wage, it is necessary to conclude that in general those migrants who did qualify for benefits did not include a higher proportion of unskilled workers or low paid employees than would be found among claimants in general.

Probably more important than the weekly benefit amount, in measuring the adequacy of benefits is the maximum duration for which compensation can be paid. This maximum duration is limited to a fixed proportion of the amount earned by the claimant in his "base period," and as a result a short duration of maximum benefits can be interpreted as evidence that the worker was not regularly employed during his base year.

The maximum duration of benefits was lower in every industry for interstate claimants than for claimants in general. The average maximum duration for the migrant group was only 13 weeks, while the average for all claimants was 14.1 weeks. The difference was even greater in the case of workers last employed in automobile manufacturing and durable goods manufacturing.

With a smaller benefit rate and a shorter duration of benefits, the total amount of benefits payable to interstate claimants was of course lower than for claimants in general. The average interstate claimant was entitled to receive only \$181.01 during his benefit year, while the average for all claimants was \$200.90. In the automobile industry the corresponding figures are approximately \$196 and \$221. The only industries in which there was a substantial difference in favor of the migrant group were nondurable goods manufacturing and trade, and these two groups included only one-sixth of the total number of interstate claimants.

To really test the adequacy of benefits paid to interstate migrants, it is necessary to know how many of them remained unemployed after their benefit rights had been completely exhausted. In a representative sample of interstate claimants whose benefit year began in 1938, it was found that only about one-quarter (26.4 percent) failed to exhaust completely the benefit rights to which they were entitled. Nearly three-quarters, or 73.6 percent, exhausted their benefits and presumably remained unemployed without being able to obtain further protection from the unemployment insurance system (table 6-A).

TABLE 6A.—*Comparison of exhaustion rates for interstate claimants and all claimants whose benefit years ended June 30, 1939 (20 percent sample)*

Item	Total number of recipients	Benefit rights exhausted		Benefit rights not exhausted	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interstate claimants.....	626	461	73.6	165	26.4
All claimants.....	55,260	25,302	45.8	29,958	54.2

The proportion of benefit exhaustions was far higher among the migrant group than among all claimants, since a similar study shows that only 47.8 percent of all claimants in the same period exhausted their rights.

If benefit exhaustion occurred late in the benefit year, at a time when the worker might soon be able to qualify for benefits again, a high ratio of exhaustions might not be conclusive proof that benefits were inadequate. Another study of the same sample of interstate claimants (table 6-B) makes it clear that a large part of those claimants who did exhaust their benefits did so quite early in the benefit year. More than one-third (35.5 percent) served their last compensable week at least 6 months before they could possibly qualify for a new benefit year; 67 percent had an unprotected period of at least 4 months; and 76 percent had an unprotected period of at least 3 months.

TABLE 6b.—*Month of exhaustions of benefit rights of interstate recipients who exhausted their rights and whose benefit year ended June 30, 1939 (20 percent sample)*

Month of exhaustion	Number	Percent of total	Month of exhaustion	Number	Percent of total
Total.....	421	100.0	1939		
1938			January.....	105	22.1
August.....	3	.6	February.....	39	8.5
September.....	6	1.3	March.....	43	9.3
October.....	12	2.6	April.....	32	6.9
November.....	37	8.0	May.....	39	8.5
December.....	106	23.0	June.....	39	8.5

From this distribution, it is clear that a very large part of the migrant group received very inadequate protection from the unemployment compensation system, even if they did qualify for benefits. And it must be remembered that in 1939, a fairly normal year, less than three-fifths of the interstate claimants were able to qualify for benefits at all.

Many of the interstate claimants would probably have exhausted their benefits even sooner had it not been for delays which frequently occur in the payment of interstate benefits, and sometimes interrupt the series of payments, even though there has been no break in unemployment. It is noteworthy (table 6-C) that only 27 percent of the migrant group who exhausted benefits did so in a single consecutive spell of unemployment, while 42 percent had at least one interruption in the series of benefit payments, 20 percent had at least two interruptions, and 11 percent had three or more interruptions.

TABLE 6C.—*Number of periods of total unemployment of interstate recipients who exhausted their rights and whose benefit year ended June 30, 1939 (20 percent sample)*

Number of periods	Number	Percent of total	Number of periods	Number	Percent of total
Total.....	421	100.0	3.....	92	20.0
1.....	126	27.3	4.....	30	6.5
2.....	192	41.6	5 or more.....	21	4.6

Some of these interruptions in the payment of benefits for consecutive weeks no doubt resulted from temporary jobs or other temporary conditions which made the individual ineligible for compensation, but it seems likely that at least some of the interruptions occurred because of the relatively difficult process involved in filing a claim in one State based upon rights accrued under the law of another State. Some idea of the "administrative" disadvantage of the interstate claimant can be drawn from the fact that up to the end of 1939 nearly 22 percent of the "first payments" (for a benefit year) made to interstate claimants were mailed more than 4 weeks after the first compensable week of unemployment had occurred and nearly 37 percent were mailed at least 3 weeks after the first compensable week. Corresponding percentages for claimants in general were 12.5 and 17.3 percent.

Thus, in addition to the interstate claimant's difficulty in qualifying for benefits, and the likelihood that he will exhaust his benefits before being reemployed, there may be added a conclusion that his benefit payments are likely to be seriously delayed or interrupted, thus making them a less satisfactory protection against the vicissitudes of unemployment.

PART IV. INDUSTRIAL ATTACHMENT AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERSTATE BENEFIT RECIPIENTS

Those interstate claimants who do qualify for benefits constitute a group who have had some significant employment experience in Michigan, but do not remain in the State when they are unemployed. As was noted above, there are two principal reasons for such movement; the worker may move to the other State either because he expects to find work there, or because he has little prospect of obtaining work in Michigan in the near future and wants to reduce his living costs while he is unemployed.

A knowledge of the industries in which these migrants worked while they were in Michigan and of their personal characteristics such as age and sex will help us in understanding the problem of the industrial migrant.

In table 7 the industry of last employment is shown separately for interstate benefit recipients and all benefit recipients during the 18 months ending with December 1939. The data demonstrate that there is little basis for the general belief that most of the migrant group are workers employed in the automobile industry and related concerns. Less than 43 percent of the migrant group had

been last employed in the manufacture of automobiles, bodies, and parts, while 56 percent of the total number of Michigan claimants came from this industry. Workers employed in durable-goods manufacturing constitute about the same percentage of the migrants as of the total (about 20 percent) and this is also true of nondurable-goods manufacturing (about 7 percent).

TABLE 7.—*Comparison of the industrial distribution of interstate and all benefit recipients, August 1938–December 1939*

Major industry group	Total number of benefit recipients				Women benefit recipients			
	Interstate claims		All claims		Interstate claims		All claims	
	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total for each industry	Number	Per cent of total for each industry
Total, all industries	16, 256	100. 0	633, 420	100. 0	1, 264	7. 8	91, 319	14. 4
Mining and quarrying	279	1. 7	7, 885	1. 2	6	2. 2	45	. 6
Contract construction	1, 004	6. 2	21, 078	3. 3	17	1. 7	225	1. 1
Manufacturing, total	11, 456	70. 5	518, 558	81. 9	629	5. 5	67, 689	13. 1
Automobiles	6, 949	42. 8	354, 461	56. 0	281	4. 0	30, 957	8. 7
Other durable goods	3, 324	20. 4	124, 256	19. 6	205	6. 2	22, 934	18. 5
Nondurable goods	1, 183	7. 3	39, 841	6. 3	143	12. 1	13, 798	34. 6
Transportation, communication, and utilities	766	4. 7	17, 047	2. 7	27	3. 5	1, 542	9. 0
Trade	1, 512	9. 3	39, 748	6. 3	301	19. 9	12, 183	30. 7
Finance, insurance, and real estate	154	. 9	4, 618	. 7	43	27. 9	1, 653	35. 8
Service	948	5. 8	20, 966	3. 3	211	22. 3	7, 292	34. 8
Miscellaneous	137	. 9	3, 520	. 6	30	21. 9	690	19. 6

The industries in which the percentage of migrants was considerably higher than the percentage of nonmigrants were Construction; Transportation, Communications and Utilities; Trade; and Service Industries.

Workers from manufacturing industries, however, included about 70 percent of the migrant group, although this was smaller than the corresponding percentage among all claimants (82 percent). In general, it appears that the great majority of the migrants were employed in manufacturing activity while in Michigan, but that other industries are by no means underrepresented.

One of the outstanding differences between the migrant group and claimants in general is the extremely small number of women who receive interstate benefits. Only 1,264 of the 16,256 interstate claimants shown in table 7 were women—less than 8 percent. On the other hand, nearly one-sixth of the total number of claimants (14.4 percent) were women. Thus, it appears that relatively few women workers are affected by the factors which cause interstate movement of individuals filing claims under the unemployment compensation system.

In every industry, the proportion of women is much smaller in the migrant group than among all claimants. This is true even in those industries in which women account for a relatively large proportion of the total number of claims filed within the State. In trade, for example, women constituted nearly one-third of all claimants, but less than one-fifth of the migrants. Similarly, in service industries, more than one-third of all claimants were women, but only 22 percent of all migrants.

There are some rather interesting differences in the industrial composition of interstate claimants who filed their claims in various sections of the country. Table 8 compares the distribution by industry for three States adjacent to Michigan (Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin); for the four Appalachian States (Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Kentucky, and West Virginia); and for all others.

TABLE 8.—*Comparison of the industrial distribution of first payments on interstate claims originating in 3 groups of States, August 1938–December 1939*

Industry group	Appalachian area ¹		Adjacent States ²		All other States	
	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total
Total all industries.....	5,996	100.0	3,228	100.0	7,032	100.0
Mining and quarrying.....	87	1.5	153	4.7	39	.6
Contract construction.....	252	4.2	201	6.2	551	7.8
Manufacturing, total.....	4,781	79.7	2,074	64.4	4,601	65.4
Automobiles.....	2,992	49.9	1,184	36.8	2,773	39.4
Other durable goods.....	1,330	22.2	683	21.2	1,311	18.6
Nondurable goods.....	459	7.7	207	6.4	517	7.4
Transportation, communication and utilities.....	196	3.2	246	7.6	324	4.6
Trade.....	390	6.5	291	9.0	831	11.8
Finance, insurance, and real estate.....	31	.5	31	.9	92	1.3
Service.....	246	4.1	168	5.2	534	7.6
Miscellaneous.....	13	.2	64	2.0	60	.9

¹ Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.² Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin.

Migration to the Appalachian States included a much larger percentage of workers from manufacturing industries. In this area, 50 percent of the interstate claimants were automobile workers, 22 percent were from durable-goods manufacturing, and 8 percent were from nondurable-goods industries. In each case the percentage was lower in the other two groups of States, and this was especially true of automobile workers.

Altogether, 80 percent of the interstate claimants in the Appalachian area had come from manufacturing industries, while in each of the other areas, the ratio was about 65 percent. Thus, it is clear that the migration to the Appalachian area is overwhelmingly composed of workers who have had manufacturing employment while in Michigan.

Industries which accounted for a relatively high proportion of the claims from adjacent States were mining and quarrying, and transportation, communication, and utilities.

Outside the adjacent States and the Appalachian area, there was an especially heavy proportion of construction workers and workers from trade and service industries. In the case of trade, this results largely from the fact that more than one-third of the claims filed in California came from trade and service workers.

Part V. *Interstate migration in relation to relief standards and interstate differences in wage levels*

Data on the benefit rights established by interstate claimants raised some rather interesting questions as to the impact of the migrant group upon the general problem of public relief, and upon the wide differentials which exist in average wages in various States.

It has been noted that the average weekly benefit for interstate claimants (\$13.46) was only slightly lower than the average rate for all claimants. Table 9, which compares the average benefit rate for interstate claimants in the more important States, shows that there was very little variation in the average, regardless of the State in which the claim was filed. The lowest average benefit rate was in Wisconsin, a State which is generally considered to have high-wage standards. The highest average was in North Carolina, a State in which wage levels are relatively low.

TABLE 9.—*Comparison for selected States of benefit rates allowed Michigan out-of-State beneficiaries, July 1938-December 1939, and average value of benefits for total unemployment in each State, April-June 1939*

Selected State	Average weekly benefit amount allowed Michigan out-of-State recipients July 1938-December 1939	Average weekly payment for total unemployment in each State April-June 1939
Appalachian:		
Pennsylvania.....	\$13.57	\$11.91
West Virginia.....	13.79	7.82
Kentucky.....	13.59	8.62
Tennessee.....	13.05	7.17
Adjacent States:		
Ohio.....	13.81	10.21
Indiana.....	13.67	11.10
Wisconsin.....	12.99	9.35
Other selected States:		
Arkansas.....	13.40	7.14
California.....	13.55	10.92
Minnesota.....	13.40	12.18
Mississippi.....	13.16	5.89
Missouri.....	13.36	8.49
North Carolina.....	13.83	5.88

It seems likely, in fact, that benefit amounts paid in such States as Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee (above \$13 in every case) actually come close to equaling the full-time wage of many workers employed in those States, if they do not actually exceed the full-time wage. Quantitative data are lacking, but there have been frequent comments from unemployment compensation administrators in southern States to the effect that interstate claimants from Michigan are able to draw more money in benefits, and maintain a higher standard of living while totally unemployed, than is available to the local resident who is working full time.

To determine the exact reason for migration from Michigan to the Appalachian region is impossible without more detailed studies, but the fact that most of these claimants exhaust their benefits without finding jobs in the State to which they migrate suggests that the reason for movement is not primarily an expectation of finding work. Probably one cause for movement can be found in relief statutes which make it impossible for an unemployed worker to obtain aid in Michigan if he has not established legal residence. Many workers from the South, of course, establish such legal residence eventually, and records of the Detroit Welfare Department show that about half of the heads of relief cases were born outside of Michigan. There is a general belief, though substantiating data is not at hand, that interstate claimants who exhaust their benefits in a southern State often return to Detroit after benefits are exhausted in order to take advantage of the higher relief grants and more generous eligibility conditions which prevail in that city.

One of the most important questions which can be raised concerning interstate claimants is whether they are part of the regular labor force of Michigan industries, and return year after year for seasonal work after spending periods of unemployment in some other State. Rather striking evidence that this is the case is furnished by a special study summarized in table 10. In this study, wage records of the unemployment compensation commission were checked to find out whether former interstate claimants subsequently earned wages in covered employment in Michigan.

TABLE 10.—*Summary of claimants whose benefit year ended June 30, 1939, and who received their last check out of State by benefit status and by later employment experience in Michigan (20 percent sample)*

Reemployment status, and industry of reemployment	Claimants who did not exhaust benefit rights		Claimants who exhausted benefit rights	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total in sample.	165	100.0	460	100.0
Reemployed in Michigan, January 1939 to March 1940.	118	71.5	225	48.9
Not reemployed.	47	28.5	235	51.1
Total reemployed.	118	100.0	225	100.0
Automobile industry.	74	62.7	119	52.9
Steel manufacturing.	16	13.6	33	14.7
Other industries.	28	23.7	73	32.4

The great majority of those claimants who did not exhaust their benefit rights (71.5 percent) did earn wages in Michigan after drawing benefits in a different State. Nearly two-thirds of this group returned to work in the automobile industry, while 14 percent returned to work in steel manufacturing and 24 percent returned to jobs in other industries.

A much smaller percentage of the claimants who exhausted their benefit rights found subsequent work in Michigan. Only 49 percent earned covered wages after exhausting their benefits, while 51 percent have no subsequent wage record. Barely half of this group found reemployment in the automobile industry, while 15 percent found jobs in steel manufacturing and 32 percent in other industries.

From these limited data, it appears that there are two rather distinct types of interstate claimants; one group—consisting of those who do not exhaust their benefits and part of those who did exhaust their benefit rights—apparently have a recurrent pattern of employment in Michigan during the active season of the major industries, but spend their unemployment periods in another State. The second group—including over half the claimants who exhaust benefits and presumably many of the individuals who fail to qualify for benefits at all—apparently have no regular attachment to Michigan jobs, and may face a much more serious problem in finding permanent job security elsewhere.

The limited data in this study do not justify a final conclusion as to the extent of destitution and need among interstate migrants who are employed in northern industrial centers. Some of these workers seem to be amply cared for by the unemployment compensation system, while many others obtain extremely inadequate assistance or none at all.

One of the serious handicaps of the migrant industrial worker results from the fact that his earnings in two or more States cannot be pooled or combined in determining his eligibility for benefits or the length of time for which benefits shall be paid. Many students of the problem believe that some special method of computing the unemployment compensation rights of multi-State workers is necessary, and that congressional consideration of such a program is to be desired.

EFFECT OF THE NATIONAL-DEFENSE PROGRAM ON INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

The widespread public attention which has been given to expanding industrial activity resulting from recent appropriations for national defense may cause a large increase in the amount of interstate movement of industrial workers, based on the belief that there may be job opportunities in the industrial centers where defense production is getting under way. Civic organizations and public agencies, especially the public employment offices, believe that there is a real danger that such movement may result in serious dislocation of the labor market unless it is carefully controlled.

The unchecked movement of workers in search of industrial jobs may result in a needless accumulation of certain types of labor in some communities, and may

at the same time draw workers away from home communities in which they have the best opportunity for employment, possibly creating a shortage of labor in the areas from which such workers have prematurely migrated.

A special report by the Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security, which was adopted by the National Defense Commission and the Social Security Board on June 28, calls attention to this danger and makes certain recommendations for guidance of the activities of employment offices, employers, and unemployed workers. The report suggests that employers should notify public employment offices of their immediate and prospective requirements for workers in specific occupations and skills. Further, it is suggested that employers should not advertise or solicit competitively, nor recruit workers outside their immediate locality until the local employment office has had an opportunity to meet their requirements locally or through intercity and interstate clearance machinery.

The Advisory Council also recommended that unemployed workers be encouraged to register with public employment offices, and not to apply for work elsewhere or move to other cities without finding out at the local office the localities in which there is a demand for their type and grade of skill.

Through the above recommendations it was hoped that undesirable and unwarranted dislocation of workers would be held to a minimum. At the same time local employment offices and the Federal and State employment services have been streamlining their procedures so that any need for workers in defense occupations can be expeditiously met. The classification of workers in the "active file" has been carefully reviewed, job applicants are being reinterviewed wherever additional information will help to determine their suitability for specialized work, and the employment service is cooperating with vocational-education authorities in the training and retraining of needed workers.

In addition, the employment services throughout the country have made special studies of their own records, to determine the number of workers available in each occupation and in each city, and to identify possible shortages through studies of canceled job openings and pending openings which have not yet been filled. Where shortages do exist, it is believed that these can be filled most promptly through the intercity and interstate clearance system, rather than by random migration of workers based on no specific knowledge that jobs exist.

In order to prevent a possible influx of workers from other States into the Detroit area, the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission has prepared special news releases pointing out that the available supply of workers in most occupations is more than adequate. These stories have been distributed and printed by Michigan newspapers and have been carried out of the State by three press associations. In addition letters were sent from the commission's information service to the employment service director in each other State, requesting their cooperation in preventing needless migration to the Detroit area.

Many of these other States have distributed to newspapers within their boundaries news releases advising against workers coming to Detroit in search of jobs at this time.

Similar steps have been taken by the Detroit Chamber of Commerce, which has sought to prevent such migration by publishing information, advertising the absence of a labor shortage, and requesting the Detroit Common Council to seek the cooperation of employees in preventing excessive migration from other States. Copies of two Michigan news releases, dated July 20 and August 2, are submitted herewith for the record of the house committee on interstate migration. Copies of news releases printed by other States are attached.

In general, employment-service officials throughout the country believe that workers who desire employment in defense industries will be better off if they register in their home communities and take advantage of opening handled through the interstate clearance machinery, than by random migration which can only accentuate the difficulties of the migratory industrial worker.

Despite the efforts described above, there is some evidence that a sizable influx of workers to the Detroit area is now occurring. A sample study of new registrations at the Detroit employment office on August 15, 16, and 19 (table A) shows that only 77 percent of the registrants had last been employed in the Detroit area. Nearly a quarter of the total had their last jobs in other communities—17.6 percent outside of Michigan, and 5.1 percent inside of Michigan but not in Detroit.

TABLE A.—*Place of last employment reported by 453 new registrants at Detroit employment offices (Aug. 15-19, 1940)*

• Place of last employment	Number of workers	Percent of total
Total, all areas.....	453	100.0
Detroit area.....	350	77.3
Elsewhere in Michigan.....	23	5.1
Outside Michigan, total.....	80	17.6
Great Lakes area.....	24	5.3
Eastern States.....	25	5.5
Southern States.....	17	3.5
Western States.....	10	2.2
Foreign country.....	5	1.1

An examination of the small sample described above shows that migrants from other States come predominantly from the East, the South, and the Great Lakes area. These areas accounted for 5.5, 3.5, and 5.3 percent of the total, respectively.

A further study of new registrations in the Detroit area (table B) shows that less than a quarter of the new applicants who last worked in other States were normally engaged in skilled occupations, which presumably are the only class in which any large shortage is apt to develop. Nearly 30 percent were semiskilled and unskilled workers, and 15 percent were from service occupations. Ten percent of the migrant applicants were seeking work in agriculture, forestry, and fishing, while the remainder were from clerical and professional occupations.

TABLE B.—*Occupational classification of new registrants last employed in Detroit area and last employed elsewhere (Aug. 15-19, 1940)*

Code	Occupational classification	Last employed in Detroit area		Last employed outside Detroit area	
		Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total
0	Professional.....	19	5.4	5	5.1
1	Clerical and sales.....	58	16.6	8	8.2
2	Service occupations.....	95	27.1	15	15.3
3	Agriculture, forestry, fishing.....	5	1.4	10	10.2
4-5	Skilled.....	44	12.6	24	24.5
6-7	Semiskilled.....	78	22.3	23	23.5
8-9	Unskilled.....	51	14.6	13	13.2
	Total all occupations.....	350	100.0	198	100.0

¹ Excluding 5 persons last employed outside United States.

Further studies will probably indicate that the majority of the migrants from other States are in occupations for which there is no exceptional demand at present, and it seems certain that many of the migrants will be unable to find work because of the operation of seniority rules and the employers' natural preference for hiring local residents.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL L. STANCHFIELD—Resumed

JOB NEEDS OF DEFENSE INDUSTRIES IN DETROIT

Mr. OSMERS. I would like to know whether this migration from the South and from the Appalachian region to the North has been particularly acute in the Detroit area, due to the national-defense program?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. We made a rather interesting spot-check of the new registrations of workers coming into the Detroit employment offices during the last few days. We found that almost one-fourth of the new registrants were people who had not last worked in Detroit. Twenty-two percent, in other words, had their last jobs somewhere else in Michigan or outside of the State and nearly 20 percent were outside of the State.

We do not know how that compares with the past. We believe it is a higher percentage of people coming from other States.

Mr. OSMERS. Has there been created in Detroit as a result of this program any more jobs than heretofore?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. There will be more jobs in the future.

Mr. OSMERS. There will be?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Yes. We have two or three of the largest contracts. There is the Packard airplane motor contract and the Chrysler tank contract, and there will probably be another tank plant come in. It is very likely there will be an expansion of employment. However, that expansion will not necessarily mean that we need a large number of workers from outside of the State. We have registered in the files of the unemployment service now roughly 270,000 people.

Mr. OSMERS. Of the 270,000 people whom you have registered, are they trained, equipped, or experienced to do the work that will be required?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. There is a good percentage of skilled workers. Probably there will be a shortage in certain skills. In fact, I would like to mention, as my statement does, the report of the Advisory Council on Employment Security which was adopted by the Social Security Board and by the National Defense Commission about 2 months ago. In that report they pointed out that the national-defense emergency will call for a much more careful control of labor supply and an attempt to find out more carefully what workers are available, where they are, where they are needed, and to make sure that any movement of workers that does occur is guided to the right places.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have at present any shortage of skills in the State of Michigan?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. There is apparently a shortage of tool and die makers. The type of people coming in are not skilled. About one-quarter of them are skilled, and three-quarters are in occupations in which we have more than enough.

Mr. OSMERS. In the East, we have a very serious shortage of skilled workers.

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Yes.

DISSEMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION

Mr. OSMERS. Does the Michigan State Employment Office or any of your civic organizations make any effort to discourage these people from coming in in search of jobs that do not exist?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Civic organizations, and especially the employment service, have been very much concerned about the danger that we will get a needless and rather aimless migration into the area. I think that is true also of States like Illinois. We have put out news releases throughout the State, of which I will submit samples, along with the

statement, pointing out that we have more than an adequate supply of most types of workers; that most people will be better off if they register in their home community and try to find a job elsewhere through the clearance system, if at all.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. STANCHFIELD. We have also sent these releases to other States asking they put out the news in their own newspapers that Michigan does not at the present time need a large influx of new workers.

CLEARANCE SYSTEM THROUGH STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

Mr. OSMERS. When you refer to the clearance system, you mean relationships between your employment service and the employment service of the other States?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. All the employment services in the country are tied together through the Employment Division of the Social Security Board. When there is a shortage of workers in Indianapolis, we will say, first they find out whether they have workers in their own State. They send after a supply in Indiana, as recorded in their employment office, and failing to secure the required number, they contact directly two or three of the adjacent States, probably in that case Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio.

If the adjacent States have qualified workers they are referred to the jobs, but if they are not available in the adjacent States then there is a clearance order to Washington, and Washington is now attempting to keep track of the supply all over the country, especially in the key defense jobs.

Mr. OSMERS. They are trying to keep sort of a master file on our supply of skilled labor?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you feel that the seniority policy of the auto labor unions has discouraged needless migration into the State of Michigan?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. I do not know whether it has discouraged it. Certainly it makes more of the migration needless. That is, more of the people who come in have no chance at all to get a job, unless they have very special qualifications.

EFFECT OF MIGRATION ON DETROIT RELIEF ROLLS

Mr. OSMERS. What effect has this migration had upon the relief rolls of the city of Detroit?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. The material I prepared was not so much directed to relief as it was to the problem of the unemployment compensation commission.

Mr. OSMERS. I do not mean an exact statement; but what is your general view?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. In general, we know that probably over half of the people receiving relief in Detroit once were migrants. They are people who were born in other States, most of them in States like Kentucky, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and New York.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say they were recent migrants?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Apparently most of them are migrants from the twenties.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Migration is probably not as heavy now as it was.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Although there is still this filtering in and from the claim records of unemployment compensation a lot of movement back and forth, I would like to make one other point.

Mr. OSMERS. Go ahead.

Mr. STANCHFIELD. This is something that some people are not very much aware of in connection with industrial centers. There seems to be what I will call a breathing process, by which during the peak activity season of manufacturing industry workers move in from their residences in other communities, which may be several States away. They move into the center and work there while the job lasts, or at least seek a job, and then when they find no job, or when they are laid off after the peak season is over, they move back out to Kentucky, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, or various other States.

That pattern follows within the State also. That is, workers from the Upper Peninsula come into Detroit to look for jobs and move back. It is quite possible that up to one-tenth of the workers who are employed in manufacturing in Detroit move around at some time during the year between an outside residence and the place they live when they are working.

SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Stanchfield, with respect to these rigid settlement laws that apply in nearly every State in the Union, do you think in the long run they will have an adverse effect upon the national defense set-up by having a tendency to freeze people into their native States?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. The defense program is going to require in the long run—that is, regardless of the fact there are no shortages now, there probably will be shortages of labor in the next year or 6 months. That is going to require much more fluidity of movement of workers from one State to another. If we are going to make it possible for workers to move from one State to another to take a job they are needed in, we ought to give them the same rights in the new community that they would have had in the old community.

I do foresee quite a danger, both with respect to relief and unemployment compensation, that a worker might move to a new job, more or less in answer to a direct request from the Government, in some activity necessary for defense, and when the job ends which may be only a few months, he will be turned loose, and he will not have acquired unemployment compensation rights in the new State. He has been away from the old State too long to retain any rights he would have had there. He gets caught right in the middle. He also has no right to public assistance of any kind in the new community.

Mr. OSMERS. I am thinking of a somewhat unusual situation in my own district, where two of our largest plants that have depended upon foreign trade for their existence are building two tremendous plants in businesses that are far removed.

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you not feel that if you have employment in Michigan, for example, for these people in the plants that are going to be closed down and the Federal Government through its instrumentalities and the Employment Service sends these people out to Michigan, that they ought to have Michigan rights when they get there, or at least be returned to New Jersey where they will retain their New Jersey rights?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. One of the problems we have with our actual administrative procedure, both in relief and unemployment compensation is treating the States separately. We ignore the fact that the labor market of the country is a national labor market, a market in which, according to old-age insurance records, one man in 15 works in two different States in the same year. Probably in a lifetime a very large percentage of our wage-earning population does move from State to State. Still we treat it as if all of those were separate compartments, with a high wall between them. We say that a man who has come in from New Jersey to Michigan cannot retain the rights he had in New Jersey or add them on to what he has gained in Michigan. He has a lot of fragments of rights, none of which do him any good.

Mr. OSMERS. I was born and have lived every day of my life in New Jersey, and have not made a single penny of income in that State. I have always made it in other States.

Mr. STANCHFIELD. I would agree with Miss Abbott that one of the big shortcomings of our relief system is what it does to the person who does not have local legal residence. As long as Federal funds are not available to take care of any employable unemployed, if a man finds himself unemployed somewhere away from his legal residence, he is up against either the problem of scrambling around with no source of aid at all, or being sent back to another community where he may have no chance of a job and where he might not want to be.

It would seem to me that one thing that needs to be considered is a national participation in the problem of the transients, this transient group which I think will be constantly increasing, and an increasing group which will contain more and more industrial workers as well as the agricultural group.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION CLAIMS OF MIGRANTS

Mr. OSMERS. I wonder if you would tell the committee, Mr. Stanchfield, about your experience with these unemployment compensation claims as they affect migrant workers going from State to State.

Mr. STANCHFIELD. Our claim records will not show the entire story of the migration of industrial workers. They will deal with a particular type, those who have had some work in Michigan and who have moved to some other State while they were unemployed. Within those limits, we find there is a large amount of migration. Since the benefit program began, about 30,000 different workers have lost jobs in Michigan and subsequently filed claims in some other State. Only about one-fifth of those filed those claims in an adjacent State. In other words, four out of five go to some State that is at least across two State boundaries.

A rather high percentage came from the Appalachian region of Pennsylvania. Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri is another important State. These claims do not necessarily mean that the unemployed worker actually gets benefits. We find a person who files his claim in some other State has only three chances in five of qualifying. There is a relatively light qualifying requirement at the present time. A worker must have earned \$200 in the last year. Previously it was \$250. In either case, if a man has much attachment to industry, he should be able to meet that.

We found that 42 percent of our interstate claims in 1939 were denied.

Mr. OSMERS. Forty-two percent?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. That is right. Only three out of five get any benefits at all. Those who do get benefits get fairly large weekly payments of about \$13.50 per week. It is almost exactly equal to the average payment made to workers within the State. Very frequently it is much larger than the payment the unemployed worker would get, say, in Tennessee, Kentucky, or Pennsylvania where he is filing a claim.

I would like to add one more point, about the basic claim record.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. STANCHFIELD. We find that of these interstate claimants, only about one-fourth get enough protection from unemployment compensation to cover the entire length of their unemployment period. Nearly three-quarters of them exhaust benefits very early in the benefit year. There is a benefit year within which they have rights, and until that year is over, they cannot qualify again.

Three-quarters of those claimants do use up their rights before that benefit year is completed, and they are left with a period ranging from 4 to 6 months, perhaps, in which they have no insurance protection.

Mr. OSMERS. Is the sugar-beet crop harvested by migrant workers in the State of Michigan?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. To some extent; yes. I have not tried to gather figures on the sugar-beet labor in the field.

Mr. OSMERS. Does the employment service, your employment service, supply any labor to the sugar-beet industry?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. We do to some extent, although in a number of States there has been some direct recruiting of workers outside of the State bringing them in.

Mr. OSMERS. By the growers themselves?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. By the growers themselves.

Mr. OSMERS. Do they employ child labor to any extent in the beet fields?

Mr. STANCHFIELD. They did in the past, I know. I understand there has been an effort in the standards set up for sugar-beet contracts to eliminate that. I did not try to get any material on the sugar-beet industry.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement which you have submitted, Mr. Stanchfield, will be received and made a part of the formal record.

Thank you very much for a very fine statement. You have made a valuable contribution to our record.

(Whereupon, Paul L. Stanchfield was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF TROY COLDIRON

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. Troy Coldiron. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you, Mr. Coldiron.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are Mr. Troy Coldiron?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. COLDIRON. McGuffey, Ohio.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old are you?

Mr. COLDIRON. Fifty-nine.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. COLDIRON. At the mouth of Flat Branch.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that in Ohio?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you lived in Ohio all of your life?

Mr. COLDIRON. Not all of my life.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where else have you lived?

Mr. COLDIRON. Going on 8 years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have lived in Ohio going on 8 years?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that right?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you stay in Ohio the year around?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes, sir. I stay right up there the year around.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of work do you do?

Mr. COLDIRON. I just do anything there is. First I do one thing, and then another, anything I can get to do. I work in the onions, potatoes, corn, anything; wheat, or anything.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many children do you have?

Mr. COLDIRON. Six.

Mr. SPARKMAN. These six children, you and your wife all live together?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What size house do you have?

Mr. COLDIRON. I have got a very small little house, with three little rooms. It ain't hardly fit to live in.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much rent do you pay for it?

Mr. COLDIRON. \$3 a month.

Mr. SPARKMAN. \$3 a month?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of furniture do you have?

Mr. COLDIRON. Oh, just a chair, a bedstead, and something like that; not so very good.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is the house papered?

Mr. COLDIRON. It is sort of papered. It is patched, too.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is what?

Mr. COLDIRON. It is kind of papered in places, and in places it ain't papered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of paper is it?

Mr. COLDIRON. Just a little brown paper.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is it good-type paper?

Mr. COLDIRON. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is the house warm in the winter time?

Mr. COLDIRON. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does it leak?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have sanitary facilities?

Mr. COLDIRON. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have toilet facilities?

Mr. COLDIRON. No; no toilet.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have running water?

Mr. COLDIRON. Well, we draw water from a pump.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Out in the yard?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does the house have plenty of windows?

Mr. COLDIRON. One.

Mr. SPARKMAN. One window?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes; one window.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In all three rooms, there is just one window?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Which room is that window in?

Mr. COLDIRON. In the cooking room, where they do their cooking.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You use one room to cook in and to eat in?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The other two rooms you have beds in, I suppose?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. With chairs and a table?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is there not a window in the two bedrooms at all?

Mr. COLDIRON. No; there is not.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have there been windows that have been boarded up, or what?

Mr. COLDIRON. What?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have there been windows there that have been boarded up?

Mr. COLDIRON. They had windows. They put in windows, but they have been boarded up, fixed up, when I moved in there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many doors are there to the house?

Mr. COLDIRON. Just three.

Mr. SPARKMAN. One to each room?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes. It is just a little low building. It ain't hardly fit for nothing to live in, let alone people.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, does that belong to the man for whom you work, or do you just rent it independently?

Mr. COLDIRON. I don't work for him. I ain't worked for him but 1 day. That was yesterday. I worked for him to pay my rent.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much did you make for yesterday's work?

Mr. COLDIRON. Me and my little girl got \$3 to pay the rent.

Mr. SPARKMAN. One month's rent?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old is your little girl?

Mr. COLDIRON. Fourteen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old is your oldest child?

Mr. COLDIRON. Fourteen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. She is the oldest?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do any of the children work in the fields with you?

Mr. COLDIRON. Her and the little boy works when they can get to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old is the little boy?

Mr. COLDIRON. Eleven years old.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much a day can you make working in the fields?

Mr. COLDIRON. \$1.75 for myself.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much do the two children make?

Mr. COLDIRON. When they are topping onions they make about a dollar apiece.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do they do the other kind of work, too?

Mr. COLDIRON. No; they don't do anything else, only dig up potatoes, top onions, or something like that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long during each year do you do this work?

Mr. COLDIRON. Oh, it is just a short time. It ain't very long. In the summer, like through this month, and part of the next.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When did it start?

Mr. COLDIRON. It started about—well, it must be about the 12th or 14th, either one, of this month.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It started in August?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And will last probably through September?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes; when they are harvesting, you know.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you do during the winter?

Mr. COLDIRON. Well, I just do the best I can. Sometimes I work in the stores, and sometimes husking corn; just anything I can get to do.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you get pretty steady work during the winter?

Mr. COLDIRON. No. I hardly ever get anything. I ain't had but 2 days now in about 3 weeks.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, the harvest season is on now, is it not?

Mr. COLDIRON. They won't hardly hire you. They just have got their own men that works for them all the time. You have to just catch a day when you can. That is the way they work. They just take out a bunch of men and they work all the way, and then if we get a day, it is a day they need a hand or two to come in and work, or something like that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do your children go to school?

Mr. COLDIRON. What?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do your children go to school?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have to buy books, or are they furnished?

Mr. COLDIRON. They furnish the books.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you able to provide them with clothing, suitable clothing?

Mr. COLDIRON. No, sir; I ain't.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you had any sickness in your family?

Mr. COLDIRON. Well, no; not so much any more than just my wife ain't hardly ever able to do anything. She ain't able to carry water, or something like that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean, she is just sickly?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. All the time?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you ever live in Kentucky?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes, I have. I was born in Kentucky.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You were born in Kentucky?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You said you had been in Ohio just 8 years?

Mr. COLDIRON. Going on 8 years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean you came from Kentucky 8 years ago?

Mr. COLDIRON. I guess so.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you ever go back to Kentucky? Do you ever go back to Kentucky now?

Mr. COLDIRON. I have been back one time only up to now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just visiting?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you do in Kentucky?

Mr. COLDIRON. I didn't do much of anything.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Would you farm?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you own your own farm?

Mr. COLDIRON. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you rent it, share crop, or what?

Mr. COLDIRON. I paid rent, when I rented it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How did you happen to leave Kentucky?

Mr. COLDIRON. Well, I couldn't get anything to do, and I just came here to this place, came down and wanted to live in it. That is how come I am here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You said your children could make about a dollar a day topping onions?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are they paid by the day, by the piece, or by the hour?

Mr. COLDIRON. By the crate.

Mr. SPARKMAN. By the crate?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes; 5 cents a crate.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Five cents a crate?

Mr. COLDIRON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have a garden?

Mr. COLDIRON. I had a garden, but it didn't do much good.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you do any canning during the summer?

Mr. COLDIRON. I never get anything to can. We would if we could, but we ain't got anything to can. There ain't nothing to can up there, unless it is brought in, and they ain't brought in no fruit or anything like that yet.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you satisfied with your lot and with the opportunities your children are getting, or do you look forward to a better time?

Mr. COLDIRON. I would like to see better times, that is what I would like to see.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you discussed your situation with the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. COLDIRON. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have never discussed with them the possibility of your being rehabilitated and placed on a farm where you might work for yourself?

Mr. COLDIRON. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Coldiron. You are excused.

(Whereupon Mr. Coldiron was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE FRIDAY

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. Friday. Congressman Curtis will interrogate you, Mr. Friday.

Mr. CURTIS. Will you state your full name for the record, please, Mr. Friday?

Mr. FRIDAY. George Friday.

Mr. CURTIS. You are a farmer?

Mr. FRIDAY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. From what place?

Mr. FRIDAY. Michigan; southwestern Michigan; Coloma.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the name of your county?

Mr. FRIDAY. Berrien County. It is in the southeastern corner of the State.

FRUIT FARMING IN MICHIGAN

Mr. CURTIS. What type of farming prevails in that county?

Mr. FRIDAY. Over half of the income is from fruit farming in Berrien County.

Mr. CURTIS. What particular fruits?

Mr. FRIDAY. We grow a full line of fruits, starting with strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, dewberries, cherries, currants, apples, peaches, pears, grapes, and all of the fruits that are harvested in northern areas.

Mr. CURTIS. You grow everything that goes into salad?

Mr. FRIDAY. We grow everything that goes into salad and fruits.

Mr. CURTIS. Is that up in the country where they have the cherry festival?

Mr. FRIDAY. No. That is in the other end of the State.

Mr. CURTIS. How many acres do you farm, Mr. Friday?

Mr. FRIDAY. About 700 acres.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the average-sized farm, what might be termed the "small fruit farm"?

Mr. FRIDAY. Thirty or forty acres.

Mr. CURTIS. About how many farmers are there in that county?

Mr. FRIDAY. I have got an actual count here somewhere. There is just under 6,000.

Mr. CURTIS. Are most of them what might be termed "small farmers"?

Mr. FRIDAY. In the northern half of the county where we have the fruit growers, the farms run small as a whole.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. FRIDAY. In the southern half there is a lot of farming, and there are larger farms.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you engaged in general farming?

Mr. FRIDAY. No; fruit farming.

Mr. CURTIS. But you have one of the larger fruit farms?

Mr. FRIDAY. My farms are not all in Berrien County. I have four different locations.

Mr. CURTIS. Does this fruit farming call for seasonal workers?

Mr. FRIDAY. The harvesting of the fruit takes probably two or three times the labor that it takes to produce it.

Mr. CURTIS. That of necessity takes more labor than is available in the community?

Mr. FRIDAY. Yes.

LABOR SOURCE

Mr. CURTIS. Where does most of your help come from?

Mr. FRIDAY. It just migrates in.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it white or colored people?

Mr. FRIDAY. Both. Probably one-third colored.

Mr. CURTIS. They are used primarily for the picking or harvesting of the fruit?

Mr. FRIDAY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. From what States, from your own observation just generally, or what territory, do these people come?

Mr. FRIDAY. There are probably more families that come in from Arkansas than any other State in the Union.

Mr. CURTIS. Do they come clear up from Arkansas to your territory, or do they start following some of the crops through?

Mr. FRIDAY. The large percentage of these migrants—I was talking with the Salvation Army man yesterday, and he said, "They come from nowhere and go nowhere," and he handles more cases than anybody else in our area. There are a lot of them that start in the South that have not had any home for years. There are probably two-thirds of them, or better than half of them, at least.

Mr. CURTIS. Does it happen sometimes that more families move in than there is employment for?

Mr. FRIDAY. That happens quite frequently.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you find them to be destitute when they arrive and are unable to get any work?

Mr. FRIDAY. Quite largely. Some of them are not. We get all kinds of them. Some of them have money in their pockets all the while, and some of them are destitute.

Mr. CURTIS. There was something in your paper in reference to a preference for single workers as agricultural laborers.

Mr. FRIDAY. Single workers on the larger farms have a preference over families.

Mr. CURTIS. This picking or harvesting of these fruits, most of it, takes place during the vacation time, or during the time schools are not in session?

Mr. FRIDAY. Yes. Berry picking, which is the one that takes the largest number of people, is all during vacation time. Strawberries start just about in June, and the berry season is just about over now.

CHILD LABOR

Mr. CURTIS. Do these families bring small children along?

Mr. FRIDAY. Some of them.

Mr. CURTIS. Do they employ children up there?

Mr. FRIDAY. That is up to the parents entirely.

Mr. CURTIS. I see.

Mr. FRIDAY. That is up to them. It is piece work.

Mr. CURTIS. It is piece work?

Mr. FRIDAY. Yes. When they pick berries, there are a lot of children up to—or down to about 10 years old that will work.

Mr. CURTIS. They work along with their parents?

Mr. FRIDAY. They work along with their parents, but as far as the farmers are concerned, children are not desirable in the berry patches. They do not do a good job of harvesting.

Mr. CURTIS. They would just as soon not have them use children, as far as the farmer is concerned?

Mr. FRIDAY. That is right.

HOUSING OF WORKERS

Mr. CURTIS. Referring particularly to the small farmer, how does he house the people he uses during this berry season?

Mr. FRIDAY. Usually they house them in a garage of some kind, or a building around the place.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, with respect to the farmer, whom we have classified as a small farmer, about how many people would he be using?

Mr. FRIDAY. Well, a good many times only three or four. I got the records from the county agent, the county agricultural agent.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. FRIDAY. He said there were 2,507 farms in Barrien County that grew dewberries, red raspberries, black raspberries. There were 1,800 farms that grew strawberries; 2,500 farms grew peaches, 2,100 grew cherries; 2,500 grew grapes. Those were his figures. Taking your total production of those crops, most of those small farmers would not use over a half a dozen laborers.

Mr. CURTIS. How would you classify their housing conditions, considering the weather during the peak season and the fact that it is

temporary employment? Are the housing facilities lacking in water supply or sanitary conditions or anything like that?

Mr. FRIDAY. The water supply is very good in our county because the wells are—we have had very little typhoid, or epidemic. They are practically all deep wells. They use the water supply on the farm, the same as the farmer uses.

The sanitary conditions are just fair. Most of these people live in buildings that they could not occupy the year around. One of these individual crops usually only lasts from 3 weeks—from 2 to 3 weeks.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. FRIDAY. They probably will move from one place to another where they grow a different crop, but it is sort of outdoor camping.

Mr. CURTIS. Could you say you do have increased sickness or any difficulties because of the camping nature of the housing?

Mr. FRIDAY. I do not think we have had.

HOSPITALIZATION

Mr. CURTIS. I see.

Mr. FRIDAY. The welfare department reported, I think, that their total welfare expense from these migrants amounted to about \$10,000 a year, which for the amount of migrants, which I estimate to be 5,000, and which some other people have estimated as high as 12,000—I still think I am right—would be very small. As to hospitalization, I will say that our county is very liberal with hospitalizing poor people. At the county poor farm we have a hospital. They estimated an expense of \$7,500 which would only be an average of \$1.50, which would be very small. Those come in big bills, automobile accidents quite a lot.

Mr. CURTIS. It is the practice in that community to take care of the injured and the sick?

Mr. FRIDAY. Oh, yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Without any dispute about where they belong?

Mr. FRIDAY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Or if they have residence at all?

Mr. FRIDAY. I had a man 2 years ago that was sick. They took him into the hospital without any argument. In the case of accidents, they always take them in very quickly.

Mr. CURTIS. How about living and housing conditions in connection with the large farms?

Mr. FRIDAY. The larger the places the poorer the conditions, usually, the more tenting you get and the more camping, and those things.

Mr. CURTIS. The greater number of people you get in one place, the more you increase your problems of sanitation and so forth?

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. FRIDAY. You increase your problem of sanitation very much.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have any suggestions to make to this committee that is studying interstate migration of destitute persons either as it applies particularly to the field you are connected with, or generally?

Mr. FRIDAY. There are a good many suggestions you can make. I think a study of a housing proposition that could be built reasonably on these small farms would be the biggest thing that could be done, building buildings that could be built at a reasonable amount that would be satisfactory for that type of housing.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. FRIDAY. The best condition for the migrant worker, is the one where he goes out on a small farm, because the farm mother is used to feeding chickens and cows and everything that is hungry, and she will feed anything around there that is hungry. If they get sick, she will look after them.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. FRIDAY. They give them a lot of things on small farms, which they don't get in the cities, or on the large farms, and those things.

Mr. CURTIS. In other words, most of your farmers take a more or less personal interest in the workers and their families while they are there?

Mr. FRIDAY. I think so.

Mr. CURTIS. What suggestions have you in reference to the larger farms?

Mr. FRIDAY. They will probably have to build better places. Their workers, more or less, I think, come in from the cities. A lot of the workers, they come out from Benton Harbor and stay in the town. Then we have quite a lot of workers that work in the South part of the year and come through and work north.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you feel any need for making any suggestion in regard to preventing more people from coming in than there are jobs available?

Mr. FRIDAY. That is an industrial problem. I think the big problem you have in this whole thing is the industrial problem of getting information to—

Mr. CURTIS. Perhaps you did not understand me. Perhaps I did not make myself clear. Do you employ these people through an employment bureau?

Mr. FRIDAY. No. We usually employ the same ones year after year. That is the first question they ask a man, when he comes for a job, is whether he worked there last year.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. FRIDAY. Then they go and see whether his work was satisfactory or not. Most people employ these people year after year for certain jobs. A new worker is the one that has trouble. He does not know anyone. He just comes in. He just migrates in. He hasn't any money.

Mr. CURTIS. One other question: You have estimated that there are possibly 5,000 migrants used there?

Mr. FRIDAY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. I realize you have not made a tabulation of this, but in your opinion how many of those people are practically homeless? Just

as the Salvation Army man said, they come from nowhere and go nowhere. Would you say half of them?

Mr. FRIDAY. Oh, I think that 60 percent of those people are single men that are traveling around. I would say that 75 or 80 percent of them are homeless.

Mr. CURTIS. We are very glad to have your testimony and to have the viewpoint of someone in your business who needs these seasonal workers.

Mr. FRIDAY. I have a report here——

Mr. CURTIS. If you have any further suggestions, we will be glad to hear them.

Mr. FRIDAY. I have a report that will be interesting to the committee, because it shows the amount of fruit sold through the Benton Harbor market, which handles 60 percent of the fruit in the State of Michigan. One-quarter of the fruit is grown in our county, according to actual census reports. This shows the amount of fruit handled for the entire season.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you want to have that marked as an exhibit?

Mr. FRIDAY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to receive it. It will be received as part of the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

[Federal-State Market News Service: Fruits and Vegetables]

BENTON HARBOR CASH MARKET FRUIT AND VEGETABLE SUMMARY, 1939

(Active operation, June 1 to November 15, 1939)

With an unusually good set of all kinds of fruit in western Michigan, and favorable growing conditions for both fruits and vegetables, the Benton Harbor Cash Market enjoyed one of its most active seasons.

The volume of produce which moved over the Benton Harbor Cash Market for 1939 was very heavy, amounting to 9,324 cars. This was 70 percent larger than the volume handled in 1938, and was larger than any previous season on record except in 1932 when the movement amounted to 9,412 cars, or only 88 cars more than for this season.

Peaches accounted for the heaviest volume over the market with a movement of 2,583 cars; apples were second with 1,839 cars; grapes third with 1,347 cars; strawberries fifth with 785 cars; tomatoes sixth with 762 cars; pears seventh with 373 cars; and cantaloupes eight with 314 cars.

The total number of packages handled amounted to 7,052,490 and as with the carlot volume exceeded all seasons on record except 1932, which was only slightly higher with 7,210,159 packages.

The total cash return was estimated at \$3,785,854 and compares to \$3,137,595 for 1938 and \$3,454,285 for the 1931-38 average. Lower values for some of the important commodities caused the season's heavy offering to return less than in several of the seasons, namely 1934, 1936, and 1937, when the movement was smaller.

Growers' loads amounted to 134,199 for the season and were the largest on record comparing to 96,839 loads in 1938 and 119,324 loads for the 1931-38 average.

The number of day buyers purchasing fruit and vegetables on the market amounted to 8,786 and compares to 5,614 for 1938. The number of day buyers in 1938 and 1939 was less than for any of the previous seasons.

	Growers loads	Day buyers	Total pack-ages	Carlot equivalents	Total value
Season:					
1931.....	102,285	9,190	4,837,758	7,162	\$2,822,285
1932.....	125,351	11,393	7,210,159	9,412	2,970,235
1933.....	172,154	8,877	6,073,282	6,798	2,633,673
1934.....	131,392	10,728	6,909,774	8,183	3,798,401
1935.....	121,245	9,501	6,412,766	8,049	3,137,215
1936.....	131,963	9,489	5,891,711	8,251	4,780,731
1937.....	133,361	8,875	7,151,661	8,921	4,354,147
1938.....	96,839	5,614	3,679,942	5,469	3,137,595
1939.....	134,199	8,786	7,052,490	9,324	3,785,854

Summary of Movement and Average Price of Benton Harbor Cash Market

	Carlot equivalents	Value per unit	Total value		Carlot equivalents	Value per unit	Total value
APPLES (BUSHEL)				TOMATOES (CRATE)			
Season:				Season:			
1931.....	853	\$0.71	\$311,520	1931.....	500	\$0.61	\$213,500
1932.....	905	.74	334,999	1932.....	690	.34	163,428
1933.....	1,123	.74	430,707	1933.....	1,047	.50	367,250
1934.....	1,497	.82	633,689	1934.....	853	.63	377,520
1935.....	1,165	.61	366,675	1935.....	912	.42	264,921
1936.....	1,806	1.02	950,231	1936.....	1,067	.66	490,515
1937.....	1,276	.55	367,340	1937.....	1,009	.50	403,644
1937.....	1,101	.90	520,050	1938.....	980	.45	352,767
1939.....	1,839	.53	511,642	1939.....	762	.42	336,229
PEACHES (BUSHEL)				STRAWBERRIES (CRATE)			
Season:				Season:			
1931.....	1,170	\$0.70	\$336,000	1931.....	430	\$1.77	\$434,797
1932.....	1,665	.42	557,980	1932.....	(¹)	(¹)	(¹)
1933.....	91	1.79	65,425	1933.....	477	1.01	245,720
1934.....	801	1.63	524,478	1934.....	174	1.69	152,285
1935.....	1,692	.92	625,874	1935.....	560	1.24	360,583
1936.....	1,668	1.61	1,073,976	1936.....	282	1.68	380,994
1937.....	2,587	1.08	1,117,445	1937.....	688	1.80	693,720
1938.....	1,286	1.35	694,532	1938.....	255	2.10	300,350
1939.....	2,583	.68	702,660	1939.....	785	1.20	527,401
PEARS (BUSHEL)				PLUMS (PACKAGE)			
Season:				Season:			
1931.....	125	\$0.98	\$49,100	1933.....	126	\$0.84	\$62,926
1932.....	404	.75	119,831	1934.....	132	.86	79,353
1933.....	206	1.02	84,212	1935.....	119	.84	59,853
1934.....	774	.82	253,051	1936.....	113	.95	74,414
1935.....	280	.96	106,921	1937.....	147	.95	89,283
1936.....	508	.86	202,123	1938.....	87	.86	49,974
1937.....	201	.93	93,507	1939.....	166	1.15	76,440
1938.....	326	.75	122,114				
1939.....	373	.82	152,845				
CANTALOUPE (PACKAGE)							
Season:							
1931.....	688	\$0.76	\$210,000				
1932.....	712	.61	99,622				
1933.....	639	.58	149,371				
1934.....	368	.80	120,533				
1935.....	445	.64	113,535				
1936.....	409	.67	109,514				
1937.....	246	.80	137,974				
1938.....	258	.55	99,187				
1939.....	314	.53	116,360				

¹ Unavailable.

Summary of Movement and Average Price of Benton Harbor Cash Market—Con.

GRAPES

Season	Carlot equiva- lents	Value per 4 quarts	Value per 12 quarts	Total value	Season	Carlot equiva- lents	Value per 4 quarts	Value per 12 quarts	Total value
1931-----	1, 328	\$0. 12	\$0. 27	\$512, 308	1936-----	820	\$0. 16	\$0. 35	\$431, 205
1932-----	2, 885	. 08	. 15	537, 518	1937-----	1, 800	. 12	. 21	501, 713
1933-----	1, 786	. 12	. 18	523, 845	1938-----	124	. 25	. 45	74, 560
1934-----	1, 837	. 12	. 23	657, 790	1939-----	1, 347	. 12	. 21	392, 816
1935-----	1, 643	. 11	. 18	460, 849					

Benton Harbor Cash Market Fruit and Vegetable Summary, 1939 Season

Commodity and usual container	Packages	Average value per package	Total value for season	Carlot ¹ equiva- lents
Apples (bushel)-----	965, 362	\$0. 53	\$511, 641. 86	1, 839
Beans:				
Green and wax ² (bushel or 12-quart)	15, 588	. 27	4, 208. 76	10
Lima (12-quart)-----	122, 027	. 54	65, 894. 58	76
Aroma ² (12-quart)-----	13, 446	. 38	5, 109. 48	8
Beets (dozen or bushel)-----	1, 035	. 40	414. 00	2
Berries (crates):				
Black (24-pint)-----	11, 570	1. 45	16, 776. 50	21
Black raspberry (24-pint)-----	88, 065	1. 55	136, 500. 75	117
Blue (16-quart)-----	22, 948	2. 80	64, 254. 40	41
Dew (16-quart)-----	73, 846	1. 40	103, 384. 40	114
Goose (16-quart)-----	1, 969	1. 95	3, 839. 55	4
Red raspberry (24-pint)-----	173, 199	1. 70	294, 438. 30	231
Straw (16-quart)-----	439, 501	1. 20	527, 401. 20	785
Cabbage (bushel)-----	13, 127	. 40	5, 250. 80	22
Cantaloupes (crate or bushel)-----	219, 547	. 53	116, 359. 91	314
Carrots (bushel or dozen bunches)-----	1, 441	. 45	648. 45	3
Cauliflower (crates)-----	7, 327	. 85	6, 227. 95	19
Celery (bunch or box)-----	88, 642	. 23	20, 387. 66	40
Cherries:				
Sour (16-quart crate)-----	41, 207	1. 00	41, 207. 00	55
Sweet (16-quart crate)-----	25, 096	2. 05	51, 446. 80	33
Cider (gallons)-----	61, 051	. 22	13, 431. 22	31
Corn, green, sweet (dozen ears)-----	33, 248	. 12	3, 989. 76	13
Cucumbers ² (12-quart or bushel)-----	68, 464	. 35	23, 962. 40	58
Currants (16-quart crate)-----	15, 609	1. 75	27, 315. 75	28
Dill (dozen bunches)-----	1, 831	. 30	549. 30	1
Eggplant (bushel)-----	8, 162	. 52	4, 244. 24	14
Grapes:				
4-quart-----	924, 888	. 12	110, 986. 56	229
12-quart-----	1, 342, 046	. 21	281, 829. 66	1, 118
Lettuce (bushel)-----	835	. 50	417. 50	1
Onions:				
10-pound sack-----	14, 567	. 15	2, 185. 05	6
50-pound sack-----	10, 324	. 65	6, 710. 60	21
Peaches (bushel)-----	1, 033, 323	. 68	702, 659. 64	2, 583
Pears (bushel)-----	186, 396	. 82	152, 844. 72	373
Peppers ² (12-quart or bushel)-----	27, 161	. 65	17, 634. 65	19
Plums ³ (bushel or half-bushel)-----	66, 470	1. 15	76, 440. 50	166
Potatoes:				
White (100-pound sack)-----	19, 369	1. 15	22, 274. 35	54
Sweet (bushel)-----	2, 286	. 80	1, 828. 80	5
Pumpkins (each)-----	1, 250	. 15	187. 50	1
Quinces ³ (bushel or half-bushel)-----	5, 018	1. 33	6, 673. 94	10
Squash (bushel)-----	4, 891	. 50	2, 445. 50	10
Tomatoes ² (12-quart and 4-quart crate)-----	800, 545	. 42	336, 228. 90	762
Turnips (bushel)-----	1, 025	. 45	461. 25	2
Watermelons (each)-----	75, 386	. 25	18, 846. 50	75
Others (see note below)-----	22, 735	-----	9, 617. 62	9
Grand total-----	7, 052, 263	-----	3, 785, 853. 64	9, 324

¹ Indicates market figures reduced to carlot basis in accordance with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service's conversion tables taken from "Factors for use in fruit and vegetable offices in cities east of the Rocky Mountains" for converting truck, boat, and l. c. l. receipts of fruits and vegetables to carlots, issued effective beginning Jan. 1, 1937.

² Indicates packages were counted and converted to 12 quarts entirely, value per package figured on 12-quart basis.

³ Indicates packages were counted and converted to bushels entirely, value per package figured on bushel basis.

OTHER MARKET TOTALS FOR ENTIRE 1939 SEASON

Growers loads 134,199; retail loads 797; resale loads 486; day buyers 8,786; total receipts of market \$35,358.90.

Others—not included in table above

Commodity and usual container	Pack-ages	Average per package	Season value
Apricots (12-quart).....	83	\$0.75	\$62.25
Asparagus (2-dozen crate).....	33	1.50	49.50
Beans:			
Lima, shelled (24-pint case).....	381	2.75	1,047.75
Lima, dry (pound).....	300	.07	21.07
Navy (pound).....	670	.04	26.80
Berries (crates):			
Boysen (16-quart).....	39	1.40	64.60
Cranberry (pound).....	1,623	.09	146.61
Elderberry (12-quart).....	6	.50	3.00
Loganberry (16-quart).....	29	1.40	40.60
Young (16-quart).....	10	1.40	14.00
Broccoli (dozen bunches).....	42	.45	18.90
Chickens (each).....	241	.80	192.80
Citron (piece).....	257	.10	25.70
Corn, pop (pound).....	2,795	.06	167.70
Eggs (dozen).....	1,367	.25	341.75
Gladioli (dozen bunches).....	1,887	.12	226.44
Grapes (crate).....	491	1.50	736.50
Grapefruit (½ box).....	350	1.35	472.50
Grapejuice (gallon).....	247	.55	135.85
Nuts:			
Chestnuts (pound).....	206	.15	30.90
Hickory (bushel).....	14	1.55	21.00
Pecan (pound).....	4,050	.16	648.00
Walnut (bushel).....	12	1.00	12.00
Honey:			
1 pound-jar.....	1,276	.12½	159.50
5-pound can.....	1,103	.45	496.35
Lemons (crate).....	185	5.00	925.00
Limes (12 dozen in carton, per carton).....	40	1.50	60.00
Oranges (½ box).....	717	2.00	1,434.00
Parsley (dozen).....	260	.40	104.00
Pawpaws (12-quart).....	4	.50	2.00
Peas (12-quart).....	184	.75	138.00
Posts (each).....	1,305	.15	195.75
Radishes (dozen).....	974	.30	292.20
Rhubarb (dozen).....	170	.40	68.00
Spinach (bushel).....	362	1.00	362.00
Sirup:			
Sorghum (gallon).....	962	.80	769.60
Maple (gallon).....	60	1.75	105.00
Total.....	22,735		9,617.62

Total package count furnished by F. G. Bryant, Marketmaster, Benton Harbor, Mich. Prices prior Aug. 1 furnished by Joe E. Wells, of News Palladium, Benton Harbor.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE FRIDAY—Resumed

Mr. FRIDAY. We get peak days. My estimate on that number of workers is estimated from the peak days. For instance, taking strawberries, there were 56,000 cases of strawberries over the Benton Harbor market on the 16th day of June. We know it takes 12,000 people to harvest those. I would estimate that 5,000 were migratory workers and the rest were local.

I make my estimate from those figures, as to the number employed. I believe the big problem is getting them employed. I believe—may this be off the record?

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Off the record.

(Discussion outside the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. On the record. Go ahead.

Mr. FRIDAY. The biggest problem is those people who are denied open labor propositions in the cities through your combinations of labor unions and one thing and another. Those people cannot get into those jobs. I think there is the problem. There is the crux of the whole thing. It can't be taken care of on the farms. It is a problem that is very much broader than the farmers can settle.

Our total birth rate is much higher on the farms than in the cities. It is way down in the cities. The cities must absorb some of those farmers.

STUDY OF FARM INCOME

A question was raised as to educating people on the size of the farm. I do not think the size of the farm is the main issue. A man might be all right on 10 acres, and he might not be all right on 1,600. His income should be studied. I believe that is one work that should be done. A study should be made of how big a farm a man must have and what he must raise of certain things to have at least \$1,000 income. A farmer to do satisfactorily ought to have at least \$1,000 cash income.

I believe a study should be made of that. If a man grows 10 acres of wheat in a country where he can only grow 15 bushels of wheat to the acre, that is 150 bushels, and he can't live off of that. He can't make a living off of 40 acres on that proposition. A study ought to be made as to what a man ought to grow in different areas to get a reasonable farm income. In that way the thing could be helped very materially. I have insisted on that for some time, that some study ought to be made. I think if such a study were made, as to what a man would have to have to carry him on income, it would assist a great deal.

Mr. CURTIS. I think your suggestion is very timely.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement which you have submitted entitled "A Statement on Agricultural Labor in Berrien County, Michigan," will be received and made part of the formal record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY GEORGE FRIDAY, FARMER, BENTON HARBOR, MICH.

AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN BERRIEN COUNTY, MICH.

Berrien County, Mich., the county in which I live, has nearly 6,000 farmers and produces, according to the national census reports of both 1920 and 1930, one-fourth of all of the fruits grown in the State of Michigan. There are approximately 6,000 farms in the county, the average size of which is probably less than 40 acres. On the large fruit-harvest days it takes at least 12,000 people to harvest fruit. There is a total population of about 85,000 in the county.

Since 1920 there has been a constant increase in the number of people that migrate into this territory to help harvest this fruit crop, until at the present time I would estimate that we get nearly 5,000 of these laborers into this area. There are several types of these people, namely, some families which harvest fruit and vegetables in the South and work North in the summertime; they are usually equipped to travel with their belongings, know how to adjust themselves, and live

comfortably, and are not a problem. Then there are a large number of men without families who do the same thing, but usually wear their entire belongings; a large percentage of them are nearly busted when they arrive. Most of them come from year to year and know where they are going before they come to the area. Probably more than half of these men are colored. Then we have another class which come out of the marginal-land areas, largely out of Arkansas, who have heard of all the easy money they can make in this fruit area from someone who was here the year before who always tells them how much money they make on the best days, but never about their poorer days. These people load their wives and children into an old wreck of a car and start for the land of milk and honey. They do not know anyone in the area the first year they arrive, and if they have no funds are a real problem, especially if they arrive 2 or 3 weeks before the fruit-picking season starts. Many of these families who migrate into this area are quite substantial people that come from areas where their income has been low for a long time and try to make a living for themselves rather than be supported by W. P. A. labor or by the Government to some other way.

Many of these families get a job with some comparatively small farmer that can use only one or two families and provide living quarters for them on the farm. Sometime these living quarters are quite substantial houses; probably many more of them are garages, usually with cement floors, which are made into temporary living quarters every year. Those people usually live quite comfortably through the summer months. They are usually given fuel. The water supply over the entire area is from tubular wells; therefore the water supply is good. Their sanitary conditions compare reasonably favorably with many summer resorts. Some of them live in tents, where their conditions are much less favorable, especially if they congregate into quite a number of tents in one place. Fortunately, an individual crop is usually harvested in less than 3 weeks' time, and these tenters do not stay very long in one place. There has never been, to my knowledge, any serious epidemic of sickness among these migratory laborers in this section. The farms of this area are constantly building more small buildings to house these people. Every effort should be made for the increase of those buildings. I would suggest that the Department of Agriculture could be of much service to develop its plan of a building which could be erected at \$200 or less for families for this use.

Your colored problem is a problem all of its own. They know how to live cheaply and be content, but they do not know how to live respectably when they receive a good wage.

Farm production has always been based on people living on the farm and receiving more or less of their living from the farm, not paying transportation to and from the farm to go to work. For that reason, farm wages have always been comparatively low compared with city wages and always will be as long as the bulk of the work is done by the family living there. It is essential that these workers live on the farms where they are employed. It has been suggested that the Government might erect camps in areas to which these workers migrate. Personally, I would be much opposed to doing that. It is much better both from a sanitary, health, and moral standpoint that these workers be on small individual farms rather than in camps. The establishment of camps would provide large farmers considerable help at a low price rather than help the smaller individual farmer. As usually the crops are better cared for on the larger farms and these workers largely work by the piece, they will make more money on the large farms than on the small farms. They have many advantages other than the money income on the smaller farms. While, personally, we are farming 700 acres, I still believe that the Nation's greatest bulwark is the individual farmer living on his own farm, and that any help extended to farms should be for the individual farmer.

The problem can never be solved on the farms. The industrial-labor market must be opened to some of these people and must be put on to an opened labor market the same as it is on the farms, price fixing and production control by price fixing must cease if we are ever going to be relieved of this large volume of people who are migrating all over the country without a fair chance. I also believe that allowing a lot of immigrants to come into this country enough population increase so that we would reasonably well use the land of the Nation to feed ourselves would help conditions very much and would give us the industrial boom that we so much need at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very glad to have had you here to make this contribution. Thank you very much, Mr. Friday.
(Whereupon, Mr. George Friday was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MRS. MARGUERITE DWAN

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mrs. Dwan. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you, Mrs. Dwan.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter, please?

Mrs. DWAN. My name is Mrs. Marguerite Dwan, Benton Harbor, Mich.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are from Benton Harbor, Mich.?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that in Berrien County?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes; it is.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When did your county first realize that it had a migrant problem?

Mrs. DWAN. Well, I think we realized it more in the last 3 years. However, we have realized we had migrants and have had for the last 15 years. It has become noticeable in the last 2 years that they presented a problem.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Dwan, all of us have received copies of your very fine statement and your exhibits. I have read it with much interest, myself. It will be made part of the record.

Mrs. DWAN. Yes.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY MRS. MARGUERITE DWAN, BENTON HARBOR, BERRIEN COUNTY, MICH.

MIGRANT PROBLEMS IN BERRIEN COUNTY

Working with the various relief agencies for the past 6 years has given me an opportunity to go into the various parts of the county and on many back roads and lanes that the public in general never use. It is these out-of-the-way places that show increased evidence of the presence of migrants. Talking with the various growers, storekeepers, and the man without a job, it soon became noticeable that the number of people coming to this area as pickers was increasing. The tremendous increase in the production of fruits in this area (strawberry acreage alone is three times that of the total fruit acreage in 1930) has led to the need of additional workers. Fruit production has made its own vicious circle; more workers, more production; and more production, the need for more workers. Better roads from farm to market, methods of transportation, and preserving methods have also been responsible in part for the growth of fruit production. Township supervisors, sheriff's department officials, and growers have substantiated personal observations that the migrants are on the increase.

The crops that make migrants of value to this area are asparagus, strawberries, cherries, raspberries, blackberries, dewberries, apples, peaches, tomatoes, lima beans, string beans, and grapes. The harvesting season is from May until early October.

Until recently various individuals have realized that Michigan had migrant workers, but there has been little feeling that they presented a problem. Not until the movie version of the Grapes of Wrath has there been a feeling that

all was not well. The book and the show made many people feel that it could only happen in California and not in Michigan. The few individuals who knew of our local conditions began to fear that here might be the seeds of another Grapes of Wrath. Newspaper stories concerning the Michigan migrants have appeared recently in not only the local papers but in the Detroit papers as well. These articles were written by Mrs. H. C. Warriner, of Coloma, Mich., because of her interest in the social, civic, and health problems of the community. Church groups, local ladies' aid, and the home-missionary society have now realized that the problem exists and there is evidence that more people are beginning to realize that there are a lot more than just a few families coming into the county from other States. The Farm Security agency has recognized the problem and the Kellogg Foundation is concerned with the problem from a health standpoint. We of the Work Projects Administration of this area were aroused by meetings on migrancy held in Grand Rapids at the National Conference of Social Work. The individuals and agencies have at last become conscious of the problem and are attempting to show the public its potential dangers.

The Work Projects Administration survey shows how the migrants started to come to Michigan, the type of work they do, their wage scale, their housing conditions, health problems, the need of the community for the migrant, and their value to the production of fruit. It has tried to present the facts in such a way that the problem becomes obvious and the need for a solution urgent.

Most of the migrants that we have talked with come from the Southern States of Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Louisiana, Florida, Kentucky, and Tennessee. A number also come from southern Illinois. Other States are, of course, represented.

Most of these people follow the harvest from State to State, with no definite destination. A few have a regular route that they cover yearly. Some, of course, return to the State that they call their home and work for the winter.

Occasionally, some growers provide suitable living quarters for migrants. The majority are forced to live in tents, trailers, shacks, barns, and even hog houses. Some have the water supply handy, others must carry their water several hundred yards. Toilet facilities are of the crudest type when there are any available. These living conditions led to a serious health problem and the Kellogg Foundation states that epidemics of malaria and typhoid are not beyond the realm of possibility. Medical attention is available to these people only when there is an extreme need. Children have little opportunity for schooling. Traveling from place to place makes attendance difficult but even if schools were available few would attend. A child old enough to go to school is old enough to pick fruit and the migrant cannot afford to lose a picker.

Berrien County boasts one of the few nursery schools in the country that care for the children of migrant families who are too young to go into the fields. The Home Mission Society, with the aid of the various churches in Berrien County, operated this school for the first time this summer. Its value was well demonstrated but it was forced to close because of lack of funds the 1st of August.

It is felt that some supervision of camps should be exercised to see that they are situated to allow for good drainage, pure-water supply, and sanitary-toilet facilities. If more can be done, a good mobile camp should be established including arrangements for medical attention and educational facilities.

[A clipping from the News Palladium published in Benton Harbor, Mich., from the Coloma correspondent, Mrs. H. C. Warriner, Coloma, Mich.]

MANY PICKERS FIND WORK IN COLOMA AREA—INCREASE NOTED IN NUMBER OF MIGRANTS WHO COME FROM SOUTH

COLOMA, July 25.—Season after season for the past 10 or 12 years migrant fruit pickers have been coming into Berrien County in ever-increasing numbers. With the ripening of the first strawberries, along about June 1, jalopies bearing Arkansas or Tennessee license plates, loaded with children and household goods, begin to crowd the highways leading north.

Once here the migrants set up housekeeping in abandoned shacks or settle in one of the ten villages to be found out Riverside way.

Until someone wrote a book called *Grapes of Wrath* little attention was paid this yearly immigration from our Southern States. Farmers were glad to have help in harvesting their perishable crop of fruit.

A few labor groups occasionally raised a voice against what they termed "foreign labor." Beyond that no attention was paid these people, victims of widespread economic upheaval and adjustment.

Since the wide publicity given the California migrant situation, people here are beginning to discuss our own transient-labor situation and to ask questions.

THOSE GOOD-WILL TRUCKS

Migrants came here in the first instance because 10 or 12 years ago generous citizens of Berrien and Van Buren sent trucks loaded with food to the destitute flood-stricken people of Arkansas, thus advertising this as the Promised Land, some persons believe.

Again one hears that growers went into the South with trucks and brought back Negroes for cheap labor in competition with native workers. Some people are sure these migrants remain in large numbers to become welfare cases.

Most people are becoming concerned about the conditions under which these people, especially the workers with families, live. Ideas for improving those situations are beginning to take shape.

Migrants themselves, fruit growers, social workers, and local officials all throw some interesting light on the story of transient labor in our country. From these varied sources an unbiased picture can be achieved.

WORK IS SCARCE

Most transient laborers do not remember how or when they first heard of the opportunity offered in the fruit lands of Michigan. The word "just got around" that work was here and wages better than in their own native State.

The year 1929 seems to mark the first migration from the South of any great number. That year, one young man remembers, cotton pickers were getting but 50 cents per hundred pounds for their labor. World markets had been lost under the current tariff set-up. The domestic price was under 7 cents a pound, and 1,320,000 bales of cotton were in the hands of the Cotton Stabilization Corporation. Tractors were appearing to supplant human labor.

In the North, too, conditions were changing. Prior to the World War fruit growers, their children, the neighbors' children, and entire families from the nearest village harvested all the fruit grown except in the strawberry rush when a few "hoboes"—wanderers without ties of any kind—picked for a few days each season.

In the "recovery" years following the war living standards in the North raised, wages in industry were higher, boys and girls here no longer wanted to or needed to pick berries for clothes and small luxuries.

Fruit acreage increased greatly under the impetus of improved marketing, transportation, and horticultural methods. Just about every farmer raised fruit of some kind. On a big fruit day now where 60,000 cases of berries come on the market, an average of 12,000 pickers are needed; native labor could not meet the demand.

In Arkansas top wages today are \$1 a day even for driving tractor, according to the story of the migrants. The reduction of the cotton acreage by about two-thirds and the steady encroachment of machinery has thrown thousands out of employment, while the "riddles," as the Government checks are called, have paid off a 20-year-old mortgage on many a farm.

CONDITIONS BACK HOME

The large plantations of 20,000 or more acres run by a company, in some instances, are understood to divide the acreage into five sections under fictitious "leases." Government checks to these separate heads find their way back into company hands.

One farm worker from Arkansas, a young man with a family, obviously intelligent and with some education, is going to remain here if he can get steady,

year-round employment. In 2 months in Michigan he can earn more than in a whole year in his State, he says.

This year, when a larger number of migrant pickers than ever have come to our county, local people are showing a more sympathetic and understanding attitude toward them than heretofore. We are beginning to understand their need and that we need them.

[A clipping from the Detroit Free Press, Sunday, August 4, 1940]

CENTER ASSISTS CHILD MIGRANTS—SCHOOL IS ESTABLISHED IN BERRIEN COUNTY

COLOMA, MICH., August 3.—When migrant fruit pickers come out of the South and West each June into Berrien County, heart of one of the Nation's greatest fruit sections, they bring children, sometimes lots of them.

At least half the enormous annual crop in orchard, berry patch, and vineyard is harvested by these transients. In former seasons youngsters were left idle and unattended in the temporary home, usually little more than a bare tenant house or roadside camping ground.

CHILD-CARE CENTER STARTED

This summer, for the first time in Michigan, a child-care center has been established here for children of Anglo-American transient fruit pickers.

Two other Michigan centers, one at Alma, established this year, and another at Mount Pleasant, in operation for 5 years, care only for Mexican children whose parents are migratory beet workers. The Coloma center is the first attempt to aid native American whites in a similar capacity.

TAKEN TO SCHOOL

Each morning busses make the rounds of farms to bring from 30 to 50 children to the Gray School, a half-mile west of Coloma, where in winter months a district school is held. Unused in summer, it has become the headquarters for three volunteer trained workers, whose young charges range from 5 months to 10 years. From 6 to 7 a. m., when they arrive, until 4 p. m., the children enjoy a supervised program of recreation and study, with a noon meal provided.

Established and maintained by the National Council of Women for Home Missions, with the added support of local church and social groups, this center has no affiliation with any Government agency.

HEADS THE CENTER

Miss Veda Burge, of Judsonia, Ark., supervises the center. She has had 5 years' experience as an Arkansas school teacher and in work with the same people in her own city, where a similar center operates. Her sympathetic and understanding attitude toward her charges and the parents have enhanced the success of the project.

Miss Ruth Peterson, of Prescott, Wis., is in charge of the nursery, and John Putnam, of Kansas, supervises playground activities.

Adjacent to the school, an outbuilding used in winter as a coal shed has been utilized as a nursery.

SHED IS PREPARED

It was scrubbed, whitewashed inside, the windows screened and the floor covered with linoleum. Here as many as 17 children under 4 years of age were cared for in a busy cherry-harvest day. The babies sleep in baskets, the others have a nap time on blankets on the floor.

Together with every necessary physical care the children receive instruction in citizenship, health rules, crafts, and religious observances. A morning program of play, stories, dramatizations, and songs is built around the children's interests.

At noon, a meal of soup, bread, vegetables, fruit, and milk is served. This is supplemented by a midmorning breakfast of cereal, milk, and fruit. A rest period on blankets follows the dinner. The closing hour of the day is given over to a worship service.

ONE OF TWO INVASIONS

The coming of fruit pickers marks one of two invasions which Berrien County undergoes each year. Widely heralded as the "Blossomland of the Nation," this verdant west Michigan section attracts a quarter-million persons each May to visit the blossoming orchards in the Michigan blossom festival, and again in June a horde of migratory workers treks northward with the ripening of the first Michigan strawberries. The number of these homeless wanderers in Berrien County each year has been variously estimated at 5,000 to 15,000.

SURVEY IS BEGUN

Under auspices of the United States Farm Security Board, a survey of the entire migrant situation in this locality has been under way, the first to be undertaken here. Suggestions for more suitable housing of the workers, many of whom now live in shacks, barns, abandoned hen coops, and tents, have been made.

Local residents this year made the first move through social agencies to better conditions for children of migrant families. Their success, with the small amount of funds available, assures continuance of the project next season in enlarged quarters and with improved facilities. It is probable that a center also will be established for Negro children, whose parents form a large proportion of the transient population.

[Source: Federal Works Agency, Works Projects Administration, Lansing, Mich.]

MIGRATORY WORKERS OF SOUTHWESTERN MICHIGAN

(Prepared by John DeWilde, Ben Graham, Marguerite Dwan, and Bernard Litwin)

The experiences of the Joad family, eloquently pictured in John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, have awakened sympathetic interest in the serious problems facing both migrant workers and the communities to which these workers emigrate in search of work. Since our attention has been focused on the problem as it exists in the large fruit farms of California, and since the situation was dramatized in that setting, there is a feeling that while the story is pathetic, it is of no immediate concern to us.

In the South Haven W. P. A. area (including five counties bordering Lake Michigan in the southwestern part of the State) we have found that the Joads of California have counterparts in Michigan. The thousands of migrant families entering this area have a very real effect on the social and economic life of local communities. The problems of these workers, far from remote, become an important factor in our everyday life and a potential force for either the prosperity or the depression of local communities and for thousands of transient families.

This study does not pretend to be complete. Within the limits of available time, we secured what information we could. By interviewing migrant families and persons intimately associated with them, we hope to provide a somewhat representative picture of the situation in this area. The interviewers (who live in the counties included in this survey) secured the cooperation of employers, police officers, county agricultural agents, representatives of processing firms, employees of governmental agencies, and other interested persons. The interest shown by these people and the time given by the interviewers of this area made this report possible.

PART I. THE MIGRANT WORKER AND THE COMMUNITY

Migrant workers are employed in three different areas. The most important, since it involves the use of the largest number of workers, is in the berry fields and fruit orchards. Producers of sugar beets and other commercial vegetables also hire many migrants but, while the workers in these areas are as depressed as the fruit workers, the circumstances under which they enter the area and the control exercised over them differs.

Finally there is a section describing the situation of out-of-State workers engaged in service work which is an important field because of resort activity in this area.

The report is presented in two parts. The first section describes the general features of the migrant situation: the beginning of the influx of migrant workers into this region, and an analysis of the need for, and the growth of, the movement; the picture of the conditions under which they live and the problems they face; and a statement of community problems arising from the increasing hire of migrant workers. The second section describes the situation from actual interviews made by social workers from conversations with individual migrant families.

The need for and origin of migrant workers in the fruit harvest: The Benton Harbor-Covert Relief expedition of early spring 1931 marks the beginning of extensive use of migrant workers, since it served to acquaint southern workers with the prosperity of this area, and to suggest to producers that these underprivileged laborers could supply the labor needed in the production of fruits. During the previous year, Phillips County (Arkansas) had suffered severe crop failure, and agricultural laborers who, in the years before 1930 had just managed to stave off acute want, were facing actual starvation. Assistance from some outside source was needed. Citizens of Berrien County who became interested in the problems of these depressed southern workers, felt the need to offer assistance of some sort, and organized efforts were made to supply necessary food and clothing.

Reports of the local newspapers at that time are interesting, and full accounts were carried describing the activities and efforts to provide material assistance to "people wearing gunny sacks as their only articles of clothing."¹ Since Berrien County as a whole had scarcely felt the effects of the depression it was not difficult to secure cooperation from the local communities. Truck loads of food, clothing, and other supplies bearing banners "Arkansas Relief from Berrien County, Michigan"² were sent and extensive publicity both in Berrien County and in Arkansas accompanied these donations. The contributions were appreciated by the Arkansas officials, who "gave praise to local people of southwestern Michigan recognized as the richest agricultural section of the United States who have demonstrated the generosity of its citizens by so nobly responding to the needs of the less fortunate."³

During this same period fruit producers found that the production of their crops was becoming increasingly profitable. The proximity of Lake Michigan to the berry fields and orchards was of inestimable value, since it protected local crops when there were crop failures in other localities away from the lake. The market conditions of 1940 bear this out. Local paper reported "Illinois and Indiana peaches were almost completely frozen out. But Berrien County alone expects to have more than a million bushels. That's just about half a crop for this county but all thanks is due to Lake Michigan."⁴ The soil being well suited for fruit farming, offered farmers the most returns when converted into the cultivation of fruit.

There was one very definite obstacle to extended fruit production: These crops require extensive care, and during the harvesting season there is a need for large numbers of workers. This need was imperative since machinery had not been invented to supplant hand-labor as it had been in other agricultural activities. Until 1932 local labor had been used almost entirely but the supply was inadequate since wages farmers were willing to pay were equally inadequate to care for the existing acreage in production, let alone provide for an increase in production. Since only a short time before the plight of the southern agricultural worker had been widely publicized it was natural for producers to turn to this area for an answer to their problems. Here in the South were workers accustomed to agricultural labor, desperately in need of employment, and willing to work for low wages. In 1932 a farmer visited Arkansas and imported in truck loads about 200 workers to assist him in harvesting his crop. With this beginning there have been increasing numbers of workers entering

¹ Berrien Journal-Era, Berrien Springs, Mich., February 26, 1931.

² Ibid., March 5, 1931.

³ Ibid., April 2, 1931.

⁴ The Community Enterprise, Bridgman, Mich., June 13, 1940.

the area each year and since cheap labor was made available in this wise, producers have been encouraged to extend their production.

The fruit-producing areas in this district are concentrated in Berrien, Allegan, and Van Buren Counties with Berrien accounting for almost one-half the total acreage. Table I shows the distribution of fruit in this area as tabulated by the United States Census of 1930.

TABLE I.—*Distribution by county of fruit acreage in the South Haven Work Project Administration area*¹

County	Tree fruits	Small fruits	County	Tree fruits	Small fruits
Total, all counties.....	10,066	1,328	Cass.....	2,979	24
Allegan.....	17,497	87	Ottawa.....	5,588	67
Berrien.....	47,214	1,134	Van Buren.....	27,788	16

¹ From U. S. census figures for 1930.

Since this tabulation was made there has been an enormous increase in the production of all kinds of fruit. The growth has occurred in all counties in various degrees, with Berrien County leading the increase. Comparing table I with table II (which follows) indicates the present fruit production in Berrien County, compared with other counties in the United States, will show this tremendous growth. In strawberry production alone the present total of 3,310 acres is almost three times that of the total small-fruit production in 1930. The inclusion of other fruits which have shared the increase will bring the total many times higher.

Berrien County's standing compared to other fruit-producing counties in the United States is interesting, and further illustrates the extent of fruit production and also the need for migrant labor in this area.

TABLE II.—*Berrien County fruit production in relation to other counties in the United States*¹

Standing	Commodity	Amount	Amount	Standing	Commodity	Amount	Amount
1st.....	Black raspberries.....	-----	-----	8th.....	Cherries.....	Trees..	231,310
2d.....	Peaches.....	Trees	1,086,150	9th.....	Apples.....	do....	697,791
3d.....	Blackberries.....	-----	-----	10th.....	Pears.....	do....	359,282
3d.....	Dewberries.....	-----	-----	10th.....	Grapes.....	Vines..	7,145,423
8th.....	Strawberries.....	Acres..	3,310				

¹ Table given in the Community Enterprise, June 13, 1940 from 1940 census figures. In some fruits the size of the crop was not given.

The production of sugar beets and commercial vegetables, which include pickles, onions, celery, and other garden produce, constitutes another field in which migrant labor is extensively used. These crops are centralized in Allegan, Ottawa, and Van Buren Counties.

The situation of the migrant sugar-beet workers differs from that of the fruit workers in that there is some control exercised over it. The Lake Shore Beet Co., of Holland, Mich., provides the market for producers in this area, and through this company farmers are assisted in securing workers. This is also the only field in which were found any evidence of Federal control over the wages of farm laborers in this area.

Each year this company contracts with farmers for fields to be placed into production of sugar beets. At the time the contracts are drawn up, they request farmers to state their labor needs for the coming season, then the necessary number of workers are provided.

The sugar-beet company has field agents located in sections of the country where experienced labor is available. An agent operating in Texas supplies most of the workers needed in this area and notifies the Holland office when workers can be expected to arrive. These workers arrange their own transportation and are sent as they are needed. When they arrive they are turned over to the farmers who had requested extra labor. About 150 Mexican workers are imported each season⁵ and many more are hired directly by the individual grower.⁶

While the United States Department of Agriculture sets a minimum wage of \$11 for tending 1 acre of sugar beets, this wage is in effect also the maximum and gives the workers only limited protection. Under this scale earnings vary greatly and depend, not only on the productive ability of the workers, but on crop and weather conditions. Under the most favorable circumstances, the expert worker may earn \$6 for a 12-hour day. Translated into a monthly basis this would probably not exceed \$55. Average earnings are very much lower—even so, the sugar-beet workers (because of this minimum wage) are better paid than other agricultural workers.

These wage regulations operate unfavorably under certain circumstances. Since the rate is made for each acre harvested, there is no scale for work that is only partially finished. This invites certain abuses, and operates against a worker who works for only a few days. The regulation also serves to exclude local workers who otherwise might accept this work as a stop-gap between periods of other employment.

Although the company indicated that they were having no difficulty in securing labor that was needed for this area, there were indications that within the past few seasons this same company engaged in practices that were questionable (to say the least). One person (generally well-informed on the employment situation in this area) reported that, a few seasons ago, the company was faced with a labor shortage. To meet the problem they imported scores of workers from Chicago. Because they were unwilling to work at the wages offered they were given liquor, became intoxicated, were then loaded into the company trucks, and taken into the fields to work. Since they had no funds, most of them continued to work throughout the season. Whether or not this actually happened, the working conditions of these agricultural workers are undesirable, and their experiences follow the pattern of the fruit workers described in later paragraphs.

Since there is a slack period in the sugar-beet work about the time the pickle fields require laborers, many migrant workers take this work to fill in that dull season. The Heinz Pickle Co., which contracts for about one-half of the pickle crop in this area, reports that there are about 1,000 workers hired during the season.⁷ The average daily wage for this type of work probably does not exceed \$2 a day.

Although we have discussed the migrant situation of the fruit and vegetable workers separately, these workers do not limit their activities to any particular crop but take any employment that is offered. Different crops require labor at different periods and the workers move from one job to the next as the season progresses. Table III gives an approximate picture of seasons when labor is needed for the different crops hiring migrant workers in this area. As already mentioned, the sugar-beet workers tend to supplement their wages with work in the pickle fields, while the fruit workers limit their activities to the different fruits.

⁵ Mr. Diekman, field agent, Lake Shore Sugar Co., Holland, Mich.

⁶ A Van Buren County police officer said that he had stopped 2 truckloads of Negroes this season. They said they were on their way to the sugar-beet fields.

⁷ Mr. Barton, manager, Heinz Pickle Co., Holland, Mich.

TABLE III.—*Seasons of activity in crops where migrant labor is used*

Crop	June	July	August	September	October	November
Strawberries	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Gooseberries	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Currants	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Cherries	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Raspberries	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Blueberries	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Plums	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Dewberries	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Blackberries	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Peaches	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Pears	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
String beans	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Lima beans	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Pickles	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Sugar Beets	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Apples	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Throughout this area, along the resort section bordering Lake Michigan, there is increased activity during the summer months due to the influx of thousands of resorters. From Benton Harbor to Grand Haven hundreds of cottages, hotels, restaurants, and amusement centers cater to these temporary residents. Help is needed to condition resort property and to service the vacationists. While local help is used (and could probably fill all labor requirements) several hundred service workers⁸ are brought into the State to work during the months of June, July, and August. They come from Illinois, Arkansas, Florida, and other localities to work as dishwashers, chambermaids, waiters, porters, and handy men. In some cases hotel and resort owners bring in their own workers; in others, they secure them through public or private employment agencies, or by application.

Living conditions of the migrant workers: These workers are given maintenance but are assigned to the worst possible quarters. Locations are chosen because the quarters can have no possible commercial value, and they range from

⁸ The South Haven office of the State employment service estimates that 150 out-of-State workers are hired in South Haven alone.

basements to attics. For 14 hours of work, 7 days a week, they earn from \$20 to \$35 a month and maintenance—such as it is. The reason for the preference for migrant help over local is obvious. Local service workers, many of whom are living at home and not fully dependent for support on their own earnings, will not accept these jobs for the wages offered and the hours of work required. It is more profitable for employers to import workers who will work under existing conditions, than to increase wages and to improve the working conditions in their establishments.

This "Jim Crow" attitude toward these migratory workers by local persons is illustrated by an incident of a few seasons ago. Many Negroes use the South Haven park as their only place to congregate during their off hours. A rumor had circulated around town that a white woman had been accosted by a male Negro while she was walking through the park. A posse of men was quickly organized. Armed with clubs and supplied with tar and feathers they started for the park; when they arrived most of the Negroes had disappeared, but one was caught and severely beaten. While preparations were being made to tar and feather him, he made a dash for it and escaped to a hotel where he hid until the police could jail him. The following day he was released and sent out of town.

The conditions under which these migrants travel, work, and live are almost unbelievable. In June, with the advent of the strawberry harvest, the migrants stream into this area. Whites, Mexicans, and Negroes; men, women, and children; old people, sick people, old men, and pregnant women leave their homes in Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, California, Florida, and other States where it has become impossible to earn a living. Lured by a Pied Piper's call to work they follow the trail on foot, in second-hand cars, in trucks, and on freight cars. The difficulties that they endure are staggering. Here is a jalopy puffing up hill, radiator steaming; just short of the top the motor pounds to a stop and awaits shuddering the ministrations of the owner. Children pour out of a shanty, roofed with a mattress, built on the rear. They seem happy to have a diversion, but their elders are serious. An old man blocks up the wheel, a young man goes for water; eventually after some tinkering the motor roars, the children scurry for the truck, the men climb in the cab, and creeping over the crest of the hill they rumble on their way north.

Along another road an old 1928 Chevrolet truck is stalled. It carries the unmistakable signs of migrant ownership—a shelter on the back and household goods piled high. There are 10 persons—father, mother, 6 children, a married daughter, and her husband. They are in serious trouble—rear axle has given way. Out of a reserve of \$1.50 the son-in-law is given \$1 to buy a second-hand axle at the nearest junk shop; 50 cents must somehow be stretched until work can be found. The mother is lying half-dazed on a mattress in the truck—she had been ill during the entire trip from Arkansas. The family hope that "she will get better when we stop traveling and start working." To find work they have traveled hundreds of miles, 10 persons in one truck (1 seriously ill), sleeping on the ground in all kinds of weather. These are but two examples of the difficulties experienced by the thousands of workers entering this area.⁹

To the casual traveler driving around the countryside all that is visible are acres of beautiful fruit trees and fields of small fruits dotted with workers busily occupied in harvesting. The migrant camps which we shall describe are hidden from view and do not mar the picture. Is this intentional? One farmer, in describing a camp, said, "Jones¹⁰ has got a swell place for them (migrants) on his farm. There's about 50 families living in his woods. It's swell. You can't see them and it ain't so hot for them."

Many producers in this area hire from 50 to 400 workers. All the camps in which these migrants live follow the same dreary description. The only concession the producers make for the convenience of their workers is the location, 1 well for water, and an average of 1 outhouse for 50 persons. When old barns and buildings are available they are used as bunkhouses to provide for an unbelievable number of people. A description of one of these camps will illuminate

⁹ Mr. Johnston of the Michigan experiment station in South Haven estimates that approximately 5,000 workers are employed in fruit alone. The supervisor of Sodus Township in Berrien County estimates that 800 migrants enter that township each season.

¹⁰ Fictional name substituted.

the conditions under which they live. This camp is almost an exact duplicate of the one which was described as "swell."

Driving off a small country road and up a dirt lane we come upon the camp located in a grove of trees. In the center are two large frame buildings each about 75 feet long and 12 feet wide. Around these buildings are tents, old cars, trailers, and trucks. We examine the houses; they have dirt floors and each is divided by flimsy partitions into eight rooms; there are few furnishings. Some have packing boxes, old chairs, tables made from rough lumber—these are scattered between old mattresses and blankets which are spread on the ground and serve as beds. On nails driven into the wall hang a few articles of clothing. Food is prepared outside over open campfires or on fireplaces built with a few bricks. Water is supplied by 1 hand pump, which must service the whole camp. About 10 feet away from the pump are 2 outhouses, toilet facilities for all families living in the camp. The 2 buildings are the homes of 100 men, women, and children—an average of over 8 to one small room!

At this particular time, the camp was almost deserted since the families were working in the fields. Here and there were small groups of children too young to work with an older girl keeping watch while they played in dirt and garbage churned up by passing cars.

Medical care.—After examining these camps it is not surprising to learn that local health authorities are concerned over the problem both from the point of view of the individual migrant families in need of medical care, and from that of community health. Unfortunately the agencies that do exist for the protection of community health are not in a position to cope with this problem since it is outside their authority, and since almost no provision is made for treatment of nonresident families. Most of the migrant families know this and make no appeal for public assistance no matter how desperate their need for medical attention. Consequently disease is widely prevalent and constitutes a menace to the health of the communities as well as to the workers. Some of the more spectacular cases come to the attention of the local health authorities. Mr. Theodore Katzbach, a member of the Berrien County hospital board, said that service to migrants for medical assistance from the period July 1938 to July 1939 totaled \$6,000, or 14 percent of the total expenditures of the hospital during that period. In his opinion this service did not even make a beginning in dealing with the problem.

Possibly the most authoritative existing source of information regarding health conditions among migrants in this area is the Paw Paw office of the Kellogg Health Foundation. Although this organization has no funds for treatment of these families it is occasionally called in on a severe case of illness, and has an acquaintance with the problem through its field workers. These workers are very much concerned over the situation, and their story of existing conditions among migrant families is a revelation of social neglect.

Let us look at some of their experiences. We can begin with preventive medicine—the logical solution of the problem. Even if the living conditions of migrants were greatly improved (of which they show no sign) "workers and their families will not call a doctor unless they are half dead."¹¹

Maternity care for these citizens? "Many babies are born in tents and outside under trees."¹²

But if for no other reason than self-protection some action should be taken for the control of communicable diseases. We found none. Many migrant families who come to Michigan have relapses of malarial fever. Mosquitoes carry the disease to other workers, and to local people, and so spread the infection. The bad living conditions are favorable for the spread of diseases such as dysentery, typhoid fever, and venereal infection. Workers of the Kellogg Health Foundation expect many cases of typhoid fever before the summer ends, and when contagious diseases are contracted by a migrant, there is no provision for isolating the patient.

Here is an example of the care the laborers receive: One woman was stricken with a bad case of typhoid fever and had to be taken somewhere for care. Money was raised by her fellow workers and a few local farmers and she was taken to

¹¹ Dr. M. French, director, Kellogg Health Foundation, Paw Paw, Mich.

¹² *Ibid.*

the county farm. But because not enough money was contributed, she could stay there only a few days and was forced to leave before recovering.¹²

This information comes from only occasional cases. There is no check whatever on the general health of the migrants. If care is necessary, need must be so dire that any initiative must come from the family, since local agencies act only when called, and then often have to refuse assistance. Workers for the Kellogg Foundation believe that it is immediately necessary to improve the living conditions of migrants by provision of healthful camps, with pure and sufficient water supply, proper sanitation, and adequate living quarters.

Education and recreation.—In education we again found the social neglect that characterizes the entire migrant problem. The children of migrant families have little opportunity for learning because of lack of both opportunity and inclination. Wandering as their parents do from place to place to make their living, the children do not fit into our educational system, which is stabilized in the various communities; and no provision has been made in this rigid system for the special problem of migrant children. Born of parents who have had little or no educational opportunity, the children in these families are brought up in ignorance. They are in most cases under no compulsion from their parents to attend school even when one is temporarily available. Those who are forced to attend have little interest in a school system which is inadequate to meet their needs. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are not very appealing to the ragged, undernourished child, and association with children years younger and from entirely different backgrounds makes school for them a torture. Furthermore, a child old enough to attend school is also a producer and a contributor to family income. Who can blame them for availing themselves of the essentials of life and possibly the luxuries of a little spending money rather than attempting to achieve the doubtful future advantages of an education?

But every child and possibly every adult should play as well as work, or so we are told. Recreation is a luxury not many migrants can afford. The grim necessity of earning a living comes first. When work is available everyone must work from dawn to dusk so that the tomorrow, which might not provide work, will not go unprovided. The specter of unemployment clouds the lives of all migrant workers. Who can enjoy leisure when it is taken at the terrible expense of lost wages, possible want, and the lack of security that a small cash reserve brings?

Earnings of the migrant worker.—What incentive is there to encourage these workers to travel hundreds or even thousands of miles to enter this area? An examination of wages and conditions of work for migrants make it difficult to believe that the opportunities justify the effort. Possibly it is a choice of the lesser evil. Men must work to live.

We found that the producers are unanimous in their approval of the migrant workers and encourage their entry into this area. They are considered excellent workers who cause no trouble, are very industrious, and willing to work; and, in the words of one police officer, "The men never bother any of the local women. They stick to their own kind." The dependence of these workers on their jobs and their consequent willingness to work for almost any wage is an important element in the approval expressed by producers. As one farmer puts it, "They have to work to live, because they're a thousand miles from home."

The wage of the migrant is very unstable and difficult to determine accurately, since many factors are involved. The individual ability of the worker, the demand for and the supply of available labor in the community at the time needed, the market price of the crop, and the conditions of the weather during the harvest; all these have an effect on the wage scale and total earnings of the migrant family. In all crops the wage is determined on a piece-work basis, and wages depend on the amount picked. While the rates vary for the different crops and it is possible to earn higher wages in some than in others, the general scale has a controlling factor, the wage generally paid for farm labor in this area. This scale varies from \$1 to \$2.50 for a 10-hour day. All indications are that even under the best circumstances when there is a good crop and plenty of work the wage of the migrant workers is very low. One farmer who hires a large number of workers reports that his laborers make from \$1 to \$3 a day. Mr. Johnston of the Michigan Experiment Station lists the maximum at about \$4.

¹² Ibid.

These figures in themselves are misleading since a number of factors enter in which make the total earnings present an entirely different picture. Since the workers are paid only for the amount they produce, there are many days that they do not earn anything. If the season is late or the crop small, these days may run into weeks. Besides, it often happens that all of the day's harvest is completed in a very few hours, since the producer will hire all available workers regardless of the amount of work there is to be done. This makes certain that the crop is harvested as soon as possible when it is ready for marketing.

It is becoming increasingly common to place large numbers of workers in the field for a few hours rather than turn some away and permit the balance to work regularly. This situation works a hardship on the workers because their wages are very small for the day's work. Under these circumstances there is no over-supply of labor, and the more workers that are available the better it pleases the producer. At times when there is a large supply of labor because of increased migration or a partial crop, these conditions have an effect on the prices that are paid. Naturally when there are two or three workers where only one can be used, these workers compete for the job and wages can be driven down to very low levels. This is especially true during years when the market price of crops is low. In order to avoid operating at a loss, the producer cuts expenses wherever possible, and since other expenses incident to the production of fruit are relatively stable, the wages of migrants can be and often are cut.

During most seasons, however, the cost of labor is fairly well stabilized, since the producer wishes to encourage the return of the migrants in future years, and any reduction in the average wage-level would make it increasingly difficult for the workers to earn even a meager living.

If only the head of a family were employed at the current wage paid to migrants, it would be impossible for families to maintain themselves. But with husband, wife, and children as young as 6 or 7 years old working it is possible for the family to "get by." Consequently there is extensive use of child labor in this kind of work and children work side by side with their elders in the blazing sun.

The experience of one family of six clearly illustrates this wage problem. With the father, mother, and one 7-year-old child all working, they earn from \$2 to \$2.50 a day—when they work. Some days this means spending 12 hours in the field, and then, sometimes at night, helping the farmer with his packing—this without pay. But to them that was better than remaining in the South where they were earning 50 cents a day, cutting timber and even work like that becomes scarce. Facing the two evils of child labor or want, the children work.

The owner of a small grocery store in Keeler, Mich., who does a large business with the migrant workers made some interesting observations from his experiences. He does a large credit business, and declares migrants to be good risks. "Most of these people can be trusted. So far we haven't any cases where they left without paying their bills." His comment on their purchases is enlightening. "Most of their money is spent on food. Most of them don't take any money back with them." The food consists mostly of "milk, bread, and occasionally meat. I sell a lot of candy and knickknacks to the children."

In the face of the wretched conditions under which migrant workers are forced to live and work, it is surprising to find little evidence of labor trouble. Possibly it is because the need for work is so urgent that any action which might jeopardize their jobs is not taken so long as a living, meager as it is, can be made. But the rapid influx of migrant workers presages future difficulties, especially if the increase in the number of acres in production of fruit and vegetables does not keep pace with the number of available workers. Migrant labor still seems to be in its developing stages in this area, but even so there is evidence of concern by local authorities. This concern in some cases has developed into repressive measures which in times of stress may reach the heights in California.

Migrants forced to leave at end of season.—In Berrien County the board or supervisors authorized the sheriff's department to stop and question all migrants entering the county. This has been done in some cases, but since those workers perform an essential service, they are permitted to enter with the understanding that they will leave as soon as they are no longer needed. So far 99 percent have left of their own accord without public assistance.¹³ What will happen if

¹³ Mr. Meyer, director, Berrien County Board of Social Welfare.

large numbers are not able to continue their travels because of reduced earnings?

In Van Buren County three townships passed a resolution that producers were responsible for their workers in every way. There is, of course, no compulsion in this ruling and it only further divides responsibility for the care of migrant families.

The attitude and experience of a local police officer in a large fruit-producing district reveals the growing antagonism toward the workers. He feels that migrant workers "can't be trusted" and detains some of them to "check them." He reports that since so many migrant workers have come looking for work, farmers have hired men to chase workers out of the fields, and, as a result, as many as 30 workers have been in jail at 1 time for "protection." In the fall this officer visits the workers who remain in camps and tells them that the work is over and if in 2 hours they have not left, they will be put in jail.

Relief agencies and the migrant worker.—The relief agencies have little knowledge of the problem and in some counties were surprised to learn of its extent. They are concerned over the influx of destitute migrant workers from a selfish point of view: the relief authorities feel that migrants are not "a local responsibility" and have no claim on "local funds." Consequently even the most elementary needs of these workers are neglected. The only solution that is offered when a family is brought to their attention is to "send them back to where they belong" as soon as possible.

Because of the number of migrants entering Berrien County, the Berrien County Board of Social Welfare has had many contacts with these families. Here the same attitude prevails. Migrant workers do not belong, and while it is all right for them to work, they should leave as soon as the work is over.

Migrants who have been unfortunate in not securing enough work to provide the essentials of living and a small cash balance for transportation must occasionally ask for help. The following table shows the amount spent per month by the welfare board for the year 1939, and the proportion of funds supplied by the Federal Government. The families included are not all migrants as we use the term in this paper. Many have lived here a number of years, but because they did not acquire a legal settlement in the county (which requires a year's residence without public assistance) they are listed as transients. The money spent is a pitifully small allowance in view of the number and need of migrant families in that county.

TABLE IV.—*Berrien County Social Welfare Board Transient Program for 1939*¹

Month	Number of cases		Persons		Cost	
	State	Federal	State	Federal	State	Federal
Total.....	591	539	2,057	2,182	\$7,882.65	\$6,830.68
January.....	78	81	280	367	1,309.17	1,172.25
February.....	79	77	284	326	1,308.95	1,136.03
March.....	76	72	276	314	1,115.54	1,033.56
April.....	62	61	237	262	918.26	722.79
May.....	58	44	230	185	666.10	394.92
June.....	43	31	165	113	380.50	284.14
July.....	33	27	104	88	385.94	311.80
August.....	35	23	106	74	311.32	300.23
September.....	30	26	82	96	344.81	257.05
October.....	30	30	84	96	330.08	352.38
November.....	37	31	117	124	379.72	434.25
December.....	30	36	92	137	372.26	451.28

¹ Berrien County Board of Social Welfare.

Since many local workers find employment on farms the migrant workers affect the job opportunities of the resident unemployed. These local workers cannot successfully compete with migrant workers for several reasons: (1) The difference in living standards between local and migrant workers encourages the use of out-of-State workers. As already indicated, these workers come into this locality from depressed areas of the Nation. (2) A fair wage to the migratory worker

would be an impossible wage for local workers who have homes and fixed living expenses that are much higher than those of migrant families. (3) Transportation—only workers who live in the immediate locality look for jobs on farms since the wages are low and it is not possible to travel a long distance each day for the wages that are paid. Migrant families who live on the farm avoid this expense. (4) Fruit picking requires a certain degree of experience, and many local workers cannot work efficiently enough to make the work pay. The experience of the Holland office of the State employment service indicates this difficulty. An effort was recently made to secure local workers for sugar-beet producers. Several unemployed workers were persuaded to try the work and were taken to the fields. They worked only 1 day, since the most any 1 worker made was 75 cents for a full day's work.¹⁴ So, when other work is available, local workers do not seek jobs in this field. Women and school children are used in some localities but their wages are small. However, many of them feel that they can afford to work for low wages since any supplemental income, however small, is welcome. (5) Producers favor migrant workers since they are dependable and willing to work for low wages; they call at the farms at the times they are needed and continue working until the crop is harvested.

Relief agencies make every effort to limit expenditures during the summer months because of the activity on farms. During the farming season all relief activity is drastically curtailed, the workers are forced to take any kind of employment at any wages they can earn. With the exception of Ottawa County, all relief offices deny assistance to families with one or more employable workers. W. P. A. projects are limited, and farmers are not eligible for certification during the season of farm activity no matter what their income may be. These restrictions cause hardships for many families.

Apart from the relief agencies in Berrien and Van Buren Counties, we found no public agencies that were equipped to assist migrants with their many problems. The Federal Social Security program does not even touch this need. Under existing laws the migrant worker cannot qualify for unemployment compensation and old-age benefits because they are not employed in a covered industry; old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children is denied because migrants cannot meet residence requirements; W. P. A., C. C. C., and N. Y. A. employment is not available since the welfare agencies will not make the necessary certification of need. Even the State employment service is of no assistance since they emphasize placements of local workers. Migrant workers are not registered unless they give an address which in most cases is impossible, since they are constantly on the move. The Farm Security Administration is interested in the problem, and in some localities camps have been established. In spite of the urgent need there has been no such activity in this section of the State.

Private welfare agencies.—In a one-room schoolhouse located in Coloma Township, Berrien County, we found the only organization in this area which is designed to assist migrant families. Sponsored by the women's council of home mission,¹⁵ a local committee provides a day school for children from the ages of 5 months to 10 years old. This camp is designed to care for a maximum of 75 children from migrant families living in the immediate area. It fulfills an urgent need—that of caring for small children while other members of the family are working in the fields. This organization with the assistance of local churches and interested persons does excellent work under financial limitations. The current budget of \$700 is supplemented by local donations of food and clothing.

Between 6:30 and 7 o'clock in the morning attendants drive to migrant camps and call for the children. When they reach the camp all children are washed and made ready for breakfast, which is served about 8 o'clock. The daily activities, which include games, story telling, and rest periods, then begin. At 11:30 a nourishing lunch is served, and at 4 o'clock the children are taken to their temporary homes. The camp leaders attempt to teach fundamental health habits and to give the children proper food and available clothing while they are in the vicinity.

¹⁴ Mr. Barendse, manager of the Holland office, Michigan State Employment Service.

¹⁵ Two other camps are operated by this organization in Michigan—one at Mount Pleasant and one at Alma.

The activity of this camp (while it reaches only a fraction of the need) indicates the possibilities for a program extended to meet the many problems that migrants face.

Summary.—Few definite conclusions can be reached, but some trends are clearly indicated. To summarize, the most definite trends and the final conclusions are these:

1. The number of migrants tends to increase each year.
2. There has been no actual count of the number coming into the State.
3. Migrants include whites, Negroes, and Mexicans.
4. Few farmers provide adequate housing facilities for the workers.
5. The camps are unsupervised as to sanitary conditions.
6. Often as many as 50 families live in the same camp.
7. The migrant receives little medical attention while in Michigan.
8. Most migrant children are deprived of school opportunities.
9. The migrants do not seem to resent the conditions under which they work and live.
10. They have made increased fruit production possible.
11. They tend to supplant local labor as pickers.
12. The problem is only in its beginning stages.

Our study of the migrant workers in this area clearly reveals that migrants perform an essential service to the community. In a great degree, this entire area is dependent on the production of crops for which migrants are hired. Aside from the many farmers who depend upon the production of fruits and vegetables for their income, many industries are engaged in the processing and marketing of these crops. The fruit exchanges, canning factories, basket companies, and fruit-juice companies hire many hundreds of local workers, and the success of these many industries depends upon the success of the fruit and vegetable crop. There must be no delay in the harvesting of fruit when it is ready for market, since it is highly perishable. Migrant labor is important in this phase of the production.

The motive of the migrant workers and families is obvious. They want work and travel hundreds of miles to find it. As a group they are the most willing workers we have, and so long as they can earn even a meager living, they put up with numerous difficulties.

The communities, too, face a dilemma. They need the migrant worker to harvest crops, and encourage them to enter the counties for the labor season. But because of their dependency, living conditions, and health problems, shyness, away, deny assistance, and drive them out when they are no longer needed.

Yet all the problems mentioned in this report have a profound effect on the community. The living conditions and health of the migrants had a direct relation to the physical and economic well-being of the entire area and of the Nation as a whole. By its very nature, migrancy is a national problem, and while enormous improvements could be made by local communities, an approach to the problem must be made on a national basis to be effective. The migrant situation as we found it in this area is only one phase of the national problem. The same migrants that come here travel to many other places in their search for work. The conditions that persuaded workers to leave their homes in search of employment and the labor situation in other communities in which migrants search for work and make a temporary home, are all important parts of the problem that must eventually be considered.

Even while migrancy has an important effect on the community, there has been little or no effort to analyze the problem and to attempt even a partial solution. While the migrants have some contact with all social agencies in this area, there is almost no provision for their care. The aid that is allowed is so inadequate as to be almost useless in coping with the extent of the problem.

That the plight of the migratory family is pitiful, no one will deny. This study attempts to show how they first came to Michigan, their value to the fruit farmer, and a few of the many problems that their coming has presented. Its aim is not to point out any solution or methods which would alleviate the deplorable conditions under which these people work and live. It is an attempt to show that Michigan also has a migratory problem. The full realization of this situation and its attendant potentialities should bring forth some attempts to correct the wretched conditions that already exist. There is a feeling among those

who are conversant with the problem that some solution should be forthcoming as soon as possible, as those migrants now here are but the vanguard of a great army which increases every year.

The growth of the use of migrant labor brings many problems and responsibilities that the individual community must face. The wages, living conditions, and health problems of migrants have a direct relation to the social and economic well-being of the communities to which they come during the summer months. We cannot afford to continue to neglect the situation, and repressive measures will only aggravate the problems.

Indications are that every year the problem is becoming more acute and more needful of a solution. While the scope of the problem is national and demands national attention, local initiative is necessary. The improvements in this area can be made. Neglect or lack of concern over the health, education, living conditions, and general welfare of these wandering Americans will store the "grapes of wrath" for future generations.

PART II. CASE STUDIES

Generalities take on added significance when they are brought down to specific situations. The following stories of the life of migrants in Michigan are the results of actual interviews by the various members of the staff. It is hoped that these stories will give a picture of the conditions under which the migrant works and lives while he is in the State. A portrayal of some of the lives of individual families vividly illustrates the tragic circumstances migrants face. These families are not "southerners" or "foreigners," but American citizens. That they are forced to live as they do is not their fault, but a social condition that must be and should be remedied.

We feel that these portraits are typical case histories among the thousands that could be taken. These interviews were not chosen by any scientific means of sampling, but were taken within the limitations imposed upon us. These limitations include not only our lack of time, but the availability of the family, their willingness to discuss their affairs, and the cooperation of the farmer in allowing interviewers to come to his farm and talk to the migrants.

(a) *Zoa*.—The grim gray of the fruit exchange dominates the little crossroads settlement. Behind the exchange, exposed to the glaring rays of the sun, are grouped nine cabins, reminiscent of slave quarters of an old southern plantation. The cabins are serviced by only one central pump and one community outhouse. The cabins themselves lack all rudiments of decent living. They are crude wood affairs about 9 by 12 feet. Small windows are cut in three sides of them; and of course windows and doors have no screens. There are no chimneys, so cooking must be done out of doors.

Zoa stands in the doorway of the cabin that she will call home for the next few weeks. She had come north with her father and two brothers, aged 8 and 4. Zoa had come along to keep house and look after the children, she explained, as she drew the younger one toward her. She smiled as she continued her story. Her mother and sisters, Zella, aged 8 months, and Mary, aged 3 years, were still in Kentucky. Zoa hoped that her "pa" would get work the next day, picking strawberries. So far he had not had any. If there were berries to pick, she would work too.

The inside of the cabin is as disheartening to see as the outside. It is as clean as could be expected, considering the lack of all facilities. It is entirely unfinished except for a crude wood floor. A built-in bunk takes up most of the space. The cabin is barren of furniture. On the bunk is an old mattress which had been discarded by some former occupants. There are no blankets, pillows, or any kind of bedding. A sardine can tacked to the wall is used as a soap dish—when there is soap.

On the wall are several nails on which hung a much-worn sweater and what appears to be a man's union suit. These two garments, except for the clothes they wore, constitutes the entire family wardrobe.

Two boards nailed across a corner of the cabin serve as the family pantry. On this crude shelf stand the remains of a 5-pound sack of flour; a tin can that had once been filled with tomatoes was standing next to it—the can now held a batter of flour and water waiting to be baked for the evening meal. A 4-inch

piece of fish, a piece of pancake made from the batter, obvious left-overs from the previous meal, completes the food supply.

Zoa explained that the cooking was done outside over an open fire. Her father had made the stove from two cement blocks for sides and a lard-can top for the heating surface. One skillet comprises the cooking utensils.

Zoa had gone part way through the second grade in school but had had to stop in order to keep house when her baby sister was born. She was in hopes that soon her mother and sisters could join her "up north." This could be done only if the work were steady enough so that money could be sent for transportation. She and her father and brothers had hitchhiked from Kentucky, something that her mother and the younger ones were unable to do.

Are the pinched features of Zoa the result of her too great responsibilities, or the lack of proper food? Undoubtedly both played some share in making an old woman out of a 9-year-old girl.

Zoa's hair had once been yellow but by now is a dirty brown. It had been cut for convenience with little thought to evenness or beauty. Even the bangs had been chopped off at varying lengths. Her cheap cotton print of blue is faded and hangs loosely on her undernourished body. The dress was several sizes too big for her and is probably a gift from some more fortunate person; it is dirty—dirty with the day-in-day-out wear, and is the only dress the girl has. How could it have been otherwise? Neither Zoa nor the boys have shoes or stockings. These articles of wearing apparel are those that none of them had ever had.

Zoa is content. She had come North where there would be work; they have a cabin—she is keenly aware of the trouble her father has had in persuading the man to let them have a cabin. Only pity for the children had broken his resistance and allowed the wandering father and his three children this cabin for \$1.75 a week. Zoa's happiness would be complete when her mother and sisters joined her; and she seemed to feel no doubt about the future.

Such is the life of one migratory child.

(b) *The Farmer family.*—Several tents were pitched near the road in an apple orchard. I stopped at the first tent. The woman was very friendly and seemed glad to talk. She was very willing to tell me about her family. Her husband's name was R. E. Farmer and hers was Liza. They were married in 1900, when she was 14, in Eaton County, Ark. Neither of them had attended school beyond the third grade. They had eight children, all of them living. The Farmers homesteaded (160 acres in Eaton County) but they never worked the farm as such. The overflow of the Mississippi River in 1935 drove them from their home. At that time they received temporary help from the Red Cross since there was no emergency relief then available.

Mr. Farmer then contracted tuberculosis. He and three of the children were hospitalized in Arkansas at the same time. Because of his condition, they came north hoping that the climate would benefit his health. This was the third year that they had come north, and were much encouraged by the improvement in his health, and in the opportunities for work in fruit picking. Last year the Farmers made enough to buy a second-hand car in which they returned to Arkansas.

During the winter months some work was available cutting "chemical wood," which grows in the marshlands. They earned \$1 a cord. The wood was cut in 8-foot lengths and corded in piles 4 by 4 feet; because of the marshland, hip-boots must be worn while working. The wood is hauled out of the river bottoms in the summer and sent to Memphis, Tenn., for shipment.

Mr. Farmer has never had much employment. In 1919 he opened a restaurant but after an 8-month struggle was forced to close it. He also worked on the Iron Mountain Railroad as a section hand. He was paid \$12 a week while on that job, and the work lasted 3 years. From then on until the big flood of 1935 he sharecropped in Eaton County.

In 1940 the Farmers loaded all their household goods in a trailer and put an old spring over them. Mrs. Farmer made a make shift tarpaulin by sewing old rags together and covering them with melted paraffin. This kept the rain from soaking their belongings on their way to Michigan.

Only four of their children came north with them. Three are in Oklahoma, and one is in Arkansas. The four who came to Michigan are Robert, aged 20;

Rufus, 16; Dolmar, 14; and Glory, 10. They all seemed to be in good health. They all pick berries when there is work. The family plan to stay here during the strawberry-and-raspberry-picking time which will end by the 1st of August. The education of the children like that of their parents has been meager. The two older boys finished the sixth grade, and the other two expect to continue their schooling when they go home this fall.

The living conditions of this family were anything but favorable. Of the group of tents, theirs is pitched on the highest level, and Mrs. Farmer stated that during the rain "last week" the other tents were full of water. The water came to within 3 inches of the springs of their beds. It was necessary to sit on the beds as well as eat and sleep on them as best they could. There were no floors in the tents. The camp does not have any toilet facilities; water can be had from the pump in the barnyard about 200 yards away; and the tents are large enough to allow only three people to sleep at one time. The three older children sleep in the car.

However their resourcefulness and the ability to overcome difficulties was shown by the home-made tarpaulin, and by the ingenuity of Mr. Farmer who, when he needed a stove, made one from old car doors. The stove was about 24 by 16 inches in size, and Mrs. Farmer proudly states that it "bakes biscuit beautifully." The Farmers sit on the bed in order to eat because their home-made table, which is only 2 feet square, could not accommodate all the family at the same time. The Farmers, like most migrant families, feel that conditions North are no worse than at home; wages are better and there are more chances for work.

(c) *The Willis family.*—The Willis family; Andrew, aged 44, and his wife, aged 32; their two sons, Douglas, 8, and Fred, 6, have come to Michigan each spring for the last 4 years to work in the fruit fields. They usually located in Berrien County in or near Sodus. They traveled with the harvest from Florida to Michigan, but consider Georgia their home.

Mr. Willis has worked 1 year on W. P. A. Other work has been farm jobs, work in the canning factories, and other odd jobs. In Florida he usually earned \$16 per week in a canning factory. He has had continuous work with the Sodus Fruit Exchange from about June 1 to November 1. Mrs. Willis was also able to get part-time work at the fruit exchange.

The family lived in a small cabin on land adjacent to the exchange; the cabins, nine in all, are owned by the exchange and rent for \$1.75 a week. The cabins are about 9 by 12 feet, floored, but without plaster. In the Willis' cabin were two built-in bunks. This particular cabin also boasted a chimney, so that the family can use a small cook stove. The stove was an interesting one, inasmuch as Mr. Willis made it from old automobile car doors. It had a small oven. Mrs. Willis was very proud of her stove, and showed us her newly baked biscuits. Nail kegs serve as chairs, and a crude home-made table held the dishes and food supply. Water comes from a pump which is located in the middle of the space occupied by the nine cabins. One outhouse is used by all the families.

Mr. Willis resorted to fruit-harvesting from State to State because of the low wages which prevailed in Georgia. Farm laborers usually earned 50 cents a day.

Mr. Willis carries a \$2,000 insurance policy with the Modern Woodmen of America, and Mrs. Willis explained that they do without almost everything non-essential until the premium has been paid.

The family are of Baptist faith; the children attend school from November through April; the father and mother completed the fourth grade in school. Mrs. Willis said that the family was in good health except for Mr. Willis, who has a rupture. Mrs. Willis gave the information very willingly while she enjoyed her snuff.

(d). *The Johnsons.*—Crowded between the creek and the dusty road stood the shack. Its two additions stuck on the rear like after-thoughts. It looked as though it had served as a "berry-shanty" in its better days. Now it housed a migrant family. Rags and cardboard filled the spaces that had once been window frames. One end of the shack was enclosed by heavy packing-case cardboard. Four small Negro children were playing around the door. At our approach they became shy and scampered into the house. A young colored woman came to the door and invited us in.

The shack consisted of one room. What had looked like other rooms from the outside were merely additions to the one narrow room. The boarded windows

made the room dark and gloomy. The only light coming in was from the open door. An iron bed sat end-ways across the far end of the room, took up that entire wall space. It had been placed next to the wall that had been sealed with the cardboard. Springs and a mattress were on the bed. Another mattress rolled up was standing against the wall. A crude table, three nail kegs used as stools, and an oil drum converted into a heating stove completed the furnishings.

Mrs. Johnson sat on the bed nursing her baby while she told us about her family. Mildred, the baby, was very restless; it seems that for about 2 weeks she had been suffering from an infection in her eye. The mother had been "berry picking," and the baby had gotten something in her eye. The mother had bought argyrol, but it hadn't helped. The baby's eye was now swollen shut. The Johnsons did not have the money with which to have a doctor, and they were afraid that if they asked the authorities for medical aid, they would be forced to move out of the county. Mrs. Johnson was hoping that soon they would have the needed dollar so that Mildred's eye could be looked after.

This was the first summer that Mrs. Johnson and her four children, Dorothy, 7; Alvin, 6; Albruen, 3; and the baby, had been in Michigan. Jesse, the husband, had been coming every spring since the flood in 1937 had carried away all their belongings. She had stayed with her mother until this year when, she, too, had come north. If possible, the family would stay here the year around. With them was her sister, Emma Bowie, and her son. They had joined the Johnsons in their move northward because of Mr. Bowie's recent death. All eight people lived in one cabin.

The three adults had picked strawberries in the spring, but all that they had made for the season so far was \$17. Mr. Johnson had obtained the cabin rent-free because he had helped the farmer with a little extra work. Occasionally he had had jobs on neighboring farms at 15 cents an hour. The Johnsons were looking forward to the raspberry and cherry picking to help them make a living.

(e) *The Douglas family*

Name	Place of birth	Date of birth	Grade completed
Sidney Douglas (head)	Texas	1891	7
Dee Cates Douglas (wife)	Arkansas	1895	5
Ophelia Douglas (daughter)	California	1923	5
Minnie Cates Douglas (stepdaughter)	Arkansas	1926	7
Frances Douglas (daughter)	California	1926	3
Marian Douglas (daughter)	Arkansas	1928	3
William Cates (stepson)	do	1928	3
Marian Cates (stepdaughter)	do	1930	4
Paul Douglas (son)	do	1930	2
Melvin Douglas (son)	do	1933	2
Bobby Cates (stepson)	do	1934	1
Claudine Douglas (son)	do	1935	
James Cates (stepson)	do	1920	2
Lee Jacks (son-in-law of Mrs. Douglas)			
Mildred Jacks (daughter of Mrs. Douglas)			
Melba Jacks (granddaughter of Mrs. Douglas)			

Mrs. Douglas was sitting outside of the truck that had brought her family from Arkansas to Michigan. She was dressed in two pairs of trousers, one over the other, both in ragged condition. A faded blue sweater, torn at the elbows and cuffs, completed her wearing apparel. Her furrowed face lighted up in a smile of welcome as she saw us approach. Her face and hands showed that many hours had been spent toiling in the fields. In fact, she had just come "home" from picking strawberries.

"Home" was what she and her family called the truck. At each visit she proudly displayed her six wooden chairs and asked us "to set." These chairs, a kerosene stove, and a meager supply of bedding made up her household goods.

The Douglas family had worked in many harvests on their way north, such as gathering cotton at home, pulling radishes in Oklahoma, and picking berries in Illinois.

Mr. Douglas lost his first wife in 1934, as a result of her fall from his moving truck. He had since tried to keep his family together by operating his 44-acre farm in Arkansas. There were only 18 acres of cropland, the remainder waste.

He had very little farm equipment and only one horse, one cow, and a few chickens.

He received relief for 3 months in Arkansas in 1937, and that was because of the failure of his cotton crop. His farm is now clear of all indebtedness.

Mrs. Douglas before her marriage to Mr. Douglas was a Mrs. Cates. She was left a widow in January 1934 when he husband died of typhoid fever. She also lost two children at that time, all three having died within 5 weeks of each other.

Mrs. Douglas had help from the emergency relief for a time, but later was placed on W. P. A. She married Mr. Douglas in February 1939, and the combined families totaled 13, not including Mrs. Douglas' son-in-law, her daughter, and their child. Mutual aid was the real reason for the marriage.

Mr. Douglas has chronic bronchitis and James Cates has a rupture, so there is no one able to do W. P. A. work.

The family decided to work in the harvest fields and are managing to eke out a better living than their small farm could give them. This was their first trip to Michigan. They came here on June 20, and located at Riverside. They have found some work on one of the big farms in this area.

The Douglas family travel and live in an old truck. The truck-body measures 7 by 12 feet. It has a rack-bed covered with a tarpaulin. The truck was situated in a migrant camp with 15 other families who are housed in tents, trailers, and trucks. The site has many trees and is on a slight rise of ground, which allows for good drainage. There is one pump used by all the families. There are no toilet facilities. When the owner of the farm was approached by a local official concerning the lack of this facility, he stated: "There's a good asparagus patch out back; let them use that."

Since the Douglas family have arrived in Michigan it has rained nearly every day; this has caused them loss of sleep as well as work. The truck cannot possibly accommodate the whole family for sleeping, so the younger children sleep in the truck: one sleeps on the seat while older members of the family sleep on the ground. When it rains they all crowd into the truck under the tarpaulin so no one gets any sleep because it is so crowded that not all can even sit down let alone lie down.

The family expected to remain in Michigan as long as work is available. The most that they have earned so far is \$5.20 a day for the work of the entire family. This is due to the fact that they have been unable to put in a full day's work because of the weather.

Lee Jacks, the son-in-law, is an "expert dairyman" in Arkansas. While there he earned \$11 a week, shelter, utilities, and garden produce. The reason given for leaving his job is that of a dispute with his employer. After losing his job, Mr. Jacks decided to come north with the Douglas family.

None of the children had been in school since February, 1939, when their parents decided a better living could be obtained by following the harvests.

Mrs. Douglas felt that her family have bettered themselves by coming north. "We're a-livin' and this is a right respectable camp; we ain't had the law out here onct," she said.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. MARGUERITE DWAN—Resumed

NUMBER AND SOURCE OF MIGRANTS IN BERRIEN COUNTY, MICH.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I should like to ask you some questions pertaining to it, and if you have any further suggestions you may want to add, we will be glad to hear them.

Mrs. DWAN. All right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Approximately how many migrants come into Berrien County each year?

Mrs. DWAN. We have had several estimates on it. The average, I believe, would be about 9,000. We have had estimates as high as 12,000. These estimates have not been given through any tabulations; they have been given by the sheriff's department, the growers, and the supervisors of the different townships in the county.

Mr. SPARKMAN. By the way, I notice that in your article, or in one of the exhibits you refer to the fact that the board of supervisors of Berrien County authorized the sheriff's force to stop those coming into the county and question them particularly with reference to the seasonal work, and their leaving after it was over.

Mrs. DWAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did they, through this medium, gather information as to the number coming in, where they were from, and so forth?

Mrs. DWAN. I think perhaps the sheriff's department did, through that method. However, that has not been carried out. The sheriff's department was trying to stop transients coming through, people with out-of-State licenses who indicated they were without funds.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Why was it not carried through?

Mrs. DWAN. Well, I think they have felt there was a need for migrants in Berrien County, because of the fruit products.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you not think it would be helpful to carry it out, not with the idea of stopping and turning them away, but simply to get information?

Mrs. DWAN. That perhaps would be helpful from that viewpoint. It was more from a law-enforcement viewpoint that they were stopping them, because they felt they were going to be a burden on the county.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is it that attracts workers to Berrien County?

Mrs. DWAN. The predominant thing would be the fruit. However, we do have some industries there that induce people to come to Berrien County from other States and also other parts of the State.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is the fruit, cherries?

Mrs. DWAN. There are strawberries, raspberries, cherries, apples, peaches, asparagus, tomatoes, lima beans, and grapes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long a season will that constitute?

Mrs. DWAN. That covers from about the latter part of May or middle of May through to the early part of October.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has the Farm Security Administration or any other agency done anything to assist in a program of adjusting conditions?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes. The Farm Security Administration has been very active in Berrien County.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where do the migrants come from principally?

Mrs. DWAN. They come from all the Southern States—Kentucky, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, and Louisiana. We have had some from Illinois and some from Indiana.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do they follow the work and trek northward?

Mrs. DWAN. Some do, and others just come directly from their home to Berrien County. Others, of course, do follow the fruit harvest.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of living conditions do they find in Berrien County?

Mrs. DWAN. Some fruit growers provide living quarters for their pickers, such as small buildings on their farms that they usually use for garages or the sheltering of farm machinery, equipment, or something of that sort, while other migrants resort to their own equipment,

such as tents, trucks, and shacks of all kinds; even corn houses and chicken coops are used.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are there any sanitary facilities around those places?

Mrs. DWAN. In some instances, of course, there are some, and in other instances there are no sanitary facilities.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How about medical attention?

Mrs. DWAN. Very little medical attention is given. However, in extreme cases of serious illness there is some medical attention given.

EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do they do, put the children in school? You say the season will run up until October.

Mrs. DWAN. Very few of these people I have talked with have their children in school any length of time. It is generally about second or third grade that they go through and then they are finished. They get very little education, because of their moving on, and the fact that the family needs each one of these children as pickers. If they do follow the harvest, they cannot be taken out of the fields to go to school. They need the income from that job.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is there any inspection or supervision by the State health department or county health units of these camps or places?

Mrs. DWAN. I think not; not to my knowledge. I do not know of any.

NURSERY PROVISIONS

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was interested in reading in your statement a description of the nursery that has been provided for the children of migrant workers in one vicinity. Who provided that?

Mrs. DWAN. I think that nursery is the only one of its kind provided for white children in Michigan.¹

Mr. SPARKMAN. Who provided that?

Mrs. DWAN. It was provided through the women's council of home missions with the assistance of some of the churches there in the county.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When was that—

Mrs. DWAN. And interested women.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When was it put up?

Mrs. DWAN. I think it opened about the middle of June, and they had to close about the 1st of August because of lack of funds.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This is the first year they operated?

Mrs. DWAN. That is correct. This is the first year they operated.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I gather from your description that it was not a particularly expensive venture, and involved—I believe they utilized an old building of some kind?

Mrs. DWAN. They used a school building that is used in the winter-time, or during the school season for children in the neighborhood there. Then they had an outbuilding they converted into a nursery. Maybe that is what you had in mind.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I guess it is.

¹ See facing picture.

Mrs. DWAN. This was really a woodshed, or coal bin.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mrs. DWAN. They whitewashed that and put linoleum on the floor. Some people provided baskets and mattresses and one thing and another for the children.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As I recall it, busses picked up the children, took them to the nursery, and then delivered them back again?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It seemed to be a very interesting undertaking, although I gather from what you say it was more or less experimental.

Mrs. DWAN. I think it was experimental in one sense of the word, but I think it is hoped that it can be continued, because it was not only a benefit to those children of the migrant families, but also to the rest of the family, because all of the older members of the family were forced to work in the fields, and these children were left with older children, not old enough to take care of them properly, and not even old enough to work in the fields.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have no doubt read of a similar enterprise that has been conducted on the western coast?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you think one of those would be helpful in Berrien County?

Mrs. DWAN. It seems to me it would be very helpful in Berrien County. Some medical facilities and also educational facilities would be helpful, because there are many coming into Berrien County that have no definite destination, and if there was something of that sort they could resort to, until they became established, it would be very helpful to them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe in your paper you said that 99 percent of these people move out each year?

Mrs. DWAN. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You estimate no more than 1 percent stay there?

Mrs. DWAN. According to the director of relief, just about 1 percent remain in Berrien County.

NO RACIAL DIFFICULTIES

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has there been any instance of racial trouble? Both colored people and whites are included, are they not?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And Mexicans?

Mrs. DWAN. We have very few Mexicans in Berrien County. However, there are Mexicans in the area up around Allegan, and in that territory; Allegan and Ottawa.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are those other counties in Michigan?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Berrien County is the largest fruit-growing section, is it not?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes; it is.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have there been any instances of racial trouble, Mrs. Dwan?

Mrs. DWAN. We have had no racial difficulties. There are two townships in the county where it seems that colored people go, and the



School conducted by Women's Council for Home Missions in Berrien County, Mich.

growers and farmers prefer colored people in that particular area, while in other townships they would rather have whites. I think that is the reason for it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I gather from what you have said that the migration of farm laborers is almost essential to the continuance of these farming activities in Berrien County?

Mrs. DWAN. It evidently is. The farmer wants them. From what I can gather in talking with the growers, they want migrant workers, because the migrant workers will be right there on their farms when they need them. If they only have 2 hours' work, they are there, available and ready to do the 2 hours' work.

WAGE RATES

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of wages do they get?

Mrs. DWAN. Picking fruit is all piece work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do both adults and children work?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you know about what the pay runs?

Mrs. DWAN. Well, I understand they pay, for instance, 2 cents a quart for berries, 32 cents a crate. In some instances the price varies because of competition.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Can you give us any idea as to what a person can make by the day, week, or month?

Mrs. DWAN. I can cite you one family of four persons who had earned \$11 in one day. That was their peak day. They were very well satisfied. Then I had another family. They had worked all week, as much as possible, on this particular farm. They had earned around \$13 for the week, and 12 of them had worked. So you can see that it varies. It is pretty hard to say how much they earn.

However, I would say that the average wage would be perhaps from \$1.50 to \$2 a day, both by piece work and by the hour.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Dwan, are you connected with any social-welfare agency?

Mrs. DWAN. I am employed by W. P. A.

Mr. SPARKMAN. By W. P. A.?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes. However, this survey—

Mr. SPARKMAN. Pardon me.

Mrs. DWAN. I say this survey was not in connection with any W. P. A. activity. That is, we were not directed to do this by W. P. A.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I understand it was independent.

Mrs. DWAN. Yes. The survey was made because of personal interest in the problems of the migrants.

RECOMMENDS FEDERAL SUPERVISION OF MIGRANT PROBLEM

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you regard this as a Federal problem, looking at it just from your section, from Berrien County, for instance; or is it a problem primarily for the farmers in that particular section to solve with the cooperation of the State agencies—the State health board for instance, and so forth?

Mrs. DWAN. I think it would be more of a Federal problem, because these people are from all over the country that come into Berrien

County. I would feel there should be some supervision by the Federal Government because of the fact there is not the interest in the welfare of these people from local people that there should be.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you not believe that a rather rigid inspection and enforcement of the State health laws by the State health department would take care of housing and sanitary facilities?

Mrs. DWAN. That would be very helpful; yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And medical treatment?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that right?

Mrs. DWAN. Yes. There is very little supervision, I am sure, as to sanitation.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I personally want to thank you for myself and for the committee for the very fine statement you have given us and for the testimony you have given us here this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. The prepared statement which you have submitted, entitled "A statement on the migrant problems in Berrien County," has been received and made part of the record.

The Chair now recognizes Mr. Kramer, of the committee staff.

Mr. KRAMER. At this time, Mr. Chairman, I offer for the record a Report of Transient Labor in the Michigan Community Health Project, by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Mich., dated December 29, 1939. I ask that it be given an exhibit number and received as part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received as part of our formal record.

(The statement was received in evidence and appears below:)

REPORT OF TRANSIENT LABOR IN THE MICHIGAN COMMUNITY HEALTH PROJECT

(Prepared by John Pomery, Paw Paw, Mich., Dr. French in charge, W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Mich.)

ALLEGAN COUNTY

Allegan County presents a wide variety of soils and correspondingly a wide variety of agricultural products. The soil varies from sand dunes in the north and west along the lake to high sandy soil in the southwest section which is suitable for fruit growing. Immediately east of this sandy soil along the lake there is a large tract of submarginal cut-over timberland which has been taken up in a Government project. This tract contains about 35,000 acres and extends north about two-thirds of the way across the county. The eastern portion of the county is occupied by Gun Lake and Gun Lake swamp with about 3,000 acres of muck land and much more marsh and swamp. In the north and slightly to the west there is an area of quite heavy clay which fades out as you go east and there is some muck in the northeast section. The entire county is covered with small areas of what is called pocket muck.

The county is considered as a dairy county by the agricultural agent of the county. However, fruits (apples, peaches, pears and plums, cherries, strawberries and blueberries) are grown in great enough quantities to create seasonal demands for a large amount of unskilled labor. There are some 9,000 tons of sugar beets grown also. The sugar beets are worked largely by imported Mexican labor coming here from Texas. The fruit harvesting creates a seasonal demand for considerable amounts of extra help and this demand is met by transient labor from the south which came largely, this year, from Missouri, Arkansas, and Kentucky.

The number of farms in Allegan County number 5,620, with an acreage of 417,215, comprised as follows:

	<i>Acres</i>
Strawberries-----	639
Apples-----	7, 000
Cherries-----	5, 316
Peaches-----	11, 309
Pears-----	8, 206
Onions-----	2, 200
Celery-----	1, 000
Sugar beets-----	1, 100

All transient families contacted by the health department on communicable disease have been from one of these three States. These persons are here for a variable length of time and then return south, not always to the State from which they came.

Health problems presented by these transients are: (1) Typhoid fever; (2) malaria; (3) tuberculosis, especially among Mexicans; (4) dysentery.

The activities of the Allegan County Health Department have been to take care of the epidemiological investigations of cases, and the poor commissioner and Emergency Relief Administration, along with the board of supervisors, have filled in to provide food, clothing, and medical aid even to hospitalization. We have had six typhoid and four malaria cases this last summer. Three of the cases of typhoid are directly connected with the transient labor. All the cases of malaria have occurred in residents of Allegan County who have been living in the same area where large numbers of transient laborers work. The actual status of tuberculosis and dysentery among these people is not known, but from experiences elsewhere there is no reason to suppose that we will meet any variance in the rates.

The approximate number of persons migrating from Mexico and Southern States to Allegan County to cover the fruit-picking season is 1,185. This number is made up of about 375 Mexicans, 100 Kentuckians, 450 Arkansans, and 260 Missourians.

The season opens with strawberry picking, and they stay until cherries are ready and then follow the cherry picking north to the Grand Traverse region. When the picking of cherries is completed in this section they return to Allegan County to resume their labor of thinning fruit, especially peaches and apples, and also to work in weeding and thinning sugarbeets and onions. After this work is completed there is a short breathing spell before early peaches are ready to harvest, and from then until about October 1 they are busy picking late peaches, early apples, and the late varieties of peaches, pears, and apples.

The approximate wage earned was about 25 cents an hour. In some cases fruit picking was paid for by the bushel and some pickers earned as high as \$8 a day for the wife generally helped the husband to pick. Where picking by the bushel was practised this fall, the average price paid was between 3 and 4 cents per bushel.

The amount earned by those workers, as near as we have been able to compute at this time of the year, is from \$125 to \$400. This discrepancy in wages is due to the fact that some workers are more fortunate in the selection of farms on which they work, and if they happen to find work on one farm which is not to their liking they are constantly on the lookout for something better.

Housing of this horde of transient laborers has been a problem, and consequently they have taken over any of the old buildings on the farms such as sheds, tool houses, chicken coops, and in some a lean-to without any protection except a pile of empty crates has been utilized. Two-thirds of this transient group are housed in various types of tents, some of which are far from being waterproof, and they generally pitch them in an orchard or in a small clearing on the farm.

The water supplies are generally from pitcher pumps and shallow wells, and the toilet facilities are deplorable, as a goodly share of this group are not used to any type of excreta disposal except some fence corner or similar means of disposal.

Their method of travel is by auto, and practically everything they have is packed into it; and they depend upon the man they are going to work for to supply a stove, table, and chairs. Most of their cooking is done outside, as the buildings they live in do not have chimneys, and consequently they cannot have warmth in their living quarters on cold, damp days.

The sugarbeet industry have some trailers which they rent at the rate of 50 cents per contract acre to the Mexicans who are working in the sugarbeets and where the farmer hasn't suitable accommodations for this type of help.

BARRY COUNTY

In Barry County the transient labor problems involve in the neighborhood of 1,500 people. They come from Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and some from Missouri. There are a few Mexicans, but mostly what we consider "white trash." They harvest huckleberries, onions, and sugar beets. In the meantime while this project is going on they also work in the tomato and pickle fields.

The huckleberry marshes are in the southwest of Barry County, namely, Hope, Baltimore, Rutland, Orangeville, and Barry Townships. The onion fields are also in this southwest corner, but mainly in Prairieville and Yankee Springs Townships. Sugar beets are found in the east and north part of the county and also in some parts of the onion sections. Most of the sugar beets go to the Lake Shore Sugar Refinery at Holland, whose field man is Mr. Dunsmore. Mr. Dunsmore gets most of his labor to work these sugar beets from South Bend, Ind. A few loads of beets, however, do go to the Lansing Sugar Refinery.

It is hard at present to find any of the operators of these fields at home because the sales have all been made and the warehouses cleaned out—most of the onion marshes are owned by large companies, and the people operating these places have gone back to their respective homes, and we could only get actual facts of this during the particular times when these people are present. One of the problems that indicate whether there is more or less of the transient labor happens to be moisture. If the seasons are wet there are fewer fields under cultivation. If the seasons are dry there are more.

The following few pictures were taken to show the type of living quarters that exist; these communities spring up over night with no provisions for sewage disposal and water supply. It is estimated that 1,500 is a minimum figure because some of the people that come up with the workers do not work in the fields; they merely play on our lakes and fish for a vacation.

BRANCH COUNTY

The problem of transient labor on farms in this county has been investigated and it is believed to be nil.

Some onions, cucumbers, mint, dill, and various truck crops are grown in muck and sandy loam areas, particularly in Matteson, Sherwood, Girard, and Ovid Townships, and some sugar beets in California Township. Harvesting is done entirely by resident labor.

During 1937 a sugar-beet company brought in a half dozen Mexicans to work a small acreage of beets in Matteson Township. They lived together in a poorly maintained house on M-7. A very wet season, however, "drowned out" the crop that year and the Mexicans left.

Farmers in Sherwood Township say they have had opportunity to employ transient labor in the past but that they do not care for the type of people brought in.

No great increase in the transient labor situation in the near future is expected.

CALHOUN COUNTY

There are nine farmers who raised sugar beets in Calhoun County—four in Lee Township, four in Clarence, and one in Battle Creek. The total acreage is small and the Mexican labor used to raise these crops comes from Eaton County and are trucked into Calhoun County a couple of days in the spring to block and thin the beets and 3 days in the fall to top them, returning home each night to their homes in Eaton County. The sugar-beet company furnishes the farmers with the labor.

The farmers are not too interested in raising sugar beets next year, as they have only been able to break even on the crops they have raised for the past 2 years. Only one farmer had a heavy enough yield to show a good profit this year. Although the allotments for next year have been increased by the Government I doubt if our beet crop is on the increase.

There are 14 or more large onion farms in the county—4 in Clarendon, 2 in Tekonsha, 2 in Newton, 1 in Sheridan, 2 in Clarence, and 3 in Lee Township. These farmers seem to be able to raise and harvest their crops without using any appreciable amount of transient labor. It happens that their crop has to be harvested about the same time as the pickle crop, and so far they have been able to employ enough local labor, with very few exceptions, to harvest their crops. However, they do have in this group about five families of Mexicans and Kentuckians who are staying on these farms the year around.

The pickle industry seems to be the main source of employment for transient labor in this county. The Calhoun County Pickle Co., which is located in Marshall, raised a total of about 500 acres this year. Only a few of these farms had sufficiently large enough acreage to necessitate hiring outside labor. In the main, the pickles came from farms of only 1 or 2 acres and were harvested by the owners. There were 14 farms that had from 7 to 40 acres each, which employed a total of approximately 325 transient laborers, as is shown on the included spot map and tabulation sheet. One farmer in Athens Township employs a few Mexicans, but we were unable to get any specific information.

The pickle industry seems to be growing, and the acreage in this county will increase considerably in the next few years. However, it appears from talking with these farmers that there is no more money in raising a large acreage and hiring a bunch of Mexicans than it is to raise a small acreage and harvest it themselves. At least two of the farmers expressed the attitude that they would have nothing more to do with any transient labor due to some of them getting drunk and laying off in the middle of the harvest season, causing the farmer to lose part of his crop.

In the main, the transient laborers come up here in trucks, but a few have their own cars. Nearly all come from the slum district in San Antonio, Tex. They are housed on the individual farms. Their shelters range from good farm houses and barns down to onion-storage shacks and very poor and dilapidated buildings. There is quite a group of Mexicans who stayed in the city of Albion and rented quite respectable homes with some modern conveniences and worked during the day on farms near that city.

The Mexicans work in the pickles from the last week in July until the first frost, which this year was in the middle of September, a period of about 6 to 8 weeks. They usually come to Michigan about April, work in the beets, blocking and thinning them in Gratiot County, Saginaw County, or some other northern county, and after the middle of July their work in the beets is done until topping season. Then they come into this county and work in the pickles during the off season of the beets.

They pick the pickles for half the crop and are able to make about \$15 to \$24 a week. Some Mexicans, however, make considerably more than this, as evidenced by some of the bills they have paid around town. One family was arrested for trucking pickles with a Texas license and paid \$103 fine to the local justice. They paid him without "batting an eye." In another family the father got sick during the summer and was forced to go to Leila Post Hospital in Battle Creek and had to deposit \$400 cash for a major cancer operation before they would receive him into the hospital. The deposit was made from the money they earned while they were here.

It seems no one trusts them much up here, and everything they buy and do has to be paid for in advance, consequently most of them spend the money that is paid out to them right here in the county, and they are usually nearly broke when they leave.

They also purchase a used car about as soon as they get \$50 ahead, and most of them leave in their own car instead of going back in the truck.

As far as can be determined there is no record of any diseases or outbreaks of diseases that has spread to our community that is traceable to this group.

Num- ber	Location	Population	Nationality	Migration	Produce	Wage	Housing	Transportation	County welfare load	Weeks	Average total income per laborer	Transient labor in future
10	LE-29-16	7	Mexicans, San Antonio	Texas-N	Pickles	½ crop	Shed	Truck	-----	6	\$90	+
9	LE-28-7	15	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	4	60	+
8	LE-27-11	12	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	6	90	+
7	LE-9-1	7	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	6	90	+
11	MR-6-13	18	do	do	do	do	House	do	-----	6	90	+
5	EK-20-12	12	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	6	90	+
6	ED-30-2	12	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	6	90	Same.
13	NT-30-14	30	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	6	90	+
12	MS-15-15	25	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	6	90	+
2	AB-0-14	7	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	6	90	+
4	AB-8-15	5	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	4	40	+
3	AB-16-6	40	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	6	90	+
14	AB-11-13	22	do	do	do	do	Shed	do	-----	6	90	+
	SD-30-5	65	do	do	do	do	do	do	-----	6	90	+

EATON COUNTY

The report on "Transient labor" for Eaton County is brief. In contacting township supervisors and asking counselors about transient labor in the county, it was found that only three families had come in from other States to work in the onion fields, and that six families of Mexicans had lived in trailers in a trailer camp in Delta Township while they worked in beet fields.

Most of the extra labor that was used in beet and onion fields during the last season came from Lansing. Men out of employment that usually work in automobile factories were hired by the contracting companies. These men were transported in trucks and camped out when too far from Lansing to return at night.

The sanitary facilities for the out-State families were satisfactory. The men from Lansing seemed to treat their camping experiences as more or less of a lark; sometimes the farmers fed them, sometimes they prepared their own meals. They generally slept in barns.

No complaints have been reported on the living conditions of the transient labor and neither the townships nor the county have had to meet any bills for illness of any kind.

HILLSDALE COUNTY

The problem of transient labor in Hillsdale County does not seem to be an important one as far as numbers involved are concerned. During the summer of 1939 only one transitory family, or clan, consisting of 14 people, was necessary to take care of the sugar-beet farming in this county.

Ten farms, including 256 acres, located in the southeastern part of the county were planted in sugar beets and used transient labor. This acreage is the lowest that has been farmed for several years, the low figure being due to legislation limiting crop acreage.

The transients in this county were of Mexican nationality and were brought here from Eagle Pass, Tex., by the company which owns or rents the farms on which the labor is used. The workers arrived about the middle of June and remained for 27 weeks. Transportation expenses are paid to Michigan but the laborers are expected to finance their own way out of the State following the completion of their work here. Only one boy remained here from last summer's group and he is self-supporting.

Last summer, all of the transients lived in an abandoned 6-room farmhouse and traveled by car to the various farms on which they worked. The house is very dirty and is badly in need of repair. The sanitary facilities of the house, namely the well and the privy are in very poor condition. Snapshots of the house, well, and privy are included with this report.

No record of any specific health problems attributable to this or similar previous groups is available.

A table summarizing the information relative to the transients involved are also included with this report.

Num- ber	Location	Popula- tion	Nationality	Migration	Produce	Wage	Housing	Transportation	County welfare load	Weeks	Average total income per laborer	Transient labor in future
---	E-AY-32-1	(1)	Mexican	Eagle Pass, Tex., to Michigan	Sugar beets	(2)	(3)	Trucks and cars	None	27	Unknown	---
---	E-AY-35-1	(1)	do	do	do	(2)	(3)	do	do	27	do	---
---	E-AY-35-9	(1)	do	do	do	(2)	(3)	do	do	27	do	---
---	WT-3-5	(1)	do	do	do	(2)	(3)	do	do	27	do	---
---	WT-4-9	(1)	do	do	do	(2)	(3)	do	do	27	do	---
---	WT-10-4	(1)	do	do	do	(2)	(3)	do	do	27	do	---
---	WT-10-12	(1)	do	do	do	(2)	(3)	do	do	27	do	---
---	WT-15-14	(1)	do	do	do	(2)	(3)	do	do	27	do	---
---	WT-32-12	(1)	do	do	do	(2)	(3)	do	do	27	do	---
---	WT-20-3	(1)	do	do	do	(2)	(3)	do	do	27	do	---

¹ 14 laborers divide their time between the 10 farms.

² \$7 per ton is paid for blocking and hoeing. Picking and gathering is also paid per ton but that figure was not available.

³ The entire group was housed in an abandoned 6-room farmhouse. The house location is at WT-28-5.

VAN BUREN COUNTY

For the purposes of this report we might divide Van Buren County into three general land areas. These areas are separated by first, the dunes along the western coast and their two moraines running parallel to the dunes and about 10 miles apart, the extreme eastern boundary being a terminal moraine. Since the lake has a tendency to moderate climatic conditions, fruit growing has become popular in this county during the last 70 or 80 years.

The first land area to the west supports most of the small fruits grown in this county, strawberries, raspberries, dewberries, blueberries, and cherries coming early in the season. The blueberries are grown at the north end of this strip of land and have become increasingly popular. About 10 men to the acre are required to harvest this crop. The other berry crops require 6 or 7 men to the acre.

In the central part of this area, lima beans, romana beans, and cucumbers are harvested in between the small fruit and large fruit seasons. Late in the season peaches, apples, pears, and some grape vineyards will employ a large number of pickers again. Many of the transients will be able to stay in this area during the entire summer and fall. This will not be observed in the other two areas to be described. In this area strawberries and blueberries are the two crops which demand the greatest concentration of labor and practically all of this labor, by necessity, is transient in nature. Two farms to the south require 200 men each for their strawberry crop. The smaller patches of strawberries create an unusual problem in that they are usually picked only every other day which means, of course, that the transient must find something to do with his off day or have his income reduced from \$2 daily to \$1.

The blueberries in the North give steady work for 4 or 5 weeks, the practice being to hire enough labor so that each row may be picked for marketable fruit four or five times during the growing season. Blueberry growing is a new enterprise for this area and will create an increasing demand for labor of the transient type. Because the soil of this section is very acid, with a pH ranging from 3.4 to 5.4, blueberries are about the only things that will grow. Formerly much of this area was uncultivated, and most of it still is, with wild huckleberries growing in abundance in the marshy areas. One 70-acre tract required 250 pickers this season and most of the bushes are not yet mature. In 2 years this same farm will hire 700 pickers. Also, some of the neighboring land is at present being reclaimed for this purpose. One factor which may reduce this expected condition is the problem of marketing. These berries sold on the Chicago market last year for 38 cents a pint. The cost to the grower, including packing and transportation, was 33 cents so perhaps the market will not support this new enterprise to the extent that it is expected.

The next strip to the east may be again divided into three areas, the southern area being given over to muck farming. The central area includes peaches, apples, pears, and some grapes. The northern area contains much third-class land, but has some other assets. About 2 years ago oil was discovered in this section, and as a result several hundred men were attracted. Most of these men bring their families with them, and a very difficult housing problem has developed. These families too, must be considered transient because the oil boom is expected to be of short duration, and is already, in fact, on the wane. Most of these men are common laborers and perhaps the family doesn't realize as much income as the fruit-picking transients because in those families it is customary for mothers and their children to assist in the fields as well as the father of the family.

As may be observed, the central area contained no early fruits. Most of the crops are harvested in the fall in rather cool weather. Southern labor does not usually remain after heating becomes a problem for consideration. So most of the labor here is local. Hoboes are used to some extent as well as labor from nearby villages. The rest of the labor is handled by late-staying southerners who have house trailers or can find some abandoned dwelling. However, these latter laborers are outnumbered by labor from the first two sources.

Muck farming to the south is devoted to celery, onions, peppermint, spearmint, and cucumbers. Sagar-beet farming is not popular here. To date, most of the farms in this area are 10-, 20-, and 40-acre tracts of land. Many of these people are of Polish descent and usually own the land that they work. There are two large land-owning companies in this area. One grows peppermint chiefly, which, being harvested like hay, does not require much extra labor. The other specializes in

onions and celery. The onion crop requires a great deal of labor for a 3-day period only. About 150 men are required and these are not available locally. Negroes and Mexicans work for the least amount of money (3 cents per bushel, or about \$1.75 per day) and these men are advertised for in advance of the harvest. Most of the Negroes come from Benton Harbor about 30 miles away and live in the open for a period. No facilities are made available to them. Since most of the truck farms are very small, each family provides its own labor or finds it among his friends.

The local people resent the influx of outsiders created by this one farm and last year staged a demonstration to frighten away the Negroes. They descended upon their camp one night with shot guns and lanterns and fired a few shells into the air. The Negroes thought they were about to be massacred and ran in every direction. A few of them were injured running headlong into surrounding fences, but none of them turned up for medical care. In fact, by the next morning, only a few of them remained, and they were with harassed and frightened looks on their faces. Probably for the next year or so local labor will be used entirely. However, if the trend is toward large farms in this area, transient labor will be sought for the period that the onions require.

The last division of the county takes in the townships along the eastern border. The south and central section here is given over almost entirely to vineyards. Two Welch Grape Juice plants are located here as well as four wineries. The grape season is late and not much crop. Tents and trailers are about equally abundant. At variance with the early season small fruit crop, which makes it a common sight to see 30 or more in a camp, during grape season, one seldom sees in this area more than 2 families camped near each other. Most of the labor for this crop comes from nearby communities such as Paw Paw, Lawton, Schoolcraft, and some from the city of Kalamazoo. A few hoboes stop to get a few days' work but not as many as was common a few years ago when a hundred could be seen in the hobo "jungle" near Lawton at one time.

The northern part of this strip is given over to second-class and third-class farming with the exception of one tract of muck land which is all owned by one company. For years this tract was put into mint, but of recent years some of it is planted in sugar beets, corn, and pasturage. The company now keeps about 100 head of beef cattle. In the past a number of dwellings were built to house those employed and their families and this "built-up" area along the highway was called Mentha. Most of the houses are now vacant and labor is derived from floaters who hitchhike to this location and if they wish to stay, work is available for about 8 months. The wage paid last season was 21 cents an hour. Most of the laborers stayed at a large boarding house at Mentha. Several of the old houses were used.

Regarding hoboes in the county, most of them—about 150—work out of Hartford at present and come in on the Pere Marquette railroad. The strawberry acreages to the south and west for 2 or 3 miles require this labor entirely because no housing problem is created on the farmer's land. The practice is to drive to town with a truck or wagon and solicit the hoboes for the day's picking. The hoboes of recent years demand to return to their "jungles" for the night. They carry their own lunch to the farm and the farmer is quite satisfied. A few years ago it was common for the farmer to house them in the barn and build a small fireplace nearby for them, but this is no longer necessary or desired by the hobo. A small "jungle" is located at Bangor further north on the Pere Marquette railroad.

Two thousand and five hundred transients would be a minimum estimate for Van Buren County during 1 year. There is reason to believe that Cass and Berrien Counties to the south and southwest will have a greater number than Van Buren County. An effort was made not to count families twice for different seasons, but this is a difficult thing to be sure of because no accurate record of these people is available. A few of them have good automobiles and house trailers which, together, would amount to a valuation of \$700 or \$800. These possessions are probably paid for. A greater number by far own merely their automobile which is usually in a bad state of repair. Some of this group have tents in fair condition. Most of them trust that they will find some accommodations. Incidentally, more often than not, the

accommodation is a brooder house or a chicken coop that the hens are not using for the season. Barns, toolsheds, and abandoned houses probably accommodate 40 percent of them. Three or four families find a vacant house and live in it together. Usually they pay rent for this opportunity.

One of the farms which employs 200 has made an attempt to provide housing. This consists of 2 long sheds facing each other. They are about 75 feet long and 10 feet wide with 8 doors along the side. They are partitioned with single sheeting in such a way that they can be removed with no trouble at all and the sheds used to store machinery for the winter months. They have no flooring and no windows. There are no chimneys. These buildings are about 12 feet apart with the doors facing each other across this areaway. Some live in sheds on the property, some in the barn, and 3 families rented the upstairs of the tenant house. This community lives on about an acre and a half of land. Two privies stand next to the hog pen for the 200 to use. The privies have no seat covers, no vaults, no backs, and very little superstructure. The old farm well supplies the needs of all these people and, although it didn't happen to be makeshift for the occasion, as many of them are, it would meet no standards for safe construction. This was the only farm seen which had constructed any special housing quarters. All other places visited made use of existing buildings for shelters.

Usually, where large numbers were employed, one or two wells were driven. They consisted of a pipe into the ground with no platform and the pump head nearly always was a cistern pump—this being the cheapest model available. Toilet facilities in every case were very poor excuses for sewage disposal. Sometimes they were not in evidence at all. During the last season, the county sanitarian was asked to sample three wells and all of these were on one property. All showed evidence of contamination probably due to construction and recent repairs. Very few families stay in this county although three were reported. They usually had a very difficult winter the first year and had to ask for a little assistance. However, they have taken care of themselves after the first season and are apparently good citizens.

Three hundred and thirty dollars was the total reported emergency assistance given these people last year. Childbirth, a broken arm, a broken leg, hospitalization, and a burial for one old man were the emergencies reported. One childbirth reported was delivered in a chicken coop on a pile of hay. This redhead survived the shock he must have received on observing his birthplace. Five days later the mother was picking berries as if nothing had happened. The child's father was not available then later during the season. It seems they had quarreled on the way north and had chosen different routes. Another emergency was created by a pregnant mother having contracted gonorrhea from her husband. Since her tent was pitched in a marsh just over the line into Berrien County, Van Buren County did not have to give financial assistance. The hoboos rarely ask for assistance of any kind and create even less of a financial burden.

Michigan at one time suffered from malaria as did all of the northern part of the United States. However, this disease died out after the lumbering industry cleared the land and farms were developed and cultivated. One factor playing a large part in the reduction of malaria incidence was the fact that livestock became more prevalent and acted as a buffer between man and the mosquito's lust for a blood meal. The other, and perhaps more important one, was that better housing became common and screens were invented. The *Anopheles* mosquito is still prevalent, though, as witnessed by inspecting pools where the larvae are growing and can still act as a vector of the disease. All that is needed are chronic carriers of the disease and to have these cases easy for the mosquito to feed upon. During 1938, 17 cases of malaria were reported.

Undoubtedly, the children attached to these families suffer far more than any other group. Whatever the degree of harm that tobacco can create, probably 5 is too young to learn the manly art of chewing snuff and the gentler diversion of smoking. These practices, however, become quite popular with them shortly after they decide to wean themselves. It was rather surprising to have a 6-year-old ask for "butts" and when questioned say that he inhaled and learned to smoke when he was 5. Very few of them have shoes or clothes other than

slip-on overalls. Impetigo and other skin diseases are very common and often progress unrecognized. Adults also commonly exhibit these signs of lack of cleanliness. One man of about 27 or 28 presented his arm for inspection to show a vaccination "take." He had been vaccinated in Arkansas about 7 weeks before for smallpox and had been instructed not to get the vaccination wet so he hadn't for the whole period, gone near any water. The vaccination and vicinity for 2 inches around was all one mass of scab from impetigo. Other patches appeared wherever he had scratched the broken skin on his arm.

This report was prepared after the season was over and no transient labor remained. Therefore, it is obviously very incomplete and necessarily inaccurate in many of the details. All of the estimates were provided by people living in this area and represent memory work on their part as to where transient labor was employed and how many worked at one crop or another. In preparing this report, it has been attempted to compile the interviews of only 20 or so key people in the county and present it as a general picture of the county as a unit. Obviously more than the county is involved in the problem. Also the State line does not seem to be an appropriate boundary. A few families were reported as commuting from California to northern Michigan and back for several years in succession. Most of these families migrate annually from Florida and Texas, spending a few months in a home State such as Arkansas, Missouri, or Mississippi.

No.	Location	Population	Nationality	Migration	Produce	Wage	Housing	Transportation	County welfare load	Weeks	Average total income per laborer	Transient labor in future
1	HT-32-11	10	Tennessee and Arkansas	Florida and Michigan	Dewberries, peaches and apples.	\$2 per day.	Barns and sheds.	Car.		15	\$180.00	Same.
2	HT-32-5	25	Arkansas	do.	Strawberry	do.	Sheds and tents.	do.		3	35.00	Do.
3	HT-29-15	25	do.	do.	Peaches, apples, and strawberry.	do.	Old building.	do.		15	180.00	Do.
4	HT-33-8	35	Local and Benton Harbor local Negroes.	Benton Harbor	Strawberry	do.	Tents.	Hitchhike		3	35.00	Do.
5	HT-28-16	15	Local and Arkansas.	do.	do.	do.	do.	Car		3	35.00	Do.
6	HT-28-11	20	Local and hoboos	All over.	do.	do.	Jungle	Hitchhike		3	35.00	Do.
7	HT-28-10	25	Hoboos and local	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.		3	35.00	Do.
8	HT-28-8	20	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.		3	35.00	Do.
9	HT-28-7	25	Local and Arkansas	Florida and Michigan.	Raspberry and strawberry.	do.	Tents.	Car		5	60.00	Do.
10	HT-29-8	10	Hoboos	Floater	Berries	do.	Jungle	Hitchhike		3	35.00	Do.
11	HT-34-16	15	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.		3	35.00	Do.
12	HT-35-13	25	Arkansas	Florida and Michigan.	Berries and cherries	do.	Tents and in a 11 house.	Car.		8	96.00	Do.
COVERT												
	Co-26-42.	40	do.	Florida and Northern Michigan.	Dewberries and strawberries.	35 cents per case.	Trunks, sheds, and tents.	do.		8	96.00	Do.
1	Co-27-2	10	do.	do.	Lima bean and Ramona.		Old house and tent.	do.		8	96.00	Do.
2	Co-26-5a.	5	do.	Florida and Northern Michigan.	Blueberries	5 cents per pint.	Tent.	Car.		4	48.00	Same.
3	Co-25-4	50	do.	do.	Raspberries	\$2 per day	do.	do.		4	48.00	Do.
4	Co-23-2	12	do.	do.	Raspberry and beans	do.	do.	do.		8	96.00	Do.
5	Co-23-1b	10	do.	do.	Strawberry	do.	do.	do.		4	48.00	Do.
6	Co-4-16	10	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.		4	48.00	Do.
7	Co-23-4	15	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.		4	48.00	Do.
8	Co-27-1b	10	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.		4	48.00	Do.
9	Co-22-9	20	do.	do.	Dewberry and strawberry.	do.	Trunks, and tents.	do.		4	48.00	Do.
10	Co-31-16a	12	do.	do.	Strawberry and raspberry.	do.	do.	do.		7	84.00	Do.
11	AT-8-9c	11	Arkansas and floaters	do.	Apples	do.	Old house.	Hitchhike.		6	72.00	

No.	Location	Population	Nationality	Migration	Produce	Wage	Housing	Transportation	County welfare load	Weeks	Average total income per laborer	Transient labor in future
	COVERT— contd.											
12	AT-28-5a	53	Missouri	Michigan	Strawberry, cherries, and apples.	\$2 per day	Sheds	Car		18	\$206.00	
1	AW-13- 13.	8	Arkansas	do	Grapes	4 cents per 12 quarts.	House and trailers.	do		6	72.00	
2	AW-13- 14a.	4	do	do	do	do	Tents	do		6	72.00	
3	AW-14- 12.	4	do	do	do	do	Tents	do		6	72.00	
4	AW-17- 13.	6	do	do	do	do	do	do		6	72.00	
5	AW-18-8	6	do	do	do	do	Trailers	do		6	72.00	
6	AW-22- 15a.	12	do	do	do	do	Tents	do		6	72.00	
7	AW-23- 12a.	1	do	do	do	do	do	do		6	72.00	
8	AW-23- 12b.	1										
9	AW-23- 10.	1			Grapes							
10	AW-23- 14.	16	Arkansas	Florida and northern Michigan.	do	4 cents per 12 quarts.	Tents	Car		6	72.00	
11	AW-24-3	4	do	do	do	do	do	do		6	72.00	
12	AW-27-5	5	do	do	do	do	Tent and trailer.	do	\$10	6	72.00	
13	AW-29-?	3		Stayed last winter.						6	72.00	
14	AW-33- 13.	6	Arkansas	do	Grapes	4 cents per 12 quarts.	Tents	Car	40	6	72.00	
15	AW-34- 13a.	12	do	do	do	do	Tents and trailers.	do		6	72.00	
	DECATUR											
1	Becket	75	Mexican and Negroes	Benton Harbor	Onions	3 cents per bushel.	None	Hitch-hike		½	5.00	
1	GN-11-4b	2	Arkansas	Florida	Apples	\$2 per day	House	Car		18	108.00	
2	GN-11-4a	8	do	do	Apples and peaches.	do	Boarder house.	do		8	108.00	
3	GN-11-2.	6	do	do	do	do	do	do		8	108.00	
4	GN-3-16b	6	do	do	do	do	do	do		8	108.00	
5	Lacota	30	do	do	do	do	do	do		8	108.00	

6	GN-2-15-	10	do	do	do	Raspberries	do	Shed.	do	34	396.00
7	GN-1-7b-	30	do	do	do	Blueberries	do	L a c e t a	do	4	54.00
1	CU-8-1b-	200	do	do	Florida and Northern Michigan.	do	do	Tents, trailers, and sheds.	do	6	72.50
2	CU-9-13-	15	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	6	72.50
3	CU-8-9-	20	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	6	72.50
1	PG-25-	40	Floater	All over	do	Mint	do	Boarding house.	Hitch-hike	34	400.00
1	PP-29-6-	4	Arkansas	do	do	Apples and grapes	do	Tent	Car	5	60.00
2	PP-29-5-	2	do	do	do	do	do	Shed	do	5	60.00
3	PP-10-16-	1	do	do	do	do	do	Tents	do	5	60.00
1	KL-6-4-	200	do	do	Florida and Northern Michigan.	Strawberry	do	do	do	3	35.00
2	KL-6-2-	75	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	3	35.00
3	KL-8-13-	25	Half local	do	do	Strawberry, apples, and peaches.	do	Elsewhere.	do	4	48.00
4	KL-16-	15	Arkansas	do	do	Strawberry	do	Tents	do	3	35.00
5	KL-15-15-	15	do	do	do	Strawberry and raspberry.	do	Old building and tents.	do	3	35.00
6	KL-21-12-	50	do	do	do	Grape and apple	do	Shelters and tents.	do	12	60.00
7	KL-22-	40	do	do	do	do	do	Horse barn	do		
8	KL-28-	15	Missouri and Arkansas	do	do	Strawberry	do	Tents and sheds.	Car	3	35.00
9	KL-29-11-	200	Arkansas	do	do	Strawberries.	do	do	do	3	35.00
10	KL-29-	do	Local	do	do	do	do	do	do		
11	KL-31-	40	Arkansas	do	do	Small fruit and apples	do	Tents and shelters.	Car	7	84.00
12	KL-18-	15	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	7	84.00
1	BG-1-14-	30	Missouri and Arkansas	do	do	Cherries and apples	do	Old building.	do	17	204.00
2	BG-11-15	(1)	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	17	204.00
3	BG-3-20-	(1)	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	17	204.00
4	BG-7-8-	30	Arkansas	do	do	Strawberry, beans, and cucumbers.	do	Trailers and tents.	do	8	108.00
5	BG-20-4a	20	do	do	do	Strawberry	do	do	do	4	54.00
6	BG-21-4-	10	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	4	54.00
7	BG-21-12-	12	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	4	54.00
8	BG-30-1b	50	do	do	do	do	do	Tents and sheds.	do	4	54.00

i Park.

No.	Location	Popu- lation	Nationality	Migration	Produce	Wage	Housing	Transpor- tation	County welfare load	Weeks	Average total income per laborer	Trans- sient labor in future
	DECATUR— contd.											
9	BG-34-4a	15	Arkansas	Florida and Michigan	Cherries, raspberries, and apples.	\$2 per day	Tents	Car		17	\$204.00	
10	BG-33-14	14	do	do	Straw berries, asparagus, and apples.	do	do	do		17	204.00	
11	BG-36-16	4	do	do	Straw berries and peach- es.	do	Old-house	do		14	168.00	
12	BG-10- 11b	17	do	do	Raspberries	do	Tents	do		4	48.00	
13	BG-17-9	15	do	do	Peaches and apples	do	Machine shed.	do		12	144.00	
14	BG-17-8a	8	do	do	Strawberry	do	Tents	do		4	48.00	
1	LR-19- 12a.	30	do	do	Cherries	do	Tents and sheds.	do		3	36.00	
2	LR-19- 12a.	20	do	do	Peaches	do	do	do		2	24.00	
3	LR-19- 12a.	25	do	do	Apples	do	do	do		6-8	84.00	

The CHAIRMAN. You may be excused, Mrs. Dwan.

(Whereupon Mrs. Marguerite Dwan was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now take a recess until quarter after 1. With respect to those who are still to appear, we would like to have you back here promptly at quarter after 1, because the committee has to finish this afternoon. We will adjourn until 1:15.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p. m., a recess was taken until 1:15 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was reconvened at 1:15 p. m.)

TESTIMONY OF M. C. HENDERSON, BEET GROWERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE, INC., SAGINAW, MICH.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order. The next witness will be Mr. Henderson. Your name is M. C. Henderson?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Inc.?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Saginaw, Mich.?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have filed a very fine statement with the committee, have you not?

Mr. HENDERSON. I filed a statement: yes.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT BY M. C. HENDERSON, BEET GROWERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE, INC., SAGINAW, MICH.

THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND

The growing of sugar beets and the processing of beet sugar furnishes to Michigan farmers a highly important source of income. Under the present cooperative contract between the grower and the processing companies, the farmer's task is to plant, cultivate, and deliver to the companies' factories a stipulated acreage of beets, and the companies' task is to convert the beets into sugar, pulp, and molasses. These products are then sold and the proceeds divided on a 50-50 basis between grower and processor. Payments to beet growers on the 1938-39 crop amounted to \$7,000,000.

In connection with the grower's responsibility for raising the beets, he encounters the problem of securing a sufficient number of agricultural workers to perform the extensive hand-labor operations demanded by the crop. Experience has shown that one man is required for about every 7 acres. That the work be performed in the proper manner and at the proper time is essential to the success of the crop.

Last year, Michigan farmers produced about 140,000 acres of sugar beets which necessitated the services of about 20,000 field workers. Some farmers with small acreages and large families are in a position to handle the entire work on the crop without outside assistance. This class is in the minority to such an extent that it offers almost no assistance in the solution of the problem.

There is a group of citizens of Michigan who for years have worked in sugar beets during the growing period, engaging in other tasks throughout the balance of the year. This group is comprised mainly of Belgians, Poles, Germans, Russians, and other European types familiar with sugar-beet work in their original mother country. The first generation of this group is now rapidly disappearing, and the succeeding generations prefer work in the cities to agricultural pursuits. At the beginning of each crop year, every effort is made to supply insofar as possible the crop-labor requirements by

the employment of Michigan citizens. The supply falls far short of the demand. It becomes necessary to go afield to other States for about one-third of the labor requirement.

This problem is as old as the beet-sugar industry, and many and various solution have been attempted. It will readily be seen that the individual farmer is not in a position to make extended trips to assure himself that he will have sufficient labor to handle the crop. Prior to about 1933, sugar-beet growers were not organized into associations of any type, and the processing companies found it necessary to lend assistance in the matter of the securing of field labor, even though the problem was technically a grower problem. Sugar beets are a highly competitive crop with beans, barley, and other cash crops. The processing companies early discovered that unless an adequate labor supply could be assured, a contracted acreage sufficient for profitable operation could not be depended upon.

Thus, the processor's part in the labor picture became an increasing one, especially in periods of labor shortage. There came a time when there appeared to be confusion in the minds of the public and public officials concerning the matter of responsibility in the matter of this employment.

FORMATION OF BEET GROWERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE, INC.

In the meantime, the growers in each plant area had in 1933 formed themselves into beet growers' associations and in an organized way were doing many things before impossible to the individual grower. Thus, when in the spring of 1938, it became apparent that it was advisable to clear up once and for all the matter of responsibility for field labor, the growers were in a position to take constructive action. Growers delivering beets to the six operating plants of the Michigan Sugar Co. are organized into six beet growers' associations which are incorporated under the laws of Michigan on a nonstock, nonprofit basis. On April 7, 1938, another nonstock, nonprofit corporation was formed and has as its membership the six associations mentioned. The president of each association is a director in the new corporation. The name of the new organization is Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Inc., and it should be made clear that it represents only those growers delivering beets to the Michigan Sugar Co. Growers delivering beets to other processing companies have since organized like employment groups.

The area served by Beet Growers' Employment Committee and the location of the processing plants are shown in Exhibit A. Since the inception of Beet Growers' Employment Committee, the Michigan Sugar Co. has withdrawn entirely from the field-labor picture.

An officer in Beet Growers' Employment Committee is located in each plant area and is in close touch with farmers in matters of labor. His responsibility is to make known the labor requirements in his area, supervise in matters of housing, direction of activities, and to carry out changes of policy. A general office is maintained at 507 Second National Bank Building, Saginaw, Mich., which coordinates the efforts and activities of the six plant areas. The corporation is financed through contributions from the six growers' associations.

Many advantages have become apparent since this change. A full-time year-around organization is now functioning which can devote its time entirely to matters of field labor. Clarification of responsibility has led to improvement in many directions where before some neglect was noted.

ROUTINE OF SOLICITATION AND CONTROL

As previously stated, it has always been necessary to go out of the State for a considerable number of people each year. Contrary to belief in some quarters, this is not to secure people willing to work for less money than local citizens, but because of an inadequate supply of capable, willing workers in the State. Each year after hearings conducted by the Secretary of Agriculture in which both growers and workers offer testimony, the Secretary establishes a "fair and reasonable" wage covering the ensuing crop. All workers, regardless of point of origin, are paid the same wage.

It has been found that the State of Texas has large numbers of agricultural workers of Mexican descent who are particularly suited to sugar-beet work. They have a crop cycle which begins in citrus fruit and vegetables in Texas, from which crops they migrate to the sugar-beet States for the summer work. They are excellent workers and highly desirable for our purpose.

Under article 7047, title 122, of the revised civil statutes of Texas as amended, no one may solicit labor in Texas for work beyond the boundaries of that State without first securing an emigrant-agent's license as provided for in the act. The requirements for this license are particularly stringent and would seem to be a considerable detriment to the free movement of labor out of that State. In order to comply with the above law, the Beet Growers' Employment Committee each year enters into a contract with a licensed agent in Texas who registers all applicants for work and meets the other legal requirements of the act. A copy of this contract covering the 1940 season is shown as exhibit B. The agent's charge is \$1 per person and the cost is borne by the worker himself. Usually he is not in a position to pay at the time of making application and so he signs a wage-deduction order and makes no payment until his spring work is completed. This deduction order is incorporated in the form shown in exhibit H. At the time of application at the agent's office in Texas, the applicant is provided with an application for contract which contains a copy of the contract which he will sign with an individual grower upon his arrival in Michigan. This application is printed in both English and Spanish and the applicant signs and turns this in to the agent as evidence that he understands thoroughly the conditions under which he will work. A copy of this application appears as exhibit C.

A very careful selection of applicants is made possible through several methods. It is the desire of many growers to have back each year experienced reliable workers who have been in Michigan previously. For this reason, a mailing list is maintained during the winter months and is made up from cards which are returned by the head of each group upon his arrival back in Texas each fall. A copy of this card is shown as exhibit D. Undesirable workers are eliminated from the mailing list. Correspondence with these individual groups is maintained throughout the winter for the purpose of keeping them informed of any changes in procedure for the coming spring. A copy of a sample form-letter is shown as exhibit E.

Shortly prior to the beginning of the annual movement, which begins around April 20, a form letter is sent to each group and is attached hereto as exhibit F. This letter gives detailed instructions for making application. Enclosed in the letter is a card, shown as exhibit G, which identifies the group at the employment office and, of course, such cards are sent only to workers known to be desirable. At the same time, all applicants and their families, including children above 14 years of age, are examined for tuberculosis and venereal disease by representatives of the Michigan Department of Health before being accepted for employment. I will not go into detail covering this portion of the program, since it is covered thoroughly in the testimony of Dr. A. W. Newitt, director of the bureau of epidemiology of the Michigan department of health. It will be necessary only to say that in our belief the examination program has resulted in innumerable benefits to workers, growers, and the State of Michigan.

At the time the workers are registered, they are listed on a form shown as exhibit H. This form is sent via air mail to Michigan to arrive at destination before the worker himself, so that employers know that the worker is en route, exactly how many are in the group and the approximate date of arrival.

TRANSPORTATION

There are three primary methods of transportation used by these people. An increasing number of them each year are purchasing automobiles for their private use. This seems to be a very satisfactory procedure and makes the group very mobile and upon arrival in Michigan enables them to work beets at a greater distance from home than would be possible otherwise.

It has been customary for years for numbers of them to group together on a share-expense basis and come to Michigan on the truck owned by one of the group. The number so transported each year is decreasing.

This spring through the cooperation of the railroads involved, rail movement was made possible. Previously, inability to secure a rate sufficiently low had stood in the way of such a movement. This method of transportation is highly desirable, and it is our hope that it may continue.

Regardless of means of transportation, the worker himself pays his own way. In the vast majority of cases, however, he does not have sufficient money at the time to handle this expense. It is, therefore, necessary for the Beet Growers Employment Committee to make cash advances in Texas which are covered by wage-deduction orders signed by the worker at the time he makes application. This deduction order is incorporated in the listing form shown as exhibit H. The necessity for making such advances gives another method of control upon the movement. Since workers must secure loans in order to make the trip, it becomes apparent that the movement can be controlled and stopped at any specified time. Close communication during the movement between the Michigan organization and representatives in Texas assures us that we will not receive an oversupply of labor. The movement usually lasts until about the 15th of May each year.

HOUSING

Under the terms of the grower-worker contract shown as exhibit I, it is the duty of growers to furnish free of charge a house for his beet worker. Some growers are in a position to do this and some are not. In many cases one group will work for four or five different growers, living in the house of one of them. In such cases it is customary for the owner of the house to receive rental from the other growers at the rate of 50 cents per acre on all beets worked from that house. In many areas growers are unable or unwilling to furnish a sufficient number of houses. In such cases the processing company has come to our assistance and has constructed three-room houses 16 by 24 feet. These houses are lined with celotex for protection in the fall months and are portable, coming apart in 14 sections, and when necessary can be transported from place to place by means of a truck. Usually they stay in one location for several years. In the case of these company-owned houses, each grower pays the company 50 cents per acre house rental. A typical house of the portable type is shown in exhibit J.

Household equipment, including beds, tables, chairs, and stove, is furnished. Bedding and cooking utensils may be purchased by the worker at cost which is usually well below the retail price.

One of the primary activities of the Beet Growers Employment Committee since its organization has been close attention to housing conditions and sanitary facilities. At the present time nearly all houses are screened, and educational work is being done among the occupants relative to garbage disposal and like matters.

INTERSEASON WORK

Field work in sugar beets is divided into two main parts. The spring work consists of blocking, thinning, and hoeing which begins early in June and continues throughout most of the month of July. The fall work consists of pulling and topping and runs roughly from the 10th of October to the 1st of December. There is a period in between these operations during which there is no work in the beet fields. It has been the policy of the Beet Growers Employment Committee to assist field workers in finding employment in other crops requiring extensive hand labor. In Michigan such crops as berries, cherries, cucumbers, mint, tomatoes, and onions have need of large groups of these people at about this time. Exhibit K is an excerpt from the Saginaw News of August 2, 1940, and indicates the necessity for this type of labor in the crops mentioned. Neither the growers nor the processors of these crops have seemed to care to organize to handle this problem in any responsible way. It has, therefore, gradually developed that such industries looked to the beet industry for their labor supply. In recent years through this method it has been possible to secure continuous employment for our field workers desirous of obtaining it. This assures them of a maximum of income and a minimum of living expense from June to December.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Arrival in the spring is usually too late to make school attendance for the few remaining days of any value. In the fall, however, the great majority of children of school age attend school. Those old enough to work must secure working permits from the proper local authorities. Most school authorities report that these children are anxious to learn and that their point of view has a beneficial effect upon the local children.

Under the regulations of the Federal Government, children under 14 years of age are not permitted to work in sugar beets, and those between 14 and 16 may not work more than 8 hours in any 1 day.

An experimental summer school was inaugurated this year, as is shown in the copy of excerpts from the Alma Record of June 6, 1940, and July 16, 1940, shown in exhibit L. Many of these children receive their entire school experience during the few months in Michigan each year. In some of the other States, in which they spend portions of the year, the opportunity is not afforded them.

GENERAL WELFARE

Upon arrival in the spring out-of-State workers are generally not in a position to maintain themselves until the time of first payment for work performed. This payment occurs about August 1. Credit is, therefore, established for them at grocery stores, and such credit is guaranteed to the grocer. The written guaranty provides that the grocer must be able to produce at all times sales slips signed by the worker showing the prices charged. Thus, an unscrupulous merchant is prevented from overcharging. Since the volume amounts to a sizeable figure, most merchants are jealous of their reputation in this regard. A merchant found to be taking advantage of workers is not given this business in the future.

When the worker receives his check, the company field man accompanies him to the store, inspects his grocery account, arranges for the cashing of the check, and sees that the bill is paid. Medical care is provided through local physicians, and no one who within our knowledge needs medical attention goes without it.

THE AFTER-SEASON PROBLEM

When the fall work is completed in beets, it is very desirable that these people return to their point of origin. It is seldom that many of them have permanent employment throughout the winter in Michigan, and should they not return to other crops in the South, a relief problem here would be created. It is, therefore, the policy of the Beet Growers Employment Committee to assist these people in every way to return to their homes. Occasionally an individual grower has some type of work for his group during the winter. In such cases we have a talk with him and assure ourselves that the work will be sufficient to give the worker an ample income until spring. We impress upon the grower his responsibility in the matter and keep a supervisory eye on the situation throughout the winter months. Consequently, the annual influx of such workers to Michigan has not in recent years constituted a relief problem.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A short summary of the whole problem might be stated in this way: We are engaged in an industry which means millions of dollars to the State of Michigan each year. The annual success of the crop and the industry depends upon extensive hand labor. The State of Michigan is unable to supply the amount necessary and about one-third of it is recruited from out of the State. Machinery is set up to carefully select and control applicants throughout the whole movement. From the time of making application for employment, the worker's interests and welfare are safeguarded insofar as is possible. Every effort is made to see that undue hardship or expense does not fall upon the taxpayers of the State of Michigan. The worker returns to his home in the fall to engage in other crops.

We feel that we have made distinct progress in the last 2 years in the matter of handling this large group of people. We do not hulk ourselves into the belief that further improvements cannot be made, and we are earnestly working toward a better situation wherever possible.

Exhibit A

A map (not printed—held in Committee files).

Exhibit B

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

THIS MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT, Made this 6th day of February 1940, by and between BEET GROWERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE, INC., a Michigan nonprofit corporation of Saginaw, Michigan (hereinafter referred to as the Company), a party of the first part, and FRANK CORTIZ, doing business as the CORTIZ EMPLOYMENT AGENCY of San Antonio, Texas (hereinafter referred to as the Agent), party of the second part :

WITNESSETH :

In consideration of the sum of One Hundred Dollars (\$100.00) in hand paid by the Company to the Agent and other good and valuable considerations, receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, it is hereby mutually agreed as follows :

1. The Company hereby authorizes the Agent, when and as directed by the Company, to solicit Sugar Beet Field Workers in Texas for work in the sugar-beet fields of Michigan, owned by grower members of the Company.

2. The Agent shall engage in the work described in paragraph 1 and shall represent the Company exclusively, engaging in this work for no other party or parties during the duration of this contract, and agrees to faithfully perform said work.

3. The Agent shall engage in the work described in paragraph 1 of this contract only when and as directed by the Company, and in no case shall he have claim upon the Company, or the employers of such field workers, for any fees or remuneration for engaging in such work other than the aforesaid \$100.00.

4. The Agent shall forthwith at his own cost and expense secure through the proper government channels all the necessary licenses and permits necessary to do business under Article 7047, Title 122, of the revised Civil Statutes of Texas, 1925, as amended, and under any other Federal or state statutes or regulations governing the solicitation of Sugar Beet Field Workers in Texas for work in Michigan.

5. (a) The Agent shall make no charge for registering such field workers. For each field worker obtained by the Agent, accepted by the Company, and reporting for work in Michigan, the Agent may make a charge for his services in obtaining placement of not in excess of One Dollar (\$1.00) for each such worker, payable out of the first wages earned by such workers in Michigan. The Company shall accept and present for collection to the employers of such workers, or the sugar processors, wage-deduction orders signed by the applicants for employment to cover the agent's charges for services, as aforesaid.

(b) The Company may maintain at the office of the Agent a representative who may interview and inspect applicants for employment, and the Company through this representative or otherwise, shall have the right to reject or deny applications for any reason which in its sole discretion may be deemed justifiable, and that in cases of such rejection and denial no deduction orders, signed by such rejected applicant, for Agent's charges for services as aforesaid, or otherwise, shall be valid or recognized.

(c) No applicant who shall fail to pass a health examination which shall be satisfactory to the Michigan State Department of Health shall be accepted for employment by the Agent, and no deduction orders, signed by such applicant, for Agent's charges for services as aforesaid, or otherwise, shall be valid or be recognized.

(d) Such deduction orders signed by applicants who fail to arrive at the destination in Michigan designated by the Company shall not be valid or be recognized.

(e) The Company assumes no responsibility or liability in the matter of collection of such deduction orders signed by applicants for employment beyond the placing of said orders in the hands of the employers of such applicants, or the sugar processors, for collection, and in no case shall the Agent have any claim upon the Company for payment of such orders.

6. Agent shall furnish without charge temporary lodging for all applicants for employment and their immediate families should they require same, between the time of their registration with Agent and the commencement of the journey to Michigan, or the rejection of their applications as the case may be.

7. This contract under no circumstances shall be construed as an agreement relative to the transportation of field workers by the Company or the Agent from Texas to Michigan. The Company will not furnish or pay for the transportation of such workers from Texas to Michigan; and the transportation of such workers being without the scope of this Agreement, the Company shall have no right or obligation in the matter of direction as to what transportation facilities are used by such workers solicited by the Agent for work in Michigan.

8. The agent is not authorized to and shall not make any representations or statements whatsoever to prospective workers except such as may be contained in the proposed 1940 contract between Michigan Beet Field Worker and Grower, copies of which will be furnished the Agent by the Company, and the terms of which will be printed both in English and Spanish. The Agent is not authorized to and shall not obtain the signatures of prospective field workers to any applications, deduction orders or contracts except on forms of application, deduction orders and contracts furnished by the Company.

9. This contract shall remain in effect for one year from date hereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Company has caused this Agreement to be executed by its duly authorized Executive Secretary, and its corporate seal to be hereunto affixed, and the Agent has affixed his hand and seal all on the day and year first above written at San Antonio, Texas.

BEET GROWERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE, INC.,
(Signed) M. C. HENDERSON,

Executive Secretary.

(Signed) FRANK CORTEZ,
Doing business as Cortez Employment Agency.

Exhibit C

(Form 53 4 40 5M GPCo. 5511)

[Specimen copy]

GROWER'S CONTRACT WITH FIELD WORKER

UNDERSIGNED GROWER AND FIELD WORKER AGREE

The Field Worker Agrees—

To do all field work and properly care for ——— acres of sugar beets according to instructions given from time to time by the Grower.

To bunch and thin beets so as to leave the beets, when hoeing is completed, not more than eight to ten inches apart on the average, leaving only the sturdiest beets, one in a place.

To hoe the beets whenever required during the growing season, so as to remove all weeds, keep the beets clean in the rows and for four inches on each side of each row.

To furnish hoes and topping knives.

To pull and top beets when ready for harvest, removing all the dirt possible by striking beets together before removing tops. Knives are to be used for topping only—not for picking up or handling beets.

To top beets at the lowest leaf line at a right angle to vertical axis.

To pile topped beets in piles consisting of the beets from sixteen rows, the piles to be at least two rods apart. To cover piles with all the leaves immediately.

To pile all beet tops in neat piles when they are not needed to cover piles of beets to the end that Grower may be able to use the tops to best advantage and not have them scattered about the ground.

To level and prepare the surface of the ground where beets are to be piled.

To accept as full payment for said work the amount shown on the schedule printed on the back of this contract, payable as stated in said schedule.

To pay the cost and expense of doing any work which he fails or refuses to do at the time or in the manner in which it should be done, and he authorizes the deduction of any such cost or expense from the amount herein agreed to be paid to him.

To pay any cost or expense, including attorney fees, imposed on the Grower or Michigan Sugar Company by reason of any attachment or garnishment of the amount payable to him hereunder, or by any litigation of any nature, or by any damage done by him to property of the Grower or said Company, and he authorizes the deduction and withholding of the amount of any such cost or expense from the amount payable to him.

The Grower Agrees—

To keep beets cultivated clean between the rows in a proper manner and give them at least one cultivation before they are blocked and thinned.

To lift the beets when ready for harvest.

To pay the field worker for said work according to the schedule printed on the back of this contract.

To make all settlements with the field workers through the Company's fieldmen.

To furnish free a suitable dwelling for field worker to live in until harvesting is completed, and to provide pure water.

That, to secure payment to the field worker, any and all proceeds to which the grower may in any way become entitled to receive under his contract with the Company shall be charged with the amount to which the field worker may become entitled to receive hereunder, and the Company, in behalf of the grower and for his account, and as provided in the grower's contract with the Company, is authorized to make payment of same direct to the field worker, and this contract (or a copy thereof) when filed with the Company shall be an order for such payment.

To haul or deliver the beets to the Michigan Sugar Company.

General Agreements.—In case the grower fails to obtain a satisfactory stand of beets, or if at any time during the time for performance of work hereunder, the condition of the crop shall be such that in the judgment of the grower further work on the crop would not be justified, the grower may terminate this contract by giving notice to the Michigan Sugar Company, the field worker, and the holders of any orders given by the grower and paying the field worker the fair value of what he has done to such date as nearly as may be according to the following schedule.

The grower and field worker shall be bound by the acreage as measured, and the tonnage per acre as determined by the Company.

In the event the grower and field worker disagree as to any matter pertaining to this contract or the performance thereof in any respect, or as to the amount payable hereunder, either party may notify Michigan Sugar Company, or upon said Company hearing of any such disagreement, it may appoint a representative to look into such matter, and his decision shall be final and binding upon the parties, but that Company shall not come under any liability to the parties or either of them if it fails or refuses to decide such matter or because of any decision.

All debts incurred by the field worker as a result of credit extended or guaranteed by the grower or Michigan Sugar Company shall be paid out of proceeds due the field worker hereunder from whatever source.

Michigan Sugar Company by acceptance of this order as noted below, or otherwise, shall not come under any obligation or liability to either of the parties hereto except to pay to the field worker as far as may be out of money that may become payable to the grower, and then only after deducting therefrom any amounts owing by the grower to said Company and any other items provided to be first paid by the terms of the contract with the grower, the amount to which the field worker may become entitled to receive hereunder.

In accordance with the regulations of the United States Department of Agriculture governing benefit payments to beet growers under the Federal Sugar Act of 1937, children under 14 years of age are not permitted to work in sugar beets, and those between 14 and 16 years of age may not work more than 8 hours in any one day. The Grower and Worker agree that if the Worker permits his or any other children to work in violation of these regulations or said Act, this contract shall automatically terminate as of the date such violation shall first become known to the Grower; the Worker receiving payment in full for work performed before such date.

SCHEDULE OF PAYMENTS PER MEASURED ACRE

For Blocking, Thinning, and Hoeing.—\$11.00 for blocking, thinning, hoeing, and keeping beets free from weeds, payable:

\$9.00 when work is completed and

\$2.00 when beets have been harvested.

For Harvesting.—

Net tons per acre:	Rate per ton	Net tons per acre:	Rate per ton
Below 4-----	\$1.50	10-----	\$0.91
4-----	1.30	11-----	.89
5-----	1.15	12-----	.87
6-----	1.06	13-----	.85
7-----	1.00	14-----	.83
8-----	.96	15-----	.81
9-----	.93	16 or above-----	.80

(The rate for all fractional tonnages between 4 and 16 tons rounded to the nearest tenth of a ton shall be in proportion within each interval.)

(Provision has been made in the determination that if, because of unusual circumstances, it is essential to employ labor on other than a piece-rate basis, and/or in those circumstances in which the use of special machine methods are used, rates other than the above may be applicable, provided such rates are approved by the State Committee as equivalent to the piece rate for such work specified herein. See your Fieldman.)

Final settlement, according to terms of contract, to be made as soon as practicable after all beets have been delivered and net weight per measured acre determined.

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT WITH BEET GROWERS

Fully understanding the Grower's Contract with Field Worker for the Season of 1940, copy of which is printed above, we have subscribed our name below and do hereby faithfully promise to work for Growers of the Michigan Sugar Company ----- PLANT.

If accepted, we agree to take care of ---- acres of sugar beets, according to the terms of aforementioned contract, which we agree to sign with grower when placed.

Address -----	Signature -----	Age -----
City -----	" -----	Age -----
Worked for -----	" -----	Age -----
Signature -----	" -----	Age -----
Signature -----	" -----	Age -----
Signature -----	" -----	Age -----

*Exhibit C*¹

(Spanish)

(Explicación del contrato, para los que no entienden bien el inglés)

El ranchero y el obrero agrícola acuerdan los términos siguientes:

El obrero agrícola acuerda—

Que hará el trabajo propiamente de los ---- acres de betavel de acuerdo con las instrucciones que le sean dadas a el por el ranchero.

Que bloqueará y que desahijará y que tendrá cuidado de dejar las plantas más robustas y cuando termine el trabajo que den do más de ocho a diez pulgadas de una planta a otra.

Que guardará el surco limpio y cuatro pulgadas a cada lado y azadoneará cuando sea necesario.

Que usará su propia herramienta que consiste de azadón y cuchillo de tapeo.

Que levantará y tapeará el betavel cuando este listo para recolección, teniendo cuidado de limpiar el betavel de tierra, golpeando uno con otro los más, que sea posible. Los cuchillos deben usarse solamente para el tapear—no deben usarse para coger ni picar el betavel.

Que tapeara el betavel a la línea hecha por las hojas más bajas a ángulo recto con centro de rotación.

Que recogera los betaveles tapeados en pilas consistiendo de los betaveles de dieciseis surcos con una distancia por lo menos de treinta pies una de otra. Que cubrira inmediatamente los pilas contadas las hojas.

Que recogera todas las hojas en pilas cuando no se necesiten para cubrir las pilas de betavel de manera que el rancho pueda usar las hojas a la mejor ventaja y no esten esparcidas en el suelo.

Que limpiara y nivelara el suelo donde se apilara el betavel.

Que aceptara como pago completo por este trabajo la suma que se indica en la lista de precios en este contrato.

Que pagara los costos de hacer cualquier trabajo cuando el mismo se niegue a hacerlo o deje de hacerlo a tiempo o de la manera en que se debe hacerlo, y el autoriza la deducción de estos costos de la suma convenida.

Que pagara cualesquier costos, incluyendo gastos de abogado, imquestos al rancho o la Michigan Sugar Company por razón de demanda o de embargo de la suma pagadera a el o por razón de cualquier perjuicio hecho por el a la propiedad del rancho o de la Compañía, y el autoriza le deducción y detención de la suma pagadera a el.

El Rancho Acuerda—

Que cultivara propiamente el betavel, guardando limpios los centros de los surcos, y que dara cuando menos una cultivación antes de bloquear y desahijar.

Que arrara el betavel cuando este listo para recolección.

Que pagara al trabajador según la lista de precios en este contrato.

Todos los pagos deberan hacerse de acuerdo con el representante de la Compañía.

Que dara casa y agua para uso del trabajador hasta que se complete el trabajo de recolección.

Que garantizara pagar al trabajador y autoriza que la Compañía pague al trabajador del producto que vende a la Compañía.

Que entregara el betavel a la Michigan Sugar Company.

Acuerdos Generales.—Se le reserva el derecho al rancho de suspender al trabajador, despues de notificar a la Michigan Sugar Company, cuando el betavel sea afectado por enfermedad o' de cualquier otra manera, debiendo pagar al trabajador lo que le corresponda por su trabajo hecho.

El rancho y el trabajador deberan aceptar la medida y tonelaje por aere que sean determinados por la Compañía.

Si el rancho y el trabajador no estuvieren de acuerdo en lo que concierne a la ejecución de este contrato, uno u otro pueden notificar a la Michigan Sugar Company. La Compañía puede nombrar a un representante para investigar el caso, y la decisión de el sera final, pero la Compañía no sera responsable si deja de nombrar a un representante ni por alguna decisión de su representante.

Todas las deudas contraidas por el trabajador como resultado del credito extendido y garantizado por el rancho o la Compañía deberan ser pagadas de las ganancias del trabajo en betavel o de cualquier otra parte.

La Michigan Sugar Company al aceptar esta orden, como se ve abajo, no debe considerarse obligada o responsable a ninguna de las dos partes contrayentes, el rancho y el trabajador, con la excepción de pagar al trabajador de la suma que sea pagable al rancho, y en ese caso solamente despues de deducir cualquier suma que el rancho deba a la Compañía.

De acuerdo con los ordenes del Gobierno Federal, se permiten trabajar en betavel solamente aquellas personas que tienen más que 14 años de edad, y a las que entre 14 y 16 años se permite trabajar no más de 8 horas por día. El rancho y el obrero agrícola acuerdan que este contrato se terminara el día en que este claro al rancho que los muchachos del obrero estan trabajando en violación de estos ordenes; el obrero recibiendo un pago completo por el trabajo hecho por el antes de aquella fecha.

LISTA DE PRECIOS POR ACRE MEDIDO

Por el bloquear, el desahijar, el azadonear:

\$11.00 por el bloquear, et desahijar, el azadonear y el guardar limpio el surco, pagable:

\$9.00 cuando el trabajo se termine y

2.00 después de la recolección

Por la recolección—

Toneladas por acre medido:

	Por cada tonelada		Per cada tonelada
Menos que 4-----	\$1. 50	Toneladas per acre medido:	
4-----	1. 30	10-----	\$0. 91
5-----	1. 15	11-----	. 89
6-----	1. 06	12-----	. 87
7-----	1. 00	13-----	. 85
8-----	. 96	14-----	. 83
9-----	. 93	15-----	. 81
		16 o mas-----	. 80

De acuerdo con este contrato, el pago final se hara cuando el betavel sea entregado a la fábrica y el tonelage sea determinando.

(El pago per tonelages fraccionarios entre 4 7 16 toneladas debe ser en proporeción hasta el 1/10 más cereano.)

(Se hace provisión que en caso de circunstancias extraordinarias o on caso de que una parte del trabajo se hace por máquina, sea necesario pagar de otra manera que por acre basis, estara necesario tener la aprobación del Comite del Estado, Véase el representante de la compañía.)

Exhibit D

-----, 19-----.

DEAR MR. JOHN BREYFOGLE: My present address is:

Street or R. F. D.: -----

City: -----

State: -----

(Signature)

Exhibit E

HENRY PRIES, *President*

M. C. HENDERSON, *Exec. Sec'y-Treas.*

JOHN NEUBER, *Vice President*

Directors.—John B. Smith, President, Alma Sugar Beet Gr's Assn.; Henry Lane, President, Caro Beet Gr's, Inc.; Henry Petiprin, President, Caro Beet Gr's Assn.; Henry Pries, President, Crowell Beet Gr's Assn.; Clarence Diehl, President, Lausing Sugar Beet Gr's Assn.; Henry Doerr, President, Saginaw Sugar Beet Gr's Assn.; John Neuber, President, Sebawaing Sugar Beet Gr's Union

BET GROWERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE, INC.

507 Second National Bank Building, Saginaw, Michigan

DEAR SIR: In answer to your recent inquiry concerning sugar-beet work in Michigan this coming season, please be advised that as yet we do not know the terms of the 1940 field workers' contract. The Federal Government sets this price and soon they should advise us what the rate will be. As soon as we have this information we will pass it on to you.

However, from acreage already contacted, we know that farmers will be planting a large acreage of beets this year and, of course, they will require a considerable number of good, experienced beet workers.

All beet workers from Texas will be required to register this year with the Cortez Employment Agency, which will have offices in San Antonio and Dallas. We intend to make every effort this year to see that our old workers have the first opportunity for work. Later on you will receive a card from this office which will identify you to the Cortez Employment Agency. We will need your best cooperation in following instructions which you will receive from time to time. We will advise you as to the terms and conditions of the contract as soon as we have the information.

Yours truly,

BEET GROWERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE, INC.,
By _____, Assistant Secretary.

Exhibit F

HENRY PRIES, *President*

M. C. HENDERSON, *Exec. Sec'y-Treas.*

JOHN NEUBER, *Vice President*

Directors.—John B. Smith, President, Alma Sugar Beet Gr's Assn.; Henry Lane, President, Caro Beet Gr's, Inc.; Henry Petiprin, President, Caro Beet Gr's Assn.; Henry Pries, President, Crowell Beet Gr's Assn.; Clarence Diehl, President, Lansing Sugar Beet Gr's Assn.; Henry Doerr, President, Saginaw Sugar Beet Gr's Assn.; John Neuber, President, Sebawaing Sugar Beet Gr's Union

BEET GROWERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE, INC.

507 Second National Bank Building, Saginaw, Michigan

JOHN H. BREYFOGLE, *Asst. Secy.,*
P. O. Drawer 809,
Saginaw, Michigan

DEAR SIR: This year, the same as last, all those desiring to apply for sugar-beet work in Michigan will be required to register with the Cortez Employment Agency before leaving Texas. Because of our wish to see that our old workers have the first chance for work, it will be our strict rule that NO ONE WHO FAILS TO REGISTER WILL BE GIVEN EMPLOYMENT WHEN THEY REACH MICHIGAN.

The Cortez Employment Agency will have two offices: one at 515 El Paso Street, San Antonio, which will be open April 15th; and one at 2110 Munger Avenue, Dallas, which will be open during the week of May 6th to 10th only.

Enclosed is a card which will identify you to the Cortez Employment Agency as one of our old workers. If the number in your group will be different from that shown, please write and let us know.

Yours truly,

BEET GROWERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE, INC.
By _____, Assistant Secretary.

Exhibit G

----- 1940.

DEAR SIR:

Our records show that last year your group consisted of ----- adult workers. Please present this card when you make application for employment at

CORTEZ EMPLOYMENT AGENCY

515 El Paso Street, San Antonio, Texas

Yours truly,

JOHN H. BREYFOGLE,
Asst. Secy., Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Inc., Saginaw, Michigan.

Exhibit I

(Form 580, 30M-4-40-FPCo.)

Grower's Contract With Field Worker

No. _____ GROWER _____ Acres _____
 P. O. _____ R. F. D. _____

UNDERSIGNED GROWER AND FIELD WORKER AGREE

The Field Worker Agrees.—

To do all field work and properly care for _____ acres of sugar beets according to instructions given from time to time by the Grower.

To bunch and thin beets so as to leave the beets, when hoeing is completed, not more than eight to ten inches apart on the average, leaving only the sturdiest beets one in a place.

To hoe the beets whenever required during the growing season, so as to remove all weeds, keep the beets clean in the rows and for four inches on each side of each row.

To furnish hoes and topping knives.

To pull and top beets when ready for harvest, removing all the dirt possible by striking beets together before removing tops. Knives are to be used for topping only—not for picking up or handling beets.

To top beets at the lowest leaf line at a right angle to vertical axis.

To pile topped beets in piles consisting of the beets from sixteen rows, the piles to be at least two rods apart. To cover piles with all the leaves immediately.

To pile all beet tops in neat piles when they are not needed to cover piles of beets to the end that Grower may be able to use the tops to best advantage and not have them scattered about the ground.

To level and prepare the surface of the ground where beets are to be piled.

To accept as full payment for said work the amount shown on the schedule contained in this contract payable as stated in said schedule.

To pay the cost and expense of doing any work which he fails or refuses to do at the time or in the manner in which it should be done, and he authorizes the deduction of any such cost or expense from the amount herein agreed to be paid to him.

To pay any cost or expense, including attorney fees, imposed on the Grower or Michigan Sugar Company by reason of any attachment or garnishment of the amount payable to him hereunder, or by any litigation of any nature, or by any damage done by him to property of the Grower or said Company, and he authorizes the deduction and withholding of the amount of any such cost or expense from the amount payable to him.

The Grower Agrees—

To keep beets cultivated clean between the rows in a proper manner and give them at least one cultivation before they are blocked and thinned.

To lift the beets when ready for harvest.

To pay the field worker for said work according to the schedule contained in this contract.

To make all settlements with the field workers through the Company's fieldmen.

To furnish free a suitable dwelling for field worker to live in until harvesting is completed and to provide pure water.

That, to secure payment to the field worker, any and all proceeds to which the grower may in any way become entitled to receive under his contract with the Company shall be charged with the amount to which the field worker may become entitled to receive hereunder, and the Company, in behalf of the grower and for his account, and as provided in the grower's contract with the Company, is authorized to make payment of same direct to the field worker, and this contract (or a copy thereof) when filed with the Company shall be an order for such payment.

To haul or deliver the beets to the Michigan Sugar Company.

General Agreements.—In case the grower fails to obtain a satisfactory stand of beets, or if at any time during the time for performance of work hereunder, the condition of the crop shall be such that in the judgment of the grower further work on the crop would not be justified, the grower may terminate this contract by giving notice to the Michigan Sugar Company, the field worker, and the holders of any orders given by the grower and paying the field worker

the fair value of what he has done to such date as nearly as may be according to the following schedule.

The grower and field worker shall be bound by the acreage as measured and the tonnage per acre as determined by the Company.

In the event the grower and field worker disagree as to any matter pertaining to this contract or the performance thereof in any respect, or as to the amount payable hereunder, either party may notify Michigan Sugar Company, or upon said Company hearing of any such disagreement, it may appoint a representative to look into such matter, and his decision shall be final and binding upon the parties, but that Company shall not come under any liability to the parties or either of them if it fails or refuses to decide such matter or because of any decision.

All debts incurred by the field worker as a result of credit extended or guaranteed by the grower or Michigan Sugar Company shall be paid out of proceeds due the field worker hereunder from whatever source.

Michigan Sugar Company by acceptance of this order as noted below, or otherwise, shall not come under any obligation or liability to either of the parties hereto except to pay to the field worker as far as may be out of money that may become payable to the grower and then only after deducting therefrom any amounts owing by the grower to said Company and any other items provided to be first paid by the terms of the contract with the grower, the amount to which the field worker may become entitled to receive hereunder.

In accordance with the regulations of the United States Department of Agriculture governing benefit payments to beet growers under the Federal Sugar Act of 1937, children under 14 years of age are not permitted to work in sugar beets and those between 14 and 16 years of age may not work more than 8 hours in any one day. The Grower and Worker agree that if the Worker permits his or any other children to work in violation of these regulations or said Act, this contract shall automatically terminate as of the date such violation shall first become known to the Grower; the Worker receiving payment in full for work performed before such date.

SCHEDULE OF PAYMENTS PER MEASURED ACRE

For Blocking, Thinning, and Hoeing.—\$11.00 for blocking, thinning, hoeing, and keeping beets free from weeds, payable:

\$9.00 when work is completed and \$2.00 when beets have been harvested.

For Harvesting.—

Net tons per acre	Rate per ton	Net tons per acre	Rate per ton
Below 4-----	\$1.50	Below 10-----	\$0.91
4-----	1.30	11-----	.89
5-----	1.15	12-----	.87
6-----	1.06	13-----	.85
7-----	1.00	14-----	.83
8-----	.96	15-----	.81
9-----	.93	16 or above-----	.80

(The rate for all fractional tonnages between 4 and 16 tons rounded to the nearest tenth of a ton shall be in proportion within each interval.)

(Provision has been made in the determination that if, because of unusual circumstances, it is essential to employ labor on other than a piece rate basis, and/or in those circumstances in which the use of special machine methods are used, rates other than the above may be applicable provided such rates are approved by the State Committee as equivalent to the piece rate for such work specified herein. See your Fieldman.)

Final settlement, according to terms of contract, to be made as soon as practicable after all beets have been delivered and net weight per measured acre determined.

Executed in triplicate this _____ day of _____ 1940

(Grower)

(Field Worker)

Received an executed original of the foregoing contract and order which order is accepted by the undersigned on all of the conditions contained therein.

----- 1940.
MICHIGAN SUGAR COMPANY.
By _____.

Exhibit J

Picture of house (omitted).

Exhibit K

THE MIGRATORY WORKER DECLARED TO BE A BOON TO STATE ORCHARDISTS

[Saginaw News, August 2, 1940]

LANSING.—State officials said today that the thousands of migratory workers in the fruit belt were a boon to orchard owners and did not present a serious social or economic problem to Michigan.

The observation was made as an increased number of workers appeared in the state's cherry belt.

"Migratory workers aren't a serious problem," said Elmer A. Beamer, state agricultural commissioner. "In fact, I'd say that fruit growers depended upon them. For example, when the cherries are ripe, they must be picked immediately and if it weren't for the migratory workers the orchard owners wouldn't be able to avail themselves of the full benefits of the cherry harvest."

Beamer said most of the migratory workers came from the south. An estimated 5,000 to 8,000 migratory workers now are employed as cherry pickers in the western section of the state.

Exhibit L

COUNTY SCHOOL FOR CHILDREN OF MEXICAN BEET WORKERS TO BE OPENED IN ALMA FRIDAY

[Alma Record, June 6, 1940]

Gratiot county's first school for Mexican children of migratory families of beet-field workers will be opened Friday of this week according to present plans and will continue for eight weeks, with daily sessions being held in the abandoned Washington school building. The building has been prepared and furnished for the institution that will make an innovation here.

The school will be under the direction of Miss Gertrude Herman, kindergarten expert of Grand Rapids. Her staff will include Miss Merle Farne, of Wichita, Kans., a specialist in work with young girls; Miss Catherine Rundleman, from Texas, who will be in charge of babies and tots; and Albert Mareno, a Mexican minister and teacher from Shepherd, who will be in charge of boys. Federal-aid agency supervisors will teach handicraft to the boys and direct an ample program of recreational activity.

The age range of children to be accommodated will be from 4 to 14 years. The school will give instruction in music, English, health, handicraft, and Christian fellowship. The children will be transported from abodes in various parts of the district to the school at 6:30 a. m. and returned at 5 o'clock p. m. in busses and other conveyances that have been donated together with supplies, including hot lunches that will be served the children at noon. It is anticipated that the school attendance will be close to 100.

A feature of the health study will be experiments with rest and nutrition to be given undernourished children. The course is aimed to meet, to the limited extent that is possible, the social problem that is involved in lack of privilege for the children of migratory families of small means.

There will be an occasional evening program for both young people and adults, but evening transportation is not possible * * *.

MEXICAN SCHOOL TO ENTER UPON ITS LAST WEEK—ENTHUSIASM EXPRESSED OVER WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED AT GRATIOT CENTER IN ALMA

[Alma Record, July 16, 1940]

The last week of school at the Mexican Center in the Washington school building will find the school with fewer families due to the fact that many are leaving the sugar-beet fields for other crops until the harvest season.

Many mothers have expressed their deep appreciation for the work done with their children this summer. Many have voiced the hope that such a center will be in operation again next year.

Anticipating the close of school, a field day was held Wednesday with the older groups of the Mt. Pleasant Center and the Alma Center participating. The Rev. Albert Moreno, of Shepherd, Miss.; Merle Farni, of Alma Center; and Robert Tusler and Miss Mary Catherine Rendleman, of the Mt. Pleasant Center, were in charge. Many events such as the three-legged race, rope-jumping contest, relay races, tug of war, and a baseball game were on the program.

* * * * *

About 400 visitors from various parts of Michigan have come to see the actual program and methods of work at the center. Many have expressed their great surprise in seeing how well this large group of children responds to the thoroughly democratic living situation and the varied working interests.

Visitors will be more than welcome during the last week of school.

The enrollment has now reached 100. Sixteen babies and toddlers are in the nursery under direction of Mrs. Trinity Moreno. Forty-seven have been in the kindergarten with Miss Gertrude Herman. Thirty-seven have been in junior group with Miss Merle Farni and the Rev. Albert Moreno.

TESTIMONY OF M. C. HENDERSON—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. I think the best way we could do is to let you proceed as you see fit.

Mr. HENDERSON. Well, I do not know, beyond the report which we turned in, what the committee is interested in having emphasized.

Mr. OSMERS. I will tell you—if I might interrupt there, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. The member of the committee who has studied your statement and was to question you is not here.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. OSMERS. That is why the chairman asked you to proceed in this fashion.

Mr. HENDERSON. I see.

ORGANIZATION OF BEET GROWERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE

Mr. OSMERS. Tell the committee first the nature of the committee you represent, and what its functions are and how it operates.

Mr. HENDERSON. The Beet Growers' Employment Committee is a nonstock, nonprofit corporation which has, as the membership in that corporation, the beet growers' associations of the six operating plants of the Michigan Sugar Co. Those beet growers' associations are in turn nonstock, nonprofit corporations. There are six of them.

The president of each one of those associations is a director of this seventh corporation. The seventh corporation functions as an employing agency and has to do entirely with the supervising and controlling of the field labor interests of the other six corporations.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, I am going to repeat that for my own information. You have up here six plants of the Michigan Sugar Co.?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. That is a private profit-making sugar-refining business?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Beet-sugar refining?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Then at each one of these refineries there is a beet growers' association?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Is that correct?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is correct.

Mr. OSMERS. That is composed of the beet growers who supply the refineries?

Mr. HENDERSON. Correct.

Mr. OSMERS. Then the heads of each of these six producers' associations form the Beet Growers' Employment Committee?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is not quite correct.

Mr. OSMERS. Explain that to me, please.

Mr. HENDERSON. The association itself is a member in the seventh corporation, but they are represented—the directorship in the seventh corporation happens to be the president, but he is merely as a director representing the whole membership in his association.

Mr. OSMERS. I just wanted to understand your parent group, up here at the top.

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes. You understand that with respect to the seventh corporation, the Beet Growers' Employment Committee represents these associations only in the matter of labor. It has nothing to do with their contract negotiations with the refinery or anything else. It is a matter of field labor entirely.

Mr. OSMERS. Just field labor entirely?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is right.

NUMBER EMPLOYED IN MICHIGAN SUGAR INDUSTRY

Mr. OSMERS. Tell me this: Is it absolutely necessary that you use migratory labor in the sugar industry?

Mr. HENDERSON. It always has been.

Mr. OSMERS. It always has been?

Mr. HENDERSON. And it is becoming increasingly more necessary.

Mr. OSMERS. How many persons are engaged in growing sugar beets in the State of Michigan?

Mr. HENDERSON. In the neighborhood of 14,000.

Mr. OSMERS. I think there are 70,000 in the United States, are there not?

Mr. HENDERSON. I am not informed on that.

Mr. OSMERS. That is my understanding; 14,000 of those growers come from Michigan?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. You do not know how many people are engaged in the field work in the beet industry in Michigan, do you?

Mr. HENDERSON. We can arrive at it on this basis: Last year there were about 140,000 acres of beets in Michigan. We know it takes one man for every 7 acres, on the average. That makes about 20,000 required to perform this field operation. Of that there will be a small percentage of local people, such as farmers themselves who will do the work on small farms.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. HENDERSON. There will be a considerably larger percentage

who come from the State of Michigan itself, neighbors and laborers in the local community.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. HENDERSON. Then probably one-third of that 20,000 must be recruited outside of the State.

Mr. OSMERS. Over 6,000?

Mr. HENDERSON. Six thousand five hundred, or something like that.

Mr. OSMERS. Is it necessary that Mexican labor be brought to the State of Michigan?

Mr. HENDERSON. I would like to qualify that term "Mexican." There are two meanings for the word "Mexican." One is a national and the other is of Mexican descent, but is an American citizen.

Mr. OSMERS. Of Mexican descent, but a citizen of the United States?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes. Our policy has always been to employ only American citizens, or those whom the immigration authorities assure us are here legally, working on permits and so forth. These people are very carefully checked in Michigan by the immigration officials in the district, the head of which is in Ohio.

Mr. OSMERS. The head of what?

Mr. HENDERSON. The head of the immigration office is in Ohio. They check these people very carefully.

Mr. OSMERS. You do not bring these Mexican-American workers there because of any difference in labor standards or wages, do you?

Mr. HENDERSON. The secretary of agriculture makes a wage determination every year after district hearings in each beet district, at which both labor and grower testify. Then he determines the fair and reasonable wage for the coming year, and it is universal. It would not make any difference if the mayor of Chicago went to work. He would get the same as these Mexicans.

Mr. OSMERS. He is not considering it, is he?

Mr. HENDERSON. I am not sure.

Mr. OSMERS. Does the grower get his own labor, or does the processor arrange for it?

Mr. HENDERSON. The processor has nothing to do with field labor.

Mr. OSMERS. The processor has nothing to do with field labor?

Mr. HENDERSON. And has not had for 3 years.

Mr. OSMERS. Your committee, the Beet Growers' Employment Committee, gets the field labor?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

FINANCING OF EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE

Mr. OSMERS. How does the association finance itself?

Mr. HENDERSON. Through contributions from the six member corporations.

Mr. OSMERS. I suppose the member corporations are financed by the individual growers?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is right. They pay a percentage—that is, they pay so many cents per ton into the general fund for general purposes.

Mr. OSMERS. Are all of the funds really provided by the sugar-beet company?

Mr. HENDERSON. What is that?

Mr. OSMERS. Are all of the funds that your committee uses all supplied by the growers or by the processors, or is it—

Mr. HENDERSON. It is furnished by these grower associations.

Mr. OSMERS. By the growers' associations?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Their money comes from the growers?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. Does the processor make any contribution to them?

Mr. HENDERSON. Not directly; no.

Mr. OSMERS. Not directly?

Mr. HENDERSON. No.

Mr. OSMERS. How does he make the contribution?

Mr. HENDERSON. He may at his option. It has been done in the past. It has been necessary at times for these individual associations under unusual circumstances to ask the processor for gratuitous help which he may or may not give, at his own option.

Mr. OSMERS. That is not a permanent arrangement?

Mr. HENDERSON. No. There is nothing about that that is even regular. It is merely in the case of emergency. They have said, "We are down and out. We need help. Will you give us a lift?"

Mr. OSMERS. Is that in the form of a loan, or gift?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is a gratuitous gift.

METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT

Mr. OSMERS. How do you go about getting your field labor?

Mr. HENDERSON. In Texas?

Mr. OSMERS. Anywhere. What are the functions of your committee?

Mr. HENDERSON. Of course, the local laborer that lives in Michigan makes his own arrangements. The local laborers know the farmer. They may only live a few miles from there. When they leave in the fall they say "We will be back next spring to work with you," and they come back.

Mr. OSMERS. How about your out-of-State labor?

Mr. HENDERSON. That, of course, requires a much more complicated set-up because of the emigrant law of Texas which says that anyone recruiting labor in Texas for use beyond the boundaries of the State must obtain a license. You must obtain a license under the emigrant agents law.

Mr. OSMERS. Would that be true if you used the Texas Employment Service?

Mr. HENDERSON. I do not think so.

Mr. OSMERS. Why is it your committee does not use the public employment service that is established?

Mr. HENDERSON. I do not know whether to say it for the record or not, but we will let it go on the record. We have found in the machinery of the employment services that in the first place the

offices are not particularly interested in supplying it; and in the second place, if they do supply it, they would have to have a requisition from some office in Michigan. The Michigan offices, because of the relief rolls in Michigan, hesitate to issue requisitions for out-of-State labor. They would be "sticking their neck out," in the vernacular, if they did that.

TRANSPORTATION OF WORKERS FROM TEXAS

Mr. OSMERS. How do these workers get from Texas to Michigan? You have labor contractors, do you?

Mr. HENDERSON. No.

Mr. OSMERS. That bring them up, or agents?

Mr. HENDERSON. We do not operate through any agency, except that we employ an agent in Texas who has complied with this law, and then he just sits back and lets us go ahead and run the show. We do the entire work ourselves.

Mr. OSMERS. Does this agent of yours in Texas receive a fee from the applicants?

Mr. HENDERSON. \$1 per person.

Mr. OSMERS. For securing employment for them?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. That is his responsibility?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. To give them work when they get to Michigan?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How do these workers get to Michigan from Texas?

Mr. HENDERSON. They use many methods of transportation. The first one, which is becoming increasingly large, are people who own their own automobiles.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. HENDERSON. Then we have people that come in by some other method and usually go back with an automobile. They buy a car in Michigan.

Mr. OSMERS. Out of their earnings in the beet fields?

Mr. HENDERSON. Out of their earnings in the beet fields; yes. Then the next year they come back with a car. They are increasing.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. HENDERSON. A form of transportation that grew up during the last, oh, 10 years which we are trying to eliminate is the grouping of people together to be transported by some individual who has a truck.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. HENDERSON. Making arrangements with him to share expenses and coming up on this truck. We are trying to eliminate and discourage that, although we have no direct hand. We cannot dictate to them because we do not pay the transportation and do not arrange the transportation.

Mr. OSMERS. You do not pay the transportation?

Mr. HENDERSON. No.

Mr. OSMERS. To or from Michigan?

Mr. HENDERSON. Neither to nor from Michigan. A third method is the railroads. We made a stab at that again last year and were able to get somewhere with the various passenger associations involved. We got a rate sufficiently low so these people could afford to pay it. We had a rail movement last year, and we hope this coming year we will increase it.

Mr. OSMERS. As I understand it, most of these applicants for jobs in the beet fields are not financially able to pay their own transportation?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is correct.

Mr. OSMERS. When they leave Texas?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is correct.

Mr. OSMERS. How is that arranged, presuming that they came by railroad train?

Mr. HENDERSON. Well, regardless of the method by which they move, they are advanced at the employment office in Texas a sufficient amount of money to get there.

Mr. OSMERS. At what employment office in Texas, yours?

Mr. HENDERSON. At our own employment office in Texas.

Mr. OSMERS. They are advanced sufficient money to get to Michigan?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That is, I presume, then deducted from their earnings at the conclusion of the season?

Mr. HENDERSON. Correct.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you exert any influence at all over this truck transportation of labor?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes. We go far beyond any legal right we have to exert an influence on it.

Mr. OSMERS. You do?

Mr. HENDERSON. We tell these truckers there must be a maximum number of people that they can take, but we have no right to. They can take any number they want to.

Mr. OSMERS. I presume they could.

Mr. HENDERSON. They usually agree to limit themselves to what we suggest.

Mr. OSMERS. Because they have to deal with you for their money?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes; our goodwill is worth something to them.

Mr. OSMERS. Because they would not get paid until the end of the season if they did not work with you?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. How many trips does each driver make?

Mr. HENDERSON. This last year we had, to my knowledge, no driver who made more than one trip.

Mr. OSMERS. In this last season?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Previous to that did you have some?

Mr. HENDERSON. Previous to that they used to go back and forth. We have tried to show them in the last 2 years that by so doing they put themselves in the transportation business. They are not licensed

interstate by any utilities commission in any State. They are laying themselves wide open to prosecution by so operating.

As to one trip, you can understand how on one trip a group could band together on a share-expense basis, but if that driver comes back and forth four or five times he is in the transportation business.

Mr. OSMERS. Presume that one of these trucks should be stopped going across a State line. You say they do not have Interstate Commerce Commission licenses. Assume that one of them would be stopped and would be subject to a heavy fine. Who would pay that fine?

Mr. HENDERSON. If he is operating in good faith with us, he is not subject to a fine, because he is not in the business of transporting people for hire.

Mr. OSMERS. Presume he is not acting in good faith with you, with the law, or anyone else. What happens?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is his baby.

Mr. OSMERS. He has to pay the fine?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes; if he is arrested for any purpose which to us seems unjust we will give him assistance. But if he is operating in open violation of some law, it is his problem.

Mr. OSMERS. Can we say for the record that your organization is not encouraging an increase in truck transportation?

Mr. HENDERSON. You can make it stronger than that. You can say we are discouraging it.

Mr. OSMERS. You are discouraging it?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF MIGRATORY WORKERS

Mr. OSMERS. In your opinion, are there any laws that could be enacted by the Federal Government that would assist in the handling of these migratory workers for the beet industry, any regulations which are necessary?

Mr. HENDERSON. That, as you can appreciate, is a terrifically broad question.

Mr. OSMERS. I realize that it is. You can answer it broadly.

Mr. HENDERSON. Perhaps I could answer it best by giving a little history of how this grew up in Michigan.

Mr. OSMERS. You may do that.

Mr. HENDERSON. The first attempt to regulate or control this thing was done through an attempt by certain public officials in Michigan, through force of legislation, or some other way, to bring this thing about. That was discontinued because industry fought them tooth and nail. Then the Michigan Department of Public Health came to us with their problem in a cooperative way and asked for a cooperative arrangement, and we have worked out what we think is a very good system of examination and control.

I think with respect to the question of the legislation of any of those things, it depends very much on the attitude and the personnel who are carrying out the administration of a particular law or applying the law.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. HENDERSON. You could have people to apply the law who would so antagonize industry that it would have no beneficial results. On the other hand, if you have the right type of diplomatic person who can see the value of compromise, and so forth, you can go a long way with it.

Mr. OSMERS. Just to make a personal comment, it seems to me that there is a duplication of effort and expense here, to have the Government maintain employment offices in Michigan and Texas and to have your organization superimposing a private employment service on top of the other.

Mr. HENDERSON. I agree with you. In answer to that, I think we can tie it right up with the previous question, as to whether legislation would be beneficial. Here is a type of employment-office legislation which is of no benefit to us because of the ponderance of the machinery under which it operates. If this new legislation were to be set up on the same basis, where it would be so slow and move so ponderously that it would hinder rather than facilitate this migration, then of course it is a bad thing.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you feel that some growers will hesitate to use public-employment services because it is too risky as to whether they will get their labor or not? When they have a crop coming along, they do not want to take a chance, do they?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is true of the local employment service in Michigan, but primarily because there are not a sufficient number of qualified beet workers in Michigan and the employment service would undoubtedly be suggesting to us that we use unskilled inexperienced people. We would have to resift them ourselves to get what we wanted. Work in beets is not an unskilled job.

Mr. OSMERS. I can appreciate that. You are afraid, in other words, if you tried to use this Michigan office to the fullest extent, they would insist upon first sending you thousands of unemployed people from Michigan?

Mr. HENDERSON. No. I would not like to make that statement, because we do use the Michigan office. We do use them, and we take every qualified beet worker they give us before we ever start any Texas movement.

Mr. OSMERS. But there are not enough in the State of Michigan?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. I want you to tell me a little bit more about the health arrangements you have made. You made reference to them a few minutes ago.

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you detail those for us a little?

Mr. HENDERSON. As far as the actual technical part of the program is concerned, I understand Dr. Koppa, of the Michigan Department of Public Health is to testify. He will be in a much better position to tell you about that. However, if there is anything general about our procedure in connection with the department of health, I would be glad to talk about it.

Mr. OSMERS. We will find out the details from Dr. Koppa.

Mr. HENDERSON. I am sure he will be able to give you whatever information you desire.

HOUSING

Mr. OSMERS. Tell us about housing.

Mr. HENDERSON. During the depression years and previous to the formation of this Beet Growers' Employment Committee, housing was a matter of the problem of each individual farmer. Under the contract between the field worker and the grower, the farmer is required to furnish housing for his beet workers.

We found when the Beet Growers' Employment Committee was organized, some of these houses had fallen into a poor state of repair. There were not a sufficient number of them. So again we called on the processing company for help, and they have built houses—

Mr. OSMERS. At their expense?

Mr. HENDERSON. At their expense—which they rent out to the grower, not to the worker, because the worker gets his house rent free. Any grower who does not have houses, or a group of growers, may ask the sugar company to put houses in that locality. They will pay to the sugar company 50 cents per acre for the acreage that they have, that is worked out of that house.

Mr. OSMERS. Who does the house belong to, the processor or the grower?

Mr. HENDERSON. If the grower chooses to buy it, he may do so. The grower has the option of buying the house at cost, or at depreciated value, at any time.

Mr. OSMERS. On whose land is it built?

Mr. HENDERSON. I believe sometimes it has been on the land of the sugar company, and sometimes the sugar company will obtain a lease from the grower in question at a dollar for the privilege of putting houses on his property.

Mr. OSMERS. How many tons of beet sugar is the Michigan Sugar Co. making each year?

Mr. HENDERSON. That I cannot tell you. It is about—I believe last year the production was more than 1,650,000 bags.

Mr. OSMERS. Bags?

Mr. Henderson. One-hundred-pound bags.

Mr. OSMERS. How much is that in tons?

Mr. HENDERSON. My mathematics are not up to par. Sugar production is always figured in terms—

PREFERENCE FOR MEXICAN LABOR

Mr. OSMERS. Sugar production is always figured in terms of tons. What is the attitude of the average Michigan community with respect to these Mexican workers, this Mexican labor? Do they resent it coming into Michigan?

Mr. HENDERSON. No. As a matter of fact, our experience with that is uniform and quite surprising. We have communities who have never

used Mexican beet workers who insist they will not grow beets if they have to use them.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. HENDERSON. We promise them some type of white labor, Belgian, German, or some other type, and finally end up because of some certain circumstances by giving them Mexicans. We invariably find that the field men, when they come to contract acreage, find that the grower will raise beets provided he can have these Mexicans back.

He is the type of person who gets along—is not overbearing as some of the European foreign types are. He is very cooperative and comes in very handy there on the farm at other seasons, during threshing time and other times. He is glad to get day work in general.

Mr. OSMERS. Has there been any considerable increase in crime as a result of these workers coming in?

Mr. HENDERSON. No. I have at my office—I am sorry I do not have it here—a summary of the arrests in the city of Saginaw for several years back, broken down as to white, black, and Mexican. I find that the Mexican ordinarily is quite a law-abiding person. He is not involved in crimes of premeditation, such as breaking and entering and burglary or anything of that sort. His crimes are all crimes of passion. Someone steals his wife, and he tries to kill him.

Mr. OSMERS. That is an old American custom, is it not?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes. These are American people.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, we have brought the beet worker from Texas to Michigan and put him on the premises.

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

CREDIT SYSTEM FOR WORKERS

Mr. OSMERS. What does he do between that time and the time he receives his pay?

Mr. HENDERSON. Of course, he gets in there, and he is not financially able to eat.

Mr. OSMERS. Right.

Mr. HENDERSON. We establish credit for him at grocery stores.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean privately owned grocery stores?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is right. Privately owned grocery stores. We never have, and hope we never will have, to go into a commissary of our own. We do not want it. We establish credit, limiting the credit to the size of his family, per week, because a lot of these people are not good planners themselves. We limit it as to the type of food they will get. In other words, we do not want these people to go down and spend \$5 for bottled olives, caviar, or anything like that.

He gets good food. He is allowed to have a garden, and garden seed that he can use. The grocer is very carefully checked as to what he gives these people. Under our grocer's guaranty, the grocer must, in order to have that account guaranteed, be able to turn over the signed sales slips for every purchase showing the price and the amount of goods received.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. HENDERSON. If he overcharges the account, next year the busi-

ness will go to some other grocer. They are very jealous of this business having the guaranty, because it is good business.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. Are most of these workers literate enough to be able to intelligently sign sales slips?

Mr. HENDERSON. Almost inevitably some one of the number is, and they conduct that business. The head of the family may not be the one who conducts the business. It may be some 16-year-old boy who has been to high school.

AVERAGE EARNINGS FOR SEASON

Mr. OSMERS. Tell me this: What is the average earnings of one of these beet field workers?

Mr. HENDERSON. According to our records for the actual time in the field, the worker will get between \$5.35 and \$5.50 per day.

Mr. OSMERS. Between \$5.35 and \$5.50 a day?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. At the end of the season after his deductions have been made for transportation to and from Michigan, and so forth, how much money does he have left?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is hard to say. It varies as much with these individuals as it would any other individual. Some people will purchase an automobile. Some will not. Some will have sickness or death in the family and they have had to pay for that. What the average is I cannot tell. We have no way to find that out. We know how much he earns, but how much cash he has in his pocket when he leaves, we do not know.

Mr. OSMERS. Generally, I think you can tell me this: He has a deduction for groceries?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. He has a deduction for transportation?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. You provide him with housing, so there must be an average between what the worker gets and what you deduct from him. I would like to know what that amount of cash is that he receives. After he gets his \$200 in cash or whatever the amount might be, he can buy a car or blow it all in in one night, or anything else?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How much does he get from the grower?

Mr. HENDERSON. I am not prepared to say. I have not made a study of that. Anything I told you would be a guess. I would say that the ordinary family—my guess would be that the ordinary family goes out of Michigan with \$400 or \$500.

Mr. OSMERS. The family?

Mr. HENDERSON. The average family of six or seven workers.

Mr. OSMERS. How many days are there in the beet season; how many days' work?

Mr. HENDERSON. Around 120 days.

Mr. OSMERS. One hundred and twenty days?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

DISPOSITION OF WORKERS BETWEEN SEASONS

Mr. OSMERS. Now, then, you would hardly say that these workers become destitute citizens at the end of the season, would you?

Mr. HENDERSON. We do not allow them to.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean, you pay them so they do not become destitute?

Mr. HENDERSON. If necessary, yes.

Mr. OSMERS. You ship them out and make them become destitute citizens somewhere else?

Mr. HENDERSON. No; because this is a different situation than the type of testimony you heard this morning about migrants. These people are not destitute people to begin with. They are crop followers. They start in the citrus fruit, in the Rio Grande Valley in January. They come north into Eagle Pass and Crystal City, and when that is over they come to Michigan. They have a job to go to when they are through with beets in Michigan.

Mr. OSMERS. Where do they go?

Mr. HENDERSON. They go back to the Rio Grande Valley, to citrus fruit, and start the cycle all over again.

Mr. OSMERS. In the statement which you have submitted to the committee, you say your organization encourages the return of these workers to Texas. Would you tell me how you encourage it?

Mr. HENDERSON. In the first place, it is not necessary in the great majority of cases to say anything. They have got a job they are going to. We find occasional cases where they think they would like to stay all winter. Perhaps some farmer has told them he has 10 acres of land to clear, and they can do it. We go to them and try to make it clear as to what a Michigan winter is; that the house they live in is not a house suited for winter occupancy. We point out to them that this job will not last, perhaps, beyond the 15th of January or 1st of February.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. HENDERSON. They are very reasonable. They are a very reasonable type of people. They can see that it is silly to stay. They could not clothe their children with proper clothing, so they wouldn't be able to go to school. They just cannot make it.

Mr. OSMERS. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement which you have prepared and submitted, Mr. Henderson, has been received as part of our formal record.

The Chair will now recognize Mr. Kramer, a member of the committee's staff.

Mr. KRAMER. In connection with the testimony of Mr. Henderson, I offer for the record a statement concerning the emigrant agency law of Texas, passed in 1929, which has not since been amended. This statement was prepared by the Bureau of Statistics of the State of Texas and is a part of their annual report.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and given the appropriate exhibit number.

(A document entitled "Emigrant Agency Law" was received in evidence and appears below:)

EMIGRANT AGENCY LAW

This law was passed in 1929 and has not been amended. The term "emigrant agent" is defined to mean "every person, firm, corporation, or association of persons engaged in the business of hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers in this State to be employed beyond the limits of this State, and is also meant to include every person, firm, partnership, corporation, or association of persons maintaining an office to hire, entice, or solicit laborers to be employed beyond the limits of this State; and is also meant to include every person who, as an independent contractor or otherwise than as an agent of a duly licensed emigrant agent procures, or undertakes to procure, or assist in procuring laborers for an emigrant agent; and every emigrant agent shall be termed and held to be doing business as such in each and every county wherein he, in person, or through an agent, hires, entices, or solicits any laborer to be employed beyond the limits of the State."

Section 2 of this law reads in part: "Each emigrant agent shall, before operating in Texas, secure a State license as such, on application therefor to the commissioner of labor statistics of the State of Texas. * * * When an emigrant agent has filed such application, and has paid the occupation taxes as provided by law, and pays to the labor commissioner of Texas an annual license fee of \$10, the said commissioner shall issue to him a State license as an emigrant agent, which shall entitle him to do business as such in any county named in said license in which said county tax has been paid. Such emigrant agent shall file with the tax collector of any county in which he proposes to do business a certified copy of his license."

Section 4 of this law provides that each emigrant agent shall execute a bond in the sum of \$5,000 to be filed with the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, payable to the State of Texas, conditioned that he will faithfully comply with the return-transportation provisions of the law, which bond may be sued upon in specified cases by any laborer in the county where he resided at the time he was hired by such emigrant agent.

Section 5 of this law provides that "all the books, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and records of every kind and character incident to the business of an emigrant agent * * * shall be subject to inspection at any time by the said commissioner of labor statistics, his deputies, or inspectors."

Section 6 of this law requires each emigrant agent to make monthly reports, showing the names and addresses of those who have been sent to employment out of the State, and the name and address of the employer to whom the laborers have been sent.

During the 1939 season, 4 licensed private emigrant agents reported that 4,315 workers were sent to employment in other States. During the 1940 season, 6 licensed private emigrant agents reported that 6,624 workers were sent to employment in other States. During the 1938 season there were only 2 licensed private emigrant agents. Most of these workers were sent to the sugar-beet harvests in other States.

Section 7 of this law reads: "This Act shall also apply in all its terms and provisions to every other person, firm, corporation, maritime agency, or association of persons hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers to be employed by him beyond the limits of this State, but not maintaining an office therefor, except that such other person, firm, corporation, maritime agency, or association of persons as used in this section, shall not be required to pay the occupation taxes in order to procure a license but shall pay to the labor commissioner the annual license fee provided by this Act, and shall perform all the other provisions of this Act, and such license shall in that event be limited to such holder thereof hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers exclusively and only for said holder of such license: *Provided, however,* That this section shall not apply to a person where the number to be employed by such person shall not exceed ten employees."

Section 8 of this law provides that this act shall be cumulative of the employment agency laws. By reason of this provision, it has been the practice of the bureau of labor statistics to require a private emigrant agent to first obtain a private employment agency license before being issued a private emigrant agency license, and to file a \$5,000 bond. The employment agency law was passed in 1923, and the emigrant agency law was passed 6 years later. No general emigrant agency licenses have been issued.

It is evident that the so-called private emigrant agents have attempted to come within the provisions of section 7 of this law, for each of these agents submitted to our office a copy of his contract with one out-of-State "person, firm, corporation, maritime agency, or association of persons," stating that the agent will represent such unit only and will not represent any other unit, and further stating that the agent will make no charge whatever to the laborers in bringing about the employment relationship, and that the agent will be paid for his services by the said out-of-State "person, firm, corporation, maritime agency, or association of persons." In other words, it appears that the agent contends that he becomes the employee of his out-of-State client and secures workers for his client, thereby resulting in the client securing (through the Texas agent) workers for "him" (-self) as set out in section 7 of the present emigrant-agency law.

It seems that the purpose of the emigrant-agency law is to restrict to some extent the movement of workers from Texas, to raise revenue, and to also safeguard and protect the interests of the workers. If it were not for such safeguards, employers in other States might entice workers to such States and then refuse to give employment to such workers. The licensing of emigrant agents in Texas allows for the completion of the employment contracts in Texas, gives assurance to the workers that they will be provided with employment by their employer in the other State, guarantees return transportation in specified cases, and provides the workers with a remedy in Texas in the event the agent does not comply with the emigrant-agency law.

While Texas cannot regulate interstate commerce, it was evidently the intention of the Texas Legislature to impose a "reasonable regulation" upon the operations of an emigrant agent, and an out-of-State person or firm cannot solicit, by mail or otherwise, more than 10 employees from Texas without violating the spirit of our law. It is probable that some of the out-of-State employers obtain exclusively by correspondence persons who have worked for them previously. This practice is somewhat limited by the requirement of some States that such workers must pass a physical examination. Under such practice, the workers are given these physical examinations in Texas by physicians employed by the out-of-State concern, and the employment contract is completed in Texas.

Some of the workers go to the other States in their own automobiles or trucks, while others go by bus or train. Attention has been called to the fact that at times large numbers of workers are crowded into trucks, with no seats provided and that the workers en route to their places of employment suffer physical hardship and are not provided with proper sanitary facilities, due to the rush to complete the trip. The argument has also been advanced that this movement of workers each season breaks down wage standards in other States. This law was passed in 1929, before the advent of the depression, therefore, another argument has been presented that the movement of workers under this law provides employment for some Texas citizens, allows them to obtain periodic income and avoids, in some cases, the necessity of these persons having to seek public relief.

The occupation tax on emigrant agents comes under the jurisdiction of the State comptroller's department and the various county tax assessors-collectors. The Bureau of Labor Statistics instituted the practice in 1940 of notifying the State comptroller's department and the local county tax assessor-collector immediately upon the issuance of each private emigrant agency license. In the event private emigrant agents are deemed not to come within the provisions of section 7 of the emigrant agency law, it would appear that one agent could obtain a general emigrant agency license by paying the occupation tax to the State comptroller's department and the local county tax assessor-collector and thereby become qualified by law to represent as many out-of-State clients as he might desire.

At the first called session of the forty-first legislature (H. bill No. 207, acts 1929, p. 253), provided that emigrant agents should pay "annually a license tax of \$5,000 for the use of the State and \$2,500 for the use of the county." This law was repealed by Senate bill No. 127 (acts 1929, p. 203), during the second called session of the same legislature. Senate bill No. 127 is the present emigrant agency law, and it made no provision for the State and county tax; however, House bill No. 102, acts 1929 (p. 16, 41st legislature, second called session), provided for a State and county "occupation tax," and placed the responsibility of collecting the occupation tax, if and when applicable, upon the local county tax assessors-collectors and the State comptroller's department.

In the enforcement of the emigrant agency law, it is necessary to make extensive investigations concerning those who might recruit laborers for employment outside of Texas, without being licensed to carry on such operations. Observations have been made of those who would leave at night with truckloads of workers. If these workers are recruited by licensed agents, there is no necessity for their attempting to evade being discovered.

Mr. KRAMER. I also offer in evidence a letter from Otis E. Mulliken, Chief, Labor Section, Sugar Division, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., dated August 10, 1940. This letter contains estimates of the number of sugar-beet laborers who migrated into Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and given the appropriate exhibit number.

(Letter dated August 10, 1940, was received in evidence and appears below.)

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., August 10, 1940.

Mr. A. KRAMER,

Acting Chief Field Investigator, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. KRAMER: I am replying to your letter of August 3 in which you requested data on the number of Mexicans who leave Texas each year to secure employment in the sugar-beet fields of Michigan. Because of my absence from the city when your letter arrived, as you were informed, it has not been possible for me to prepare an answer until this time.

As you probably know, many of the sugar-beet laborers in Michigan are employed through an agency known as the Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Inc.

Mr. M. C. Henderson, treasurer and assistant secretary of this agency, previously supplied this Division with a tabulation showing the number of sugar-beet workers in the six factory districts of the Michigan Sugar Co. in 1939. Of the 7,044 laborers employed in these districts 4,602 or 65 percent had residence in Texas, according to this tabulation. This is the last employment data that we have received from the Beet Growers' Employment Committee, but it is possible that Mr. Henderson could supply you with more recent information. The executive office of this committee is located at 507 National Bank Building, Saginaw, Mich.

Since the sugar-beet fields in the six factory districts of the Michigan Sugar Co. constitute only about half of the total sugar-beet acreage in Michigan, the figures mentioned above obviously do not include all of the sugar-beet laborers in the State. Such information for the entire State is not readily available. However, on the basis of certain data compiled by the Sugar Division it has been estimated that more than 12,000 laborers were employed by contract in the sugar-beet fields of Michigan in 1939. It is also estimated that nearly 10,000 of these laborers moved from other States, and that at least 8,000 of them came from Texas. Practically all of the migrants who came to the Michigan beet fields from Texas were Mexicans.

I hope that this information will be useful to you in connection with the work of the Special Committee Investigating the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens. If I can be of any further assistance to you, please let me know.

Yours very truly,

OTIS E. MULLIKEN, *Chief, Labor Section.*

Mr. KRAMER. Also in connection with the testimony given Mr. Henderson, I offer for the record a portion of a letter from J. F. Thaden, assistant professor, department of sociology, Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, East Lansing, Mich., dated August 19, 1940.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received in evidence and given the appropriate exhibit number.

(A letter dated August 19, 1940, was received in evidence and appears below:)

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND APPLIED SCIENCE.

East Lansing, August 19, 1940.

Mr. A. KRAMER,

Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. KRAMER: * * * In 1939, 14,129 farmers in 46 counties of Michigan raised sugar beets * * * a total of 125,000 acres. Ninety-five percent of the farmers used contract labor. Approximately two-thirds of the contract labor came from Texas. About 85 percent had worked in Michigan beet fields 1 or more years. Almost invariably these nonresident beet workers from Texas are Mexicans or of Mexican descent. A few nonresident beet workers come from Chicago, South Bend, Mishawaka, Cincinnati, and other cities of adjoining States. The average beet laborer works beets on five to eight farms, and works about 6 or 7 acres, earning about \$19 per acre. A majority supplement their income from beets by working in pickle fields, tomatoes, string beans, and onions. The average Mexican beet worker family is composed of 4.4 adults (14 years of age and over), and usually some children. Most of the Mexicans seem to be quite well satisfied with their occupation. The most frequent complaint that I heard was "trucks bring up too many beet workers." Most families feel that they can take care of more acres and that if fewer beet workers came up from Texas they would have a larger acreage to work.

Age: A tabulation of age of 6,303 beet workers (Mexicans) from Texas indicates that the range in their ages is 14 years to 78 years. Their median age is 24 years. Those 18 years of age are the most numerous, followed by the 16-, 17-, 19-, 20-, 15-, 14-, 21-, and 22-year old, respectively.

Sex: Of the above 6,303 beet workers working in the beet fields of Michigan in 1940, 34.7 percent are females. Their ages parallel closely that of the males.

Housing: All Mexican beet workers live in company houses (houses built by the sugar companies) or in farmhouses rented from farmers. The great majority live in company houses. There has been a strong tendency during the past few years for these company houses to be grouped—three or four in a colony. From my interviews with these Mexicans I conclude that about one-third had better houses in Texas, one-third had worse houses.

Health: Quite satisfactory last year and this year as a result of the medical examination of beet workers under auspices of the Michigan Department of Health and the aid of the United States Public Health Service. In previous years numerous cases had to be hospitalized for tuberculosis or were sent back to Texas.

Sanitation: Various, from very good to very poor, depending upon the family. Families who expect to come back another year are generally quite careful and thoughtful. Apparently nearly nine-tenths expect to return another year.

Relief: Very few sugar-beet families received aid from relief agencies during the past 2 years. All county relief agencies speak well of the sugar companies in their efforts to keep beet workers off the relief rolls * * *.

Sincerely yours,

J. F. THADEN, *Assistant Professor.*

Mr. KRAMER. In connection also with the testimony of Mr. Henderson, a copy of a portion of the Motor Carrier Act of 1935, which refers to the transportation of migrants by truck and motor vehicle.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and made a part of the formal record.

(A document headed "Transportation of Migrants by Truck or Motor Vehicle" was received in evidence and appears below:)

TRANSPORTATION OF MIGRANTS BY TRUCK OR MOTOR VEHICLE

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION

Section 209 of the Motor Carrier Act of 1935 provides that no person shall engage in the business of a contract carrier by motor vehicle in interstate or foreign com-

merce without a permit issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission. A permit is issued only to applicants after it is established that the applicant is "fit, willing, and able properly to perform the services * * * and that the proposed operation will be consistent with the public necessity." The Commission is authorized to define the business in which the contract carrier may engage and to attach reasonable terms, conditions, and limitations thereto.

It is, therefore, quite clear that the interstate transportation of workers in motor vehicles which do not measure up to standards prescribed by the Commission under these powers, could be stopped. Crowding laborers into trucks for transportation to the place of employment in another State could be prevented by this law.

Section 211 of the same act requires that any person offering transportation for sale or making any contract, agreement, or arrangement to procure or furnish transportation, shall obtain a broker's license issued by the Commission. This provision might be invoked in the case of labor contractors and others who arrange for the transportation of workers across State lines.

Section 218 requires every contract carrier by motor vehicle, subject to the act, to file with the Commission, publish, and keep open for public inspection, schedules showing the minimum charges for transportation of all passengers or property in interstate or foreign commerce. The Commission is given power to regulate these charges.

INTRASTATE TRANSPORTATION

Laws in practically every State regulate the use of motor vehicles for hire to transport persons. These laws may also provide means of controlling similar practices within a State.

MR. KRAMER. I now offer for the record in connection with the testimony given by Mr. Henderson a letter to A. Kramer, acting chief field investigator, House Committee on Interstate Migration, from Erwin H. Kubath, chief deputy sheriff, Berrien County, Mich., dated August 16, 1940.

THE CHAIRMAN. It will be received as part of the formal record and given the appropriate exhibit number.

(Letter dated August 16, 1940, was received in evidence and appears below:)

BERRIEN COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE

Saint Joseph, Michigan

CHAS. L. MILLER, *Sheriff*

AUGUST 16, 1940.

MR. A. KRAMER,

Acting chief field investigator, House Committee on Interstate Migration, 1130 County Building, Chicago, Illinois.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry sometime ago regarding the arrest of one Paulino Araujo.

On April 29, 1939 William J. Barco arrested this subject for transporting passengers for hire without a license. Mr. Barco called Sheriff's Office St. Joseph, Michigan for assistance and I went to Main Street on U. S. 12 in St. Joseph, Michigan, where he had in custody Paulino Araujo and 36 Mexicans. (23 Adults—13 Juveniles). These were all brought to County Jail where we provided food and lodging until such arrangements could be made for their transportation to the upper part of Michigan where they were to work in the sugar beet fields in the vicinity of Saginaw. On May 1, 1939 they were released and were taken North on an Indian Trails Bus which was provided for them by a sugar manufacture company whose name I do not recall. Trusting this information is what you desire I remain,

Very truly yours,

ERWIN H. KUBATH,
Erwin H. Kubath,

Chief Deputy Sheriff, Berrien County, Michigan.

EHK: BN

Mr. KRAMER. I now wish to offer for the record four pictures which refer to the arrest indicated in the preceding exhibit. These pictures were voluntarily submitted to myself as a member of the committee's staff.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received and made a part of the formal record.

(Four photographs were received in evidence and appear opposite this page.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions of Mr. Henderson? (No response.) Thank you very much, Mr. Henderson. You have made a very fine contribution.

(Whereupon, Mr. Henderson was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF D. B. OSBORNE

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. Osborne. Congressman Curtis will interrogate you, Mr. Osborne.

Mr. CURTIS. Will you state your full name to the reporter for the record, please?

Mr. OSBORNE. D. B. Osborne.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are you?

Mr. OSBORNE. Fifty-four.

Mr. CURTIS. Where do you live now?

Mr. OSBORNE. Just outside of Superior, about 13 miles.

Mr. CURTIS. Superior, Wis.?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How far is Superior from Chicago?

Mr. OSBORNE. About 500 miles.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you say you moved there?

Mr. OSBORNE. About 1913. That is 27 years ago last April.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you live before that?

Mr. OSBORNE. I lived at Broken Bow, Nebr.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you hear this man Mr. Else testify this morning?

Mr. OSBORNE. I did.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you first see Mr. Else?

Mr. OSBORNE. Three years ago he drove into my yard. He said he was from Nebraska. He said he was looking for a farm to rent. I happened to know where there was a farm he could rent. I sent him to Mr. Hugbo, and he is on that farm now.

Mr. CURTIS. Have there been other Nebraska farmers that have come in?

Mr. OSBORNE. A lot. They are coming in—there were four last week, and there is three of them that came to my place looking for places to rent. There are no places to rent.

Mr. CURTIS. With respect to those that have gotten located, what kind of farmers are they, good farmers?

Mr. OSBORNE. The best in the world.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, Mr. Osborne, I want you to state briefly what particular thing you had in mind in coming before the committee here in connection with the migration of persons as it deals with your locality and possibly land and other resources up there, as well as its relation to farmers crowded out of the drought area?

FARM CONDITIONS IN NEBRASKA CAUSING MIGRATION

Mr. OSBORNE. In order to do that, I would like to talk about myself for a moment. I was born in Broken Bow, Nebr. I lived there until 1926. I never did a day's work on a farm in my life. The boys I grew up with were farmers around Broken Bow. Those fellows are good farmers, every one of them.

Some of those farmers were well to do when I left there. They are not well to do today. In fact, one man I knew as a boy who was rated around \$40,000 or \$50,000 when I left there, drove into my yard the other day and asked me about the Farm Security Administration. This man is broke.

I go to Nebraska every year, sometimes twice a year. I do that so that my wife can see her mother. We go down there, and I stay 2 or 3 weeks there. We stay 2 or 3 weeks with her mother. So I have been in Nebraska all during the drought season; 1933 was approximately the last crop they had there. In 1934, I drove from Broken Bow to North Platte. You know the country. From Broken Bow to North Platte is the heart of the cattle country. The hills were as bare as this table. They were cutting Russian thistles, stacking Russian thistles to feed their cattle.

Mr. OSMERS. Do they have any feed value for cattle?

Mr. OSBORNE. Very little, but they were feeding them Russian thistles. I came home from Nebraska and took 500 head of relief cattle from Minneapolis, put them on my farm, fed them and fattened them.

Mr. OSMERS. How big a farm do you have?

Mr. OSBORNE. Seven hundred and sixty acres. The relief set-up in Minnesota, or in Minneapolis, bought up a lot of cattle. The Government did not buy them. The Government gave them to them. They brought them to our territory to feed. I had 500 head of these cattle on my farm, and they went back to Minneapolis fat.

We could have taken care of 20,000 or 30,000 head of cattle in Douglas County if they would have let us, but we couldn't. We had feed for that many cattle. Of course, going back to Broken Bow, I talked to those boys about this country, and naturally some of them came. I did not know Mr. Else, until he drove into my yard.

Mr. CURTIS. Are more people coming there than you can get farms for?

Mr. OSBORNE. More than ever before, and they are coming, boys; they are whipped.

Mr. CURTIS. We already have some of the picture, and we are going to hold hearings at Lincoln, Nebr., and at Oklahoma City. Do you have some knowledge of some further land resources that you want to make some suggestions about?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Will you let the committee have the benefit of that, please?

LAND RESOURCES IN DOUGLAS COUNTY, WIS.

Mr. OSBORNE. In Douglas County, you know, it is cut-over country. The land was timberland and the timber has been taken off. That is the land I settled on. It has pine stumps in it. It has poplar timber that is not marketable in any way.

Mr. OSMERS. Let me interrupt you.

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the topography of the land? Is it flat, or hilly?

Mr. OSBORNE. It is flat, except where there are streams. It is flat this way [indicating], goes down to a stream, and up again.

Mr. OSMERS. It is principally flat country?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes; I would say there are very few 80's without running water, very few. I have four streams on my land. While they make rough land, they also make wonderful pasture.

Mr. PARSONS. How thick is the soil there?

Mr. OSBORNE. The red clay goes down as far as I have ever heard of anybody going.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the surface soil?

Mr. OSBORNE. We have three types of soil there. We have heavy red clay, which is the old lake basin, represented at the top of the map which I have here. We have a second stratum of soil which is clay loam. Then we have the straight sand which is recreational and nothing else. It is absolutely out, as far as farming is concerned.

In these two areas here [indicating on map] the county has taken over at least 100,000 acres. Clover is growing wild. It is very broken land and it is on the tax roll at about \$3 an acre.

Mr. OSMERS. How is it that the county took it over?

Mr. OSBORNE. The county took it over from the lumber companies who had taken the timber off and quit paying taxes.

Mr. OSMERS. It became tax delinquent?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. The State takes it over in Minnesota?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. But in Wisconsin the county takes it over?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes; This one county has at least 100,000 acres of just as good land as there ever was on earth. When clover grows wild—there is clover all through the timber—when clover grows wild, that is good land, boys.

Mr. OSMERS. Is it extremely difficult to clear?

Mr. OSBORNE. It depends on the method you use.

Mr. OSMERS. I presume the bulk of it is stumps and some second growth stuff, is that right?

Mr. OSBORNE. That is right. We had a demonstration this year. A man shipped in 500 head of white-faced cattle. He went in there with a bulldozer, a piece of road machinery, and with one machine he took the second growth off at the rate of about an acre an hour. He did it in the winter time. He went right straight through and pulled, and they just broke off, and went over this way [indicating]. When he got it all like this [indicating], then he came back this way



Truck used in transportation of Mexican laborers from Texas to the beet fields of Michigan. See testimony of Vincent Neira.



Interior of truck shown in preceding photograph, showing crowded condition. Twenty-five to thirty persons were crowded in the space shown.



Above pictures show passengers carried in truck shown in photographs preceding.

[indicating] and threw it into a windrow to burn. That is the last word in clearing.

Mr. OSMERS. Did it break off?

Mr. OSBORNE. It broke off under the ground, with no dirt attached. That is a very efficient way of doing it.

Mr. OSMERS. That is when the land was frozen solid?

Mr. OSBORNE. That is right. That is when the land was frozen solid. He tried that again when it thawed out, and the trees bent. But when he broke them off, when they were frozen, what little tap root there was, was taken out at the same time.

He didn't do that with the pine stumps. The pine stumps will run from 25 to 150 an acre; 150 would be the worst, I imagine. He did not use dynamite on the stumps. He used something similar to a steam shovel. He hit the stump and broke it, then hooked on and pulled it out.

Mr. CURTIS. Yesterday we had two gentlemen here from your territory, Mr. Torkelson and Mr. Rowlands. They advocated for part of that territory that this land be not put in farming, but that it be put to forest. Now, are you making a distinction here as to two types of land, or did you have that in mind?

Mr. OSBORNE. I think the county has a large amount of land under the forest crop law at the present time. The land is all in this area [indicating on map]. In this area [indicating], the sand soil area, which is sand and no subsoil, the sand goes clear down. When a drop of water hits it, it never stops. This land is full of lakes and is wonderful recreation country, but not for farming.

Mr. OSMERS. When you say "recreational," you mean, hunting, fishing, and so forth?

Mr. OSBORNE. Bathing, boating, and all that sort of thing.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, do I understand that this land the county has taken over is being held by the county and that they are not opening it up to farmers?

Mr. OSBORNE. The county is selling a little of it to local farmers there along roads. Anything that is off a road, where they have to build a road to it, they don't sell it. They are just holding it.

Mr. OSMERS. You say they do not sell it?

Mr. OSBORNE. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. Does anybody want to buy it?

Mr. OSBORNE. Not back off a road. They do buy it along the roads.

Mr. OSMERS. Does not the fact that the county owns—I think you said it was 100,000 acres there—does not that fact raise the taxes of the rest of you?

Mr. OSBORNE. It does.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. OSBORNE. It has a very depressing effect on the value of the land that is cleared.

Mr. OSMERS. I should think it would have.

Mr. OSBORNE. I have cleared about 450 acres of that land. I have done it at a cost of \$25 an acre. This other man who did it—it took a whole lot less for him to clear his land.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you feel you made a good investment for yourself in paying \$25 an acre to clear it, over and above the cost of that land?

Mr. OSBORNE. Over a period of years I would say "yes," definitely.

Mr. OSMERS. But you had to amortize it over a period of years; you could not absorb it in two or three seasons?

Mr. OSBORNE. It cost me over \$400 when I lit there.

Mr. PARSONS. It only costs \$3 an acre to start homesteading?

Mr. OSBORNE. It cost me \$15 an acre to buy it. At that time, 27 years ago, I paid \$15 an acre for the first land I bought.

Mr. PARSONS. I see.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Osborne, you realize that even if this committee would so recommend to Congress, we could not determine the land policy of this particular county.

Mr. OSBORNE. That is right.

RECOMMENDATION FOR GOVERNMENT-REGULATED RESETTLEMENT

Mr. CURTIS. Assuming that the county officials would open that up, what is your suggestion to this committee as to how they might make a contribution in settling homeless people?

Mr. OSBORNE. The thing that I would like to see the committee recommend would be that the Government go in and take over every bit of that good land from the county, cut it up into about 80-acre tracts, clear about 20 acres of it, so this man can start with a little house, probably a very small house, to hold expenses down as much as possible, so the Government without losing any money could sell it to a good farmer at about \$3,000 or \$3,500 an 80, and then sell it to him on an amortized-payment plan.

Mr. OSMERS. Is it your opinion, Mr. Osborne, where existing Government agencies such as the C. C. C. could do the 20 acres of clearing and build roads which you say would be necessary to make it accessible, that they could do that part of it?

Mr. OSBORNE. They could.

Mr. OSMERS. And that the W. P. A. labor could erect the buildings.

Mr. OSBORNE. It would be a very friendly gesture, though, if you employed a few of those fellows that are coming up here broke.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean some of the men that would be settling?

Mr. OSBORNE. Right.

Mr. OSMERS. Employ them on those jobs?

Mr. OSBORNE. Right.

Mr. OSMERS. They would have a little bit more interest; they would be working on their own land.

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. I think I agree with you there.

Mr. OSBORNE. There is another aspect there I would like to bring up, and that is the idea of markets. I went over the milk situation up there in that territory, which is the main source of income. If we had double the milk, we could raise the price of milk on account of the unit production at the plant. The plant is running to half capacity today. If we could double the production of milk in that county, we actually could raise the price of milk.

Now, our raspberries are just coming on the market. The red raspberry grows wild. We have a raspberry country there that will produce 3,500 to 5,000 quarts of raspberries to the acre under good management. If we had 50 times as many raspberries as we have got today, we would raise the price of raspberries a dollar a case, because we could ship them in carload lots.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. OSBORNE. One firm in Chicago asked for 13 carloads a day of Douglas County raspberries, and couldn't get enough. The market is there.

Mr. OSMERS. The market is there?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes. There is a cooperative that is shipping out by local express right now, but they can't get production enough to ship in carload lots.

Mr. CURTIS. You feel that the Farm Security Administration or some such agency should undertake this project you have mentioned and make it possible for hard working worthy farmers to again get a farm?

Mr. OSBORNE. They would never lose anything on that project because these boys that are here would pay for a farm. Two of them have already bought farms. I have rehabilitated two men on one of my farms. One of them bought a farm and paid cash for it after being on one of my farms for three years. The other is definitely on his feet in a year.

Mr. OSMERS. In a year?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. You are referring now to the good farmers, the type of men who have been successful farmers all of their lives?

Mr. OSBORNE. I am referring to two men that borrowed money from the Farm Security Administration and went onto my farm broke. In 3 years 1 man bought a farm and paid for it in cash and had 30 head of cattle left. His payments were right up to the handle, so the Farm Security released a bunch of his cattle, and let him sell them to buy the farm. The other man has been on there a year. His payments are all up. He has paid me \$100 a month for my end of it for the last year, and that boy is on his feet.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Osborne, you mentioned helping these individuals.

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You are not in the loan business, are you?

Mr. OSBORNE. I am not in any business except farming.

Mr. CURTIS. Your interest being in that area, together with your experience here has caused you to make this suggestion merely as a citizen; you are not financially interested in the development of that?

Mr. OSBORNE. Not a particle. The one thing we lack in that county is good farmers and we lack neighbors. When I go back to Nebraska, boys, and see those fellows I grew up with that are just broke—you talk to them and tears run down their cheeks. They say "I can't get there." It makes you want to do something. These boys are good farmers. They are men like Mr. Else.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you think it is possible to interest private capital in that same thing?

Mr. OSBORNE. I have never tried. I would doubt it, because it would have to be carried over quite a lengthy period in order to pay out.

Mr. CURTIS. In other words, it is something that must be coupled with a desire to help folks, but at the same time it will pay out in the long run?

Mr. OSBORNE. That would pay out, because we have at least 12 Nebraska men within 3 or 4 or 5 miles of my place that have already taken loans through the Farm Security. They were broke when they started, and every one of those boys is playing ahead of the game. Now, that is something. I think Mr. Ward told me that in our county 2 percent—an I right, Mr. Ward? I think Mr. Ward told me that 2 percent of them were wrong.

Mr. WARD. I could not say the exact percentage, but it is less than 5 percent. Perhaps 2 or 3 percent are delinquent.

Mr. OSBORNE. That would be about right.

Mr. CURTIS. The Mr. Ward you referred to is the Farm Security administrator of that particular locality?

Mr. OSBORNE. That is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. Thank you very much.

Mr. PARSONS. How many people would this county settle, how many farm families?

Mr. OSBORNE. One thousand five hundred.

Mr. PARSONS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Osborne.

(Whereupon, Mr. Osborne was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. Neira.

TESTIMONY OF VINCENT NEIRA

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Osmers will interrogate you.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you state your name for the record, please, Mr. Neira?

Mr. NEIRA. Vincent Neira.

Mr. OSMERS. Where are you from?

Mr. NEIRA. San Antonio, Tex.

Mr. OSMERS. What do you do?

Mr. NEIRA. I work on beet sugar.

Mr. OSMERS. Beet sugar?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Where were you born?

Mr. NEIRA. San Antonio, Tex.

Mr. OSMERS. How old are you?

Mr. NEIRA. Twenty-six.

Mr. OSMERS. How many persons are there in your family and who are they?

Mr. NEIRA. Seven; three sons, two sisters, father, and mother.

Mr. OSMERS. Of the seven, how many work in the beet fields in Michigan?

Mr. NEIRA. This year four of us worked, four in the family.

Mr. OSMERS. Why were the others not working?

Mr. NEIRA. They were sick.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. NEIRA. In the 1920's my mother started to get sick. She has been sick for some time.

Mr. OSMERS. How many years have you been going to the beet fields in Michigan?

Mr. NEIRA. Four years.

Mr. OSMERS. How did you get up the first time?

Mr. NEIRA. We came by train.

Mr. OSMERS. How much did you pay for your fare?

Mr. NEIRA. They was supposed to charge us \$11 per person.

Mr. OSMERS. Was there an arrangement whereby you were to get that back at the end of the season?

Mr. NEIRA. We were supposed to get it back at the end of the season if we stay and finish all the work, blocking, thinning, and hoeing.

Mr. OSMERS. You did not stay?

Mr. NEIRA. We did stay, yes; but I had a broken leg before we started work, so by the time we paid the hospital bills and everything, we didn't have nothing left. So, there was no money.

TRUCK TRANSPORTATION OF BEET WORKERS, TEXAS TO MICHIGAN

Mr. OSMERS. Have you ever made the trip back and forth from Texas to Michigan by truck?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes; once.

Mr. OSMERS. When was that?

Mr. NEIRA. Last August.

Mr. OSMERS. Tell the committee something about that trip.

Mr. NEIRA. I was going back to Texas. I went to the company to inquire if the truck was leaving for Texas.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. NEIRA. They told me there was a truck taking some families back, that they didn't have enough to pay the grocery bills and things like that. They was broke, I suppose. They took them back, and I rode on there, in the truck.

Mr. OSMERS. How long did it take?

Mr. NEIRA. It took about 45 or 46 hours.

Mr. OSMERS. Was that steady riding?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. No stops?

Mr. NEIRA. No stops; just for a little while in order to buy lunch, or something. We just went right ahead.

Mr. OSMERS. What kind of a truck was it?

Mr. NEIRA. A stake-body truck with a tarpaulin cover on it.

Mr. OSMERS. A stake truck with a tarpaulin cover?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Was that to keep the rain off?

Mr. NEIRA. The rain, I suppose, and when we crossed towns or toll bridges or something like that, the tarpaulin was covered up, most of the time. We never got it off.

Mr. OSMERS. How many of you were on this truck?

Mr. NEIRA. From 25 to 30 persons in that truck; families.

Mr. OSMERS. How big a truck was it, a ton and a half truck, a 2-ton truck, or a 1-ton truck?

Mr. NEIRA. About a 2-ton truck.

Mr. OSMERS. About a 2-ton truck?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How was the riding? Were you comfortable?

Mr. NEIRA. We was very uncomfortable, because, you see, it was loaded up with a lot of stuff. Each of the families had brought their stuff and most of the time we was cramped, you know. At night I took my shoes off. In the morning when I went to put them back my feet was so swollen I couldn't put them on.

EMPLOYMENT OF BEET WORKERS IN TEXAS

Mr. OSMERS. How do you get these jobs in Texas?

Mr. NEIRA. We go to the Cortez Employment Agency there.

Mr. OSMERS. In San Antonio?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. What do you pay to get the job?

Mr. NEIRA. Well, this year we paid a dollar per person. That is for a physical examination. I suppose that is what they get, for getting our job. We pay a dollar a person.

Mr. OSMERS. You say you get a physical examination?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. In Texas?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Who gives you that?

Mr. NEIRA. There is a doctor there. I don't know what his name is, but it is a doctor that is there.

Mr. OSMERS. Do they give you a careful examination?

Mr. NEIRA. No. Just the chest. They X-ray the chest.

Mr. OSMERS. Do they have a blood test?

Mr. NEIRA. No, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Do they have a blood test of the workers when they are in Michigan?

Mr. NEIRA. I couldn't say, because when I was there, there was a big line. We was going over to the office where the doctor was giving examinations. I didn't ever see anybody get any blood test or anything.

Mr. OSMERS. You did not see them taking any blood out of anybody else's arm?

Mr. NEIRA. No.

Mr. OSMERS. As I understand it, you got a double examination; you got one in Texas and one in Michigan?

Mr. NEIRA. No. We never got a double examination.

Mr. OSMERS. You just got one in Texas?

Mr. NEIRA. We just got one in Texas.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. There was no examination in Michigan that you ever saw?

Mr. NEIRA. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Why do you have this big long line in Texas to get your medical examination? Why do you have to wait so long?

Mr. NEIRA. Because there is so many persons that have to pass examinations. For the examinations you have to be waiting all day long. The way we got fixed up right away, we asked for money for expenses.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. NEIRA. So we got this check. It was sent direct to us. So I went over to Mr. Cortez. I said, "We have a family, seven of us. I don't like to go standing there out in the hot sun all day and wait until my turn comes to go in."

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. NEIRA. So I told him, "If you can't fix that right away, I will leave without passing the examination, because I got the money to pay the expenses."

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. NEIRA. So there was a big line waiting there. He got us through another door and fixed us up right away.

Mr. OSMERS. Do the same people go back every year, or do they have new people?

Mr. NEIRA. Most of the people go back every year.

Mr. OSMERS. When you say "most of them," why don't the rest of them go back?

Mr. NEIRA. Well, sometimes they gets jobs or something, you know, taking a job on a farm, or something. Maybe a farmer makes them a proposition to work, you know.

Mr. OSMERS. In Texas?

Mr. NEIRA. No; here.

Mr. OSMERS. In Michigan?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. What I meant was, how many of you workers come back every year from Texas?

Mr. NEIRA. How many?

Mr. OSMERS. I do not mean in number. Do all of them come back every year from Texas to Michigan?

Mr. NEIRA. Most of them; yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, why don't they all come back to Michigan from Texas?

Mr. NEIRA. Some of them get work. Some of them go some other places to work, you know. That is the reason.

Mr. OSMERS. Does the labor contractor stop any of them from coming back?

Mr. NEIRA. No. They haven't. You see, they have got these truckers.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. NEIRA. These truckers, they make money trucking workers out here.

Mr. OSMERS. Sure.

Mr. NEIRA. They hire somebody—that is by Cortez. They get a load and bring them over here.

RATES AND METHOD OF PAYMENT

Mr. OSMERS. How often do you get paid in beet work?

Mr. NEIRA. How often?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. NEIRA. We get paid about in August, somewhere in August, first; and last, in about November or December.

Mr. OSMERS. Is there a certain time in the process of growing that you get paid? Do you get paid at the end of blocking, thinning, and hoeing?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. At the end of harvesting?

Mr. NEIRA. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. How did you get your last check?

Mr. NEIRA. The last check they mailed. They mailed it to us when we were down in Texas, because when we leave here, the beets aren't to the factory yet.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. NEIRA. Some of them are laying on the field.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the basis on which you are paid? Are you paid so much an acre or so much a ton?

Mr. NEIRA. We are supposed to get \$1 a ton if it goes up to 7 tons. Then from 7 tons up we get a bonus. This year it was 96 cents. If it goes to 8 tons an acre, with the \$2 that are held back from the hoeing that we do in the spring—

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. NEIRA. That goes up to about \$10 an acre.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. How many acres can you handle?

Mr. NEIRA. Well, we have always about 30 acres.

Mr. OSMERS. The family?

Mr. NEIRA. The family.

Mr. OSMERS. Seven tons an acre?

Mr. NEIRA. Seven tons an acre. If the beets are good, and we get a good crop, we get 7 tons an acre and maybe we get more.

Mr. OSMERS. When you are back in Texas, how do you know what tonnage you did have?

Mr. NEIRA. We have never gotten any statement or anything. We only receive checks. The company gives checks to the field men. The field man knows our address, and we get the checks there.

Mr. OSMERS. You always get your check?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. What kind of a house do you live in, in the beet fields?

Mr. NEIRA. We have been living—the first year we came, we lived in a farmhouse, a little house apart, not where the farmer lived. It was a nice little house there, and we stayed one winter there. This second and third year we have been living in a company house.

Mr. OSMERS. How much cash did your family get at the end of last season?

Mr. NEIRA. Last year we had around \$175.

Mr. OSMERS. That was after your deductions?

Mr. NEIRA. After deductions, and everything.

Mr. OSMERS. The whole family?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How many weeks' work was that?

Mr. NEIRA. Around 6 weeks' work.

Mr. OSMERS. Four of you worked?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How many hours did each one work?

Mr. NEIRA. I had a little sister. She was 16 years old. She wasn't supposed to work only 8 hours. Last year we worked, the four of us, from 12 to 14 hours.

Mr. OSMERS. From 12 to 14 hours?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How are you making out this year? Are you doing better?

Mr. NEIRA. We aren't doing so good. My mother has been sick most of the time. We didn't have so much left after we had the deductions for expenses, Cortez, the grocery bills, and the gasoline station. We had a little money to pay for mother. After that we had no more money and we had to change doctors. We have got two doctor bills yet coming, and we don't know how much they will be. We got one of \$109, and two doctor bills still coming. We don't know how much it will be.

Mr. OSMERS. Tell me about your work after the beet season is over. What do you do then?

Mr. NEIRA. We go to a place where we work on the pickles.

Mr. OSMERS. On the pickles?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How much do you make at that?

Mr. NEIRA. Well, lately that ain't been so very good.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. NEIRA. We make a living all right.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have any cash left over at the end?

Mr. NEIRA. Sometimes the pickles are good, you know.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. NEIRA. There is four of us working there. If the pickles turn out to be a good crop, we get around \$50 or \$75.

Mr. OSMERS. For the pickles?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. When the season is over and some of you people want to stay in Michigan, are you allowed to stay there?

Mr. NEIRA. Well, I have heard of families that when the season of pickles is over, and they know and the company knows that they have plenty of money to get along during the winter. For others they have a truck—I don't know if it is a company truck, but some of these truckers come from Texas, and they pay the truckers so much and take the family back.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, at the end of the season if you do not have any money, they send you back?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes. That truck I went back on took some families back. They didn't have nothing to pay for groceries. You know, the work only starts about the 1st of June. They are bringing them in

about the 1st of May. By the time they start working, they owe a little money, and especially if they come through the trucks. They have to pay their fares and everything. That runs around \$10 or \$11, I think, a fare.

If a family of five has to pay five fares, after what they get in groceries by the time they start working, at the end of the season they wouldn't have enough money left.

Mr. OSMERS. I can see, just making an observation, that the cost of transportation of bringing a family from Texas to Michigan and from Michigan back to Texas cuts into your income a great deal.

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Mr. CURTIS. Just a minute, please. Where do you people consider your home is, in the State of Texas or in the State of Michigan?

Mr. NEIRA. In Texas.

Mr. CURTIS. The people down there feel that you live there, but go away to work?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is that it?

Mr. NEIRA. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. Has Texas ever refused to let any of you into the State or community after you had been away working?

Mr. NEIRA. No; I never knew of that.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you had any difficulty crossing any State lines?

Mr. NEIRA. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you rent your place in Texas?

Mr. NEIRA. No; we live in the city.

Mr. OSMERS. In the city?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Are you trying to buy a home down there?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes; we are. We are paying for a little home there, you know, the little place where we live.

Mr. OSMERS. What is it, a little farm?

Mr. NEIRA. No; a lot in the city.

Mr. OSMERS. In the city?

Mr. NEIRA. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? [No response.] You are excused. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon Mr. Neira was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Dr. Koppa.

TESTIMONY OF DR. T. M. KOPPA, DIRECTOR OF THE DIVISION OF TUBERCULOSIS, MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, LANSING, MICH.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Parsons will interrogate you, Dr. Koppa.

Mr. PARSONS. Will you state your name and address and with whom you are associated?

Dr. KOPPA. T. M. Koppa, director of the division of tuberculosis, Michigan Department of Health, Lansing, Mich.

Mr. PARSONS. Dr. Newitt, your associate, has submitted a statement which deals with the health examination program that you have carried on in Michigan, and the field examination of Mexican agricultural workers?

Dr. KOPPA. Yes.

(Statement by A. W. Newitt, M. D., M. P. H., is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY A. W. NEWITT, M. D., M. P. H., DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF EPIDEMIOLOGY,
MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

HEALTH EXAMINATION PROGRAM FOR MEXICAN ITINERANT AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

In 1937 the attention of the Michigan Department of Health was called to the fact that the Saginaw County Tuberculosis Hospital had approximately 25 Mexican patients. The hospital capacity at that time was about 100. As the population of Saginaw city and county contained only 2 to 3 percent Mexicans the situation demanded careful investigation. For several years Mexican laborers had been drifting into Saginaw to work in the foundries and automobile factories and in addition several thousands of Mexicans came from Texas each spring to work in the sugar-beet fields of Saginaw and other counties of Michigan. It was apparent that these itinerant laborers and their families were a source of a large proportion of tuberculosis cases entering our tuberculosis hospitals.

In the fall of 1937 several meetings of representatives of the Saginaw County Health Department, the Michigan Department of Health, department of labor and industry, and the Sugar Beet Growers' Association were held. No definite plans were formulated that year, however. In 1938 Dr. Don W. Gudakunst, then State health commissioner, appointed a committee to study the situation further. This committee met with representatives of the Beet Growers' Association on several occasions and in the fall of that year the committee formulated a plan which it hoped would help to solve the problem. This plan called for an examination of Mexican agricultural laborers at their concentration headquarters in San Antonio, Tex.

In January 1939 Dr. Gudakunst visited Texas to determine whether or not the plan evolved by the committee could be practically applied. He visited the Texas State health department and found that the department did not object to such a plan. Arrangements were then made in San Antonio for examination quarters in connection with the main employment center. In the meantime a budget covering the estimated costs of the project was presented to the United States Public Health Service and was approved allowing expenditures of funds from Federal sources for the project. The budget, as approved, and expenditures therefrom was as follows:

	United States Public Health Service	Other agencies	Total
Appropriations.....	\$2,500.00	\$1,341.50	\$3,841.50
Description:			
Examining physicians.....	638.00		638.00
Assistant physicians.....		446.50	446.50
4 clerks.....	104.50		104.50
Equipment.....	977.44		977.44
Supplies and miscellaneous.....		895.00	895.00
Total.....	1,719.94	1,341.50	3,061.44
Unexpended balance.....			780.06

It will be noted that the Beet Growers' Association contributed \$1,341.50 to this program, thus demonstrating their real interest and cooperation in the project.

The objectives of the examination program were of course to eliminate the importation of active cases of tuberculosis into Michigan; also, to prevent employment of persons in the infectious stages of syphilis or gonorrhea. Actual examinations were made between April 12 and April 28, 1939. Two physicians from the Michigan Department of Health and three from the city of San Antonio made the examinations.

The examination center was set up in a large room adjacent to the employment office. This room was fitted with a darkroom for the use of the fluoroscope, with a dressing room on either side. Candidates for the examination were separated into groups of males and females. After the name and age was typed on an identification card they were assigned a number and sent to a photographic machine which took a passport-like photograph of the head and shoulders. They were then sent to one of the dressing rooms where outer clothing was removed to the waist. They were sent from there to the fluoroscopic room where a careful examination of the chest was made. They then proceeded to the next dressing room where clothing was replaced after an inspection of the skin and mucous membranes for secondary syphilis. All men were given a genital examination for the presence of chancre or gonorrhea. If a candidate passed the examination his photograph was clipped to his identification card and presented to him to carry with him to Michigan. If tuberculosis was found in the chest or evidence of venereal disease was present the candidate was rejected and the identification card retained. This scheme was used in order that only candidates who had passed the examination and presented their identification card would be accepted for employment. The results of the examinations were recorded on the back of the identification cards. The number of persons examined in 1939 was 4,271. Following are the results of examinations of those persons rejected:

Tuberculosis	Number	Percent of total	Percent of cases
Minimal.....	33	0.77	40.75
Moderately advanced.....	33	.77	40.75
Far advanced.....	15	.35	18.5
Total.....	81	1.89	100.0

Other diseases	Number	Percent of total examined
Lues.....	1	0.023
Urethral discharge.....	4	.093
Aneurysm.....	9	.21
Aortic enlargement.....	6	.14
Cardiac enlargement.....		
Total.....	20	.47

The total number of candidates rejected for employment was 101. The percentage of tuberculous individuals found (19 percent) exceeds to a considerable extent the percentage that would be found in a group of agricultural workers in the northern States. After the laborers arrived in Michigan a considerable number that had been examined in Texas were reexamined in Michigan, especially by the Saginaw County Health Department. In no instance was there found any active case of tuberculosis. The Sugar Beet Growers' Association was favorably impressed with the results of the examinations. The amount of illness for any reason was reduced very considerably, and the quality of labor was better than it had been for any previous year.

The experience gained from this first program aided considerably in the development of the 1940 examination program. Although we had on hand the fluoroscope and camera which were purchased for the 1939 examinations a fairly generous budget was set up. The 1940 budget as approved, and expenditures therefrom was as follows:

	United States Public Health Service	Other agencies	Total
Appropriations.....	\$1,785.00	\$1,398.75	\$3,183.75
Description:			
Assisting examining physician.....	190.00	-----	190.00
4 clerks.....	131.40	-----	131.40
Photographer.....	43.81	-----	43.81
Travel of physician.....	38.69	-----	38.69
Supplies and miscellaneous.....	-----	739.42	739.42
Total.....	403.90	739.42	1,143.32
Unexpended balance.....	-----	-----	2,040.43

In addition to the fluoroscopic examination, a 14-by-17-inch film was made with a rented machine of all candidates who showed any pathology on fluoroscopic examination. This was done in order that we might have a permanent record of pathology found. Otherwise the program was conducted similarly to that described for 1939. The number of persons examined in 1940 was 5,753. Following are the results of examinations of those persons rejected:

Tuberculosis	Number	Percent of total	Percent of cases
Minimal.....	49	0.85	39.84
Moderately advanced.....	55	.95	44.72
Far advanced.....	19	.33	15.44
Total.....	125	2.14	100.00

Other diseases	Number	Percent of total examined
Lues.....	1	0.017
Urethral discharge.....	4	.07
Aneurysm.....	8	.14
Aortic enlargement.....	16	.28
Cardiac enlargement.....	10	.18
Total.....	39	.69

The total number of candidates rejected for employment was 162.

Any estimate of the actual savings to the State of Michigan as a result of this project, would depend somewhat upon guesswork in respect to how many of these patients who were barred for employment, might have broken down had they come to Michigan for work. It is probable that hard work in the beet fields would have caused half of the far advanced and moderately advanced cases to present sufficient symptoms to have necessitated their hospitalization in Michigan. This assumption means that the State of Michigan was saved the necessity for hospitalizing 24 cases in 1939 and 37 in 1940, with an unknown amount of contact eliminated. If this assumption is correct, and it seems reasonable, the taxpayers of the State were saved several times the cost of the projects. One year of hospitalization at \$1,000 a year for these 61 persons represents \$61,000.

TESTIMONY OF DR. T. M. KOPPA—Resumed

Mr. PARSONS. Briefly, tell the committee just how that work is carried on, how much of the funds the State furnishes and how much funds are furnished by the Federal Government, and how much by the growers themselves.

ORGANIZATION OF TEXAS OFFICE OF MICHIGAN HEALTH DEPARTMENT

Dr. KOPPA. I will go back a little into the background, first.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Dr. KOPPA. We found in 1937 that one of our county sanatoriums had a Mexican population of 25 percent. The population of the area this sanatorium served contained only 2 percent Mexicans. Consequently, the Michigan Department of Health contacted the necessary agencies, the Department of Labor and the largest group, the Beet Growers' Association. After several meetings in 1938 a plan on a co-operative basis was agreed upon between the sugar industry and the Michigan Department of Health. As a result of this, in January 1939, Dr. Gudakunst, who was then State health commissioner, went down to Texas to see the State health officer at Texas, to obtain permission to examine these individuals in Texas, rather than in Michigan.

Mr. PARSONS. Before you brought them out of Texas?

Dr. KOPPA. That is right. The reason we did that is because San Antonio is the employment center. If we can keep communicable diseases from coming into Michigan, it is much less costly than caring for them after they get into Michigan.

As a result of this, in 1939 the Michigan Department of Health presented a budget to the United States Public Health Service, and the United States Public Health Service gave us \$1,719.94. Other agencies made available \$1,341.50, which gave us a total budget of \$3,061.44. Of this all was expended except \$780. This was in 1939.

Mr. PARSONS. You sent a doctor to Texas to examine them down there before they started north?

Dr. KOPPA. That is right. We sent one of our staff men—as a matter of fact, two of our staff men. Dr. Newitt went down, and another of our staff men. Dr. Newitt went down chiefly to organize the program and see that it ran smoothly, and then left it to the staff man.

In addition to that, we employed three other physicians in San Antonio to do examining. They were paid out of this budget.

NUMBER OF EXAMINATIONS GIVEN AND RESULTS

Mr. PARSONS. About how many men, or how many persons did they examine during the last year?

Dr. KOPPA. In 1939 they examined 4,271 individuals. In 1940, in which program I was concerned, we examined 5,753 individuals.

Mr. PARSONS. How many were rejected on account of physical disqualification, from coming north?

Dr. KOPPA. There were 153 rejections because of specific disease, 123 of which were due to pulmonary tuberculosis. This gives an existence of 2.14 percent tuberculosis in this population, contrasted with a percentage in Michigan of 0.02. In other words, we have 221 individuals with tuberculosis per 100,000 in Michigan, while this group of people have 2,140 with tuberculosis per 100,000. Obviously, the difference is staggering.

Mr. PARSONS. Are the Mexicans more or less subject to tuberculosis?

Dr. KOPPA. Apparently they do not have the immunity to tuberculosis we do, and once they get the infection the disease runs a comparatively rapid course.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you found much venereal disease in these Mexicans?

Dr. KOPPA. We do not. We do a genital examination. We look at the mucous membrane for primary chancre or secondary syphilis. We do not look for tertiary syphilis. We found one individual in 1939 and one in 1940 with chancre. We found 4 individuals with gonorrhea. That is for both years.

Mr. PARSONS. This program has just been initiated 2 years ago?

Dr. KOPPA. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. You think you will be able to economize considerably in the treatment of these people by following this program through each year?

Dr. KOPPA. Well, the point is this—you mean, examination?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Dr. KOPPA. Next year we will have a little different set-up. We have a new mobile roentgeno-photographic unit that we will take down to Texas with us. This takes small films, 4 by 5 inches. We will have a permanent record of each individual we examine.

COST OF HEALTH SERVICE SHOULD BE COOPERATIVE WITH INDUSTRY

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think the Federal Government and the State should do this work without private funds? What is your thought as to who should be responsible for the cost?

Dr. KOPPA. The individual State, that is?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Dr. KOPPA. It would be pretty difficult to work with Federal funds and State funds alone, because we must have some interested body we can work through. For instance, the Beet Growers' Employment Committee is the only organized group in Michigan that employs this labor. Therefore, obtaining their cooperation was our initial step toward control of communicable diseases, coming into the State.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Dr. KOPPA. As to where the cost should lie, I do not know where to put that. I think it should be cooperative with an industry, rather than letting the State or the Federal Government bear the whole cost of the program.

DIFFICULTY OF MIGRANT REGISTRATION

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think it is a good idea, if it could be followed up, to have a case file and examination made of all migrants passing from State to State, not only the working migrants, but destitute individuals who are going in the hope of finding work?

Dr. KOPPA. That would be awfully difficult to do.

Mr. PARSONS. But if the Federal Government made some grants-in-aid to the States as a qualification for receiving those funds and set up certain standards to be maintained, then we could stop people going through from State to State.

Dr. KOPPA. We probably could.

Mr. PARSONS (continuing). And get a case file built up on them?

Dr. KOPPA. Yes. Unless you work through a group, though, who has those individuals under control, we probably would never see them go across the State lines. What we do with those individuals who do not come through organized employment agencies, is to pick them up in the State, like anyone else. If they have pulmonary tuberculosis the county health officer is the one who discovers them, the county nurse, the Michigan Tuberculosis Association, or some agency like that.

Mr. PARSONS. This examination is given free to the individual?

Dr. KOPPA. Without cost.

Mr. PARSONS. Where any sickness or illness is found are any treatments prescribed, or any medical care furnished?

MICHIGAN HEALTH LAW

Dr. KOPPA. None at all. Our chief interest in the program is to keep these individuals with pulmonary tuberculosis from coming into Michigan, because we do not want people in Michigan to get more pulmonary tuberculosis than they have. In addition, it costs quite a bit of money to hospitalize these individuals.

With our set-up, we hospitalize every individual with pulmonary tuberculosis we find, regardless of whether he is a resident or not. In other words, our case-finding program is probably one of the best in the country.

Mr. PARSONS. If they are able to pay, they pay, and if they are not, you hospitalize them anyway?

Dr. KOPPA. They are hospitalized at the cost of the county and State, generally.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there, have you any contacts with the health authorities of Texas? In other words, have you given them the benefit of your findings?

Dr. KOPPA. Oh, yes. We send them a complete list of the individuals found with pulmonary tuberculosis. I have such a list here.

The CHAIRMAN. You make up a case file on each of them?

Dr. KOPPA. Yes. We have complete case files. We send them the name and address. If they want any more information, we send that, too. Here is the type of statement we send to both the health officer of San Antonio and the State health officer of Texas, with the letter of transmittal.

Mr. PARSONS. I think, Doctor, you are doing a very fine work there. It is better to begin now, than later. It is too bad that we have not thought to do a lot of things we have been doing in more recent years a long time ago, but it takes a long time to get people's minds waked up, to look after the health of the individual.

It is like the chairman has said many times before this committee: We have spent billions of dollars regulating and seeing that interstate

commerce goes through between States, but we have done nothing so far as the human individual interstate commerce or migration is concerned. We have spent even billions of dollars to improve every specie of the plant and animal kingdom, except the human individual himself. It is only comparatively recently that we have been looking after the human equation.

Dr. KOPPA. That is true.

Mr. PARSONS. You have done a very fine work. I want to congratulate you, Dr. Koppa, for the splendid work you have done. Express our thanks to Dr. Newitt.

The CHAIRMAN. I have one more question, Doctor. With respect to these examinations and the reports you make, are they limited to pulmonary cases?

Dr. KOPPA. The examinations are limited chiefly to the chest, chiefly for pulmonary tuberculosis as a communicable disease plus aortic enlargement due to syphilis or heart pathology.

We try to protect the individual himself, just as much as the State of Michigan. In addition, as I said before, we examine for primary and secondary syphilis. Other than that, we go no further. We report cases. We do not recommend treatment, but we do tell the individual to see his private physician and get in touch with the health department, because these people apparently move around and cannot be found very easily.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement which has been submitted by Dr. Newitt has been received as part of the formal record.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Dr. Koppa.

(Whereupon, Dr. Koppa was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will now recognize Dr. Lamb.

Dr. LAMB. In connection with the testimony that has just been given, I wish to offer for the record this letter from the United States Public Health Service.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and entered in the record.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY,
UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Washington, August 17, 1940.

Senior Surgeon L. A. FULLERTON,

Director, United States Public Health Service, District No. 3,

Chicago, Ill.

SIR: With respect to your letter of August 15, I herewith submit to you the following information.

Budgets have been in effect covering the fourth quarter of the fiscal years 1938-39 and 1939-40 whereby funds derived from title VI of the Social Security Act have been used by the State of Michigan for the examination in Texas of laborers who contemplate employment in the beet fields of Michigan.

When submitting the budgets for the use of such funds, the State health officer set forth certain communicable disease problems, notably tuberculosis and syphilis, which are aggravated by the influx of these laborers. In the opinion of the State health officer the interstate spread of diseases and the protection of the health of citizens of the State of Michigan would be aided by examination of these applicants and the rejection of those who were infected. Correspondence was filed showing that the matter had been cleared with the State health officer of Texas.

Subsequent reports on this activity showing the number of infected applicants located by such examination would indicate that the project is accomplishing the purpose originally set forth by the State health officer.

Inasmuch as the prevention of venereal diseases, tuberculosis, and other communicable diseases is a public-health problem, it would seem that the use of title VI funds was entirely within the authority of the act which reads, "For the purpose of assisting States, counties, health districts, and other political subdivisions of the States in establishing and maintaining adequate public-health services * * *."

You understand of course that this is not an activity initiated by the Public Health Service, but was proposed and actually operated by the State health department. The Public Health Service was asked only to authorize the use of the grants-in-aid funds to the State of Michigan under title VI for this purpose.

By direction of the Surgeon General.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH W. MOUNTIN,
Assistant Surgeon General, Domestic Quarantine Division.

TESTIMONY OF HELEN WHITE, MIDWESTERN MIGRATE SUPERVISOR UNDER COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS

The CHAIRMAN. Is Miss White here?

Miss WHITE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss White, I understand you have a statement here you would like to have inserted in the record?

Miss WHITE. That is right.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY HELEN WHITE, MIDWESTERN MIGRATE SUPERVISOR UNDER COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS

A STATEMENT ON CONDITIONS AMONG MIGRATORY WORKERS AND WHAT THE CHURCH IS DOING TO MEET THE CONDITIONS

Migration among agricultural workers in the Middle West has caused little concern among all groups until recent years. This statement concerns itself with approximate numbers found, conditions existing, attitudes prevailing, and specific social service programs conducted by the Council of Women for Home Missions.

The Council of Women for Home Missions which represents many denominations of the Protestant faith, has been active in the field of Christian Social Service for 20 years. Their program includes health services, nursery, recreational centers, and pastoral services to those on the road. This organization was the first national one to attempt a constructive program that concerned itself with the mental and spiritual need of these migratory laborers and their children. From 20 years of first-hand experience, valuable information is available.

1. Three types of agricultural migrants may be found in the States concerned in this hearing:

(a) The laborers and families who come from the South during the harvesting seasons in the North and then return to their home at the season's conclusion.

(b) Those laborers following the crops the year round as a livelihood.

(c) Those forced by circumstances over which they have no control to follow crops, but who wish to resettle at the first opportunity.

2. Three main nationalities constitute the personnel of those in agricultural migratory relationships in this area, mainly Negro, Mexican, and those of Anglo-American extraction.

3. Estimates may be given as to number of persons in each region, as no survey adequately gives this information. Michigan, 25,000 to 50,000; Minnesota, 4,000 to 6,000; Wisconsin, 2,000 to 3,000; Illinois, no definite figures are available, but they number in thousands; Indiana, 10,000 to 12,000; Ohio, from 3,000 to 6,000, the number increasing yearly.

4. Transportation facilities vary among these migratory folk of this area. Many families use their own cars, while others are transported by truck from one section of the country to another, causing following unfavorable conditions:

- (a) Overcrowding making transportation unsafe.
- (b) Charging fees for transportation that do not stay within restriction of laws.
- (c) Very little consideration of bodily needs of this human cargo en route.
- (d) Lack of definite responsibility in case of accident for injuries of passengers.

5. In the regions concerned in this hearing, the State and county health facilities have been found to be inadequate in many sections. Several concrete cases of malnutrition and starvation have resulted from the inadequate health service within the concentrated migrant areas. There has been a deplorable lack of sanitary and water supplies, and in several specific cases, contagious diseases have been found to be a menace to the local community. A more adequate health program for the shifting populations is urged.

6. No educational system will exclude the migratory child within the region of this hearing, but very little or no encouragement is given to the children of the migratory class to attend the schools in the areas in which they are living. Overcrowding the schools results in discouragement on the part of these children. This presents a picture that is unsafe for future democracy; namely, an uneducated constituency who will be the citizens of tomorrow. There are no adequate educational facilities available to these children, and in the consideration of this program that phase must be given major emphasis.

7. Housing within the region confined to this hearing ranges from excellent quality to the poorest type possible. One agricultural industry has provided its migratory group with excellent housing, and, as a result, gets excellent work from this group accomplished. Another employer allows his folk to fare for themselves, finding possible buildings or tents to live in. One type of housing showed no windows, doors and roof missing, as well as many cracks in the walls. Nearly 50 people living in this house. Again, the toilet and water facilities are conspicuous by their absence. A definite plan for the adequate housing of these individuals would do much to raise the morale and interest in themselves and in their responsibilities to their employer.

There is no one group responsible for the conditions that exist, but it is a responsibility of all to rectify the conditions through united effort on the part of industry, National, State, and private agencies.

The Council of Women for Home Missions, realizing that a concrete program could be worked out for the children and youth of these migratory families, began their services in 1920. In 1930 the program expanded to include the Middle West. Since 1936 there has been a nursery and recreational center in many places in Michigan, Ohio, and Minnesota. The council has reached the babies, children, and youth through programs adopted to their age level. Babies on schedule have thrived and grown stronger. Children in the recreational centers have learned to live, work, and play with others, and have grown mentally, physically, and spiritually. Youth, through competitive games, campfires, discussions, and handicraft, have learned new philosophies of life that is of benefit to themselves as well as to the State. Families respond to this interest in their children and are able to do a better job, for they realize that someone is interested in them.

Since 1936 five new areas have been developed in this region with definite success. A change of attitude on both the migrant and the local community is one of the resultant factors, each group realizing that they play a part in the total picture of this problem, have a definite responsibility for this migratory group, an awareness of this problem is developing, and through this awareness, a desire to do much about it. Local communities have built up a technique whereby everyone cooperates; namely, church, social agencies, schools, health, and government, and successful programs have been worked out for the education of these migrants. It is the plan of this organization to develop a continuity of program whereby children of migratory workers may come in contact with the influences of this program in the many localities that use this type of labor.

It is hoped that eventually there will be a national rehabilitation program developed, with definite guidance provided, so that this problem of migration may become minimized.

The Protestant churches, through the publishing house of the Friendship Press, has released for general study among all church groups a set of pamphlets which deal with the causes and remedial efforts of this migration problem. Each denomination will be studying this problem this year. Much interest and awareness has been aroused through this study throughout the church. The efforts of the Tolson hearing will be studied and enacted upon in a favorable light, but in all events, let there be a closer cooperation between national, State, and private agencies in giving these citizens at large some of the privileges of citizens.

TESTIMONY OF HELEN WHITE—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. You are midwestern migrate supervisor under the Council of Women for Home Missions?

Miss WHITE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other comments you wish to add, Miss White?

Miss WHITE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. This statement will be received as part of the formal record.

Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, Miss White was excused.)

Dr. LAMB. Mr. Chairman, I have several other exhibits to be offered for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Proceed.

Dr. LAMB. I have a statement from the Central Howard Association, F. Emory Lyon, founder and superintendent, entitled "A Statement on the Relation of Transiency to Crime, and the Responsibility of Society for Released Prisoners."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received as part of our formal record. (The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF F. EMORY LYON, FOUNDER AND SUPERINTENDENT, THE CENTRAL HOWARD ASSOCIATION

A STATEMENT ON THE RELATION OF TRANSIENCY TO CRIME AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SOCIETY FOR RELEASED PRISONERS

The relation of transiency to crime is a vital one, and calls for close inter-community cooperation, as well as the discharge of a national responsibility.

The thousands of residents of the United States who are without legal domicile nevertheless belong to the human race and are a potential menace to every community if not provided with the necessities of life. No narrow interpretation of legal residence or selfish shifting of responsibility will lighten the burden or allay the menace.

The situation is particularly pertinent to those who come out of prison and whose legal status has been nullified, partly by reason of their conduct, but often through no fault of their own.

The problem of the paroled and discharged prisoner is largely and increasingly a problem of the peripatetic wanderer. This is true for various reasons.

In the first place we no longer live in a provincial world. The old habit of permanent domicile for most people is a thing of the past. Very few people spend a lifetime in a single city or county or State. Changes of population and of industries and the varied means of transportation have made travelers of us all.

This situation is magnified for the man who is foot-loose—the single men, the casual and the seasonal worker. For those with the spirit of adventure, coupled with widespread knowledge broadcast by the press and the radio, the pull to press on to other scenes is well-nigh uncontrollable.

It should not seem strange, therefore, that this prevailing tendency should be enhanced in the case of released prisoners, whom we are to consider. Added to the fact that a large percent of these men are single, unskilled, seasonal workers is the further circumstance of their alienation from their fellows. This is due not only to the vital reason of their imprisonment but to their previous travels and their futile attempt to escape their past.

For these reasons many of them are without a place on earth they can call home and without legal residence anywhere. Some of them have had homes, though hardly worthy of the name, hence their inevitable drift to delinquency. Others have had good homes, and now have parents and other relatives, but they are outcasts, either by reason of the unforgiving spirit of their kin or, quite as often, by their own pride or sense of shame which has debarred them.

Thus, with changing industrial conditions that have pushed them from place to place, and finally driven them into crime, the lot of the homeless prisoner is a hard one indeed. Coupled with these initial handicaps there is the social ostracism without, and the feeling of unworthiness within, that seem to alienate him from his fellowmen.

All of which accounts for a tendency which I am sure all who have worked with and for the released prisoner have noticed. I refer to his seeming desire to run away from himself. Our task seems to be to convince him of the futility of this attempt. If he could only learn that he must meet himself face to face and solve his own problem his task and ours would be easier. Will he ever learn that his success or failure depends not upon where he is but upon what he is?

So much for the situation in which these homeless outcasts find themselves. What about the size of the problem, what is society doing to meet it, and what should we do about it?

Social responsibility for the released prisoner rests lightly on the public conscience. We have here the "untouchables" of America, but he is a minor factor in the modern mind. Society is largely to blame for his predicament, yet the State does next to nothing to remedy it. This is an immediate menace to society and the last one we can afford to ignore.

The gigantic proportions of this problem are little realized until we come to think about it. There are 158 major State and Federal prisons and reformatories in the United States. A careful estimate of the average population of these institutions, under present crowded conditions, is 1,400 inmates each, or a total of 164,650.

It is also known that on each week day of the year an average of one prisoner from each institution is released, either by expiration of sentence or on parole. A total number, therefore, of over 50,000 offenders are annually emerging, thence to be merged into the general population, either for weal or woe. A large percent, as I have said, are homeless, either socially or mentally.

The question is: Shall we meet this problem with intelligence and tolerance, or with prejudice and patchwork? It may be well to remember that unless we are willing to greet the released prisoner with a handshake of helpfulness, we may be called upon to meet him face to face—in a holdup. He belongs to the race, either for good or ill. Shall we win him to manhood, or drive him to distraction?

There should be nothing of the sentimental or sob-sister spirit about this question. In this enlightened day the spirit of recovery should take the place of retaliation. The task of rehabilitation is the surest means of protection for the public and the prevention of future crime.

At present, provision for systematic care of the released prisoner is entirely inadequate in this country. The State does comparatively little in this direction. To be sure, nearly all the States have a parole law on the statute books. And this, by the way, is one of the best examples of social planning in a generation. But unfortunately the law is only partially utilized in most of the States. It is safe to say that not more than half a dozen States at present release a majority of their prisoners under parole conditions. Some of these do not furnish anything like sufficient supervision.

It is doubtful whether half of the States grant paroles to one-half of the outgoing inmates. If so, it is certain that their limited parole staffs can do little more than to check up on the failures and return them to the institutions. In all the rest of the States, only a small percent are paroled at all. And these more in form than fact, since no adequate standards are required.

A few States, to their discredit be it said, exercise what is called a "sunset parole." This consists in releasing men, without a sponsor, and with instructions to make one report from another State, and then consider themselves free, so long as they do not return—at their peril. This is an application of the Golden Rule with a vengeance, and a form of "dumping" that would awaken Russian envy.

Meanwhile, the great majority of the annual output—over 50,000 prisoners from the State and Federal prisons—are discharged outright. Even in this enlightened day, in the same old way, they are turned out with a hand-out of \$5 or \$10, and with no responsibility on the part of the State to their welfare.

If it were not for the heroic services of the voluntary prisoner's aid societies throughout the country, the lot of all these men would be unhappy indeed. But at that there are not more than a scanty dozen of these agencies. They are widely scattered, especially in the West, and with their limited resources are barely able to scratch the surface of the need.

How many times during the past year have you read in the daily paper, items like the following:

"Out of work—takes poison.—August Lauer, Hudson Avenue, a metal polisher, attempted to end his life, yesterday afternoon in his home, by swallowing a quantity of paris green. He had been out of work for several months."

Have you realized the significance of this statement, as it met your eye, with slight variations, again and again? I read five similar cases in one morning's paper, in a city of half a million. If half that daily number were reported, what would it mean for the year, and for the different cities of the Nation? Have you whose fortunes or positions are secure, ever paused to think how a man might feel, who in the midst of prosperity, has absolutely no prospect of a pay day?

Granted that some men are out of a job because they are lazy, or seem to be, and because they were listless at their last task. But has science ever learned how many of these are in full possession of natural physical and mental powers? To be sure, there are many who are not prepossessing in appearance, and are naturally diffident about appealing for a place in the industrial world. But should a natal misfortune or lack of "nerve" be penalized?

Still others do not know how to hunt a job, and their patient search is in vain. But has society ever taught this rather intricate art? Then, what of the foreigner who can scarcely voice his needs in English, or the stranded man, who, even if work were offered, has naught to purchase tools or food for his family until pay day? I do not speak of that army of men who have been handicapped by either physical deformity, mishap, accident, disease, or other disability. For these, though the distress of being out of a job is no less keen, there is some measure of sympathy on the part of society.

Special attention is here directed to that vast number of men daily released from various penal institutions, and who face a "jobless" world. These men are supposed to have forfeited their positions of the past by misguided conduct. As a matter of fact, experience discloses the fact that a large percent of them were coerced into crime by the uncertainty of employment. What other conclusion can be drawn from the fact that a cold wave brings a crime wave? To be sure the resort to crime is a foolish, short-sighted step, and is never necessary. This is plain enough to the man of fortitude and perseverance. But since when has society attempted to teach its sons lessons of patience and self-control? What provision does the State make for the immediate appetite of the army of the unemployed?

What thought is given by the average employing corporation as to what will happen when there is a 10- or 20-percent reduction in its pay roll? To the company it means merely the maintenance of a "business" dividend. To the discharged employee it means—debt, distress, cold, hunger, agony, possibly crime or self-destruction. If the former, then the State must at last furnish in prison, the job that would have prevented the crime and saved a character. If suicide, then the dependent family will likely call upon charity to furnish what would have been gladly earned.

When, therefore, we come to consider the needs of these thousands coming forth from State and city prisons, without money and without work, let us not repeat the folly that has, in many cases, sent them there. Whither shall these men turn, if not to the Central Howard Association, which has gained a gratifying reputation in finding employment for jobless men, released from prison?

If anyone thinks there is no excuse for men being out of employment at such times as these, let them try our task for a single week. And if men with an unbroken record and good references are unable to find a chance to earn an honest living, imagine, if you can, the plight of the prisoner, about to emerge into a cold, critical, skeptical, hostile world.

Today and every day is crime prevention day. This fact furnishes food for serious thought on America's two most pressing and menacing problems. The responsibility for both lies upon society as a whole.

Not to labor when the chance is open, is vagrancy—a misdemeanor. To deny the right to labor is a crime—the collective conspiracy of organized society.

Men often take the living which society denies them the opportunity to earn, and back of this thoughtless disregard of consequences on the part of the offender, is an even greater thoughtlessness on the part of the State, in its failure to prevent crime by constructive means. Among these means are:

1. Teaching the habit of industry at home.
2. Proper vocational education.
3. Preventing boys from entering upon "blind alley" occupations.
4. The elimination of waste through the cost of high living, and the payment of a living wage.
5. The discovery of some method by which seasonal and intermittent occupation may be abolished.
6. Prompt and permanent employment for probationers and released prisoners.

At least 50 percent of crime is the result of society's failure to do these things. The State could well afford to spend one-half its crimes bill in this direction and thereby prevent it.

It is safe to say that no real solution has been proposed for either the labor problem or the crime problem. The two need not be associated, except insofar as labor harbors in its ranks, the crimes of slugging, graft, and failure to give an honest day's work for an agreed wage. On the other hand, the employer may not be guiltless, if superior wit and a dull labor market are taken advantage of to produce exorbitant profits at the cost of unrequited toil.

In other words, we will not solve the labor problem, by omitting society's responsibility to the toiler, and we will not solve the crime problem merely with those who have been arrested or convicted.

Again we say not to labor is vagrancy—a misdemeanor. To deny the right to labor is a crime—the collective conspiracy of organized society. Or, looking at it from the Gospel standpoint, if it be true that if a man will not labor, neither shall he eat: it is equally true that if he cannot labor for lack of a job, neither can he eat without aid from others. At the point where his own energies are stopped, there society's responsibility begins.

It behooves society to provide for this gigantic undertaking on a scale that is worthy of the task. All good citizens will watch the enterprise as the never-ending procession of prisoners emerge into industry, into communities, and into the personal contacts that are bound to be made if they are to live wholesome and successful lives.

Experienced workers will be needed in this field. The growing spirit of co-operation on the part of officials, employers, and all intelligent observers is bound to bear fruit for the public safety and for the social welfare.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that these men need something more than legal supervision, or a pittance of relief for meals and lodgings. The great tragedy of our present public emergency relief is the demoralizing effect upon its recipients. These men need vastly more. They need to have something of the social conscience. We must give them, in our ministry to them, somewhat of ourselves.

Dr. LAMB. I next wish to offer for the record excerpts from the State planning board survey and newspaper clippings concerning migration in Johnson County, Ind., tomato areas.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received as part of the formal record. (The matter referred to is as follows:)

Excerpts from State planning-board survey of Indiana counties, November 1935

JOHNSON COUNTY—SUMMARY OF THE SITUATION

1. Johnson County is principally an agricultural county, and the agricultural situation is very good.
2. Vegetable canning, the principal industry, is a seasonal occupation and therefore has created serious economic and social problems attendant upon seasonal employment.
3. Migration from Kentucky is responsible for a large part of the relief population.
4. Housing among relief clients, especially those originating in Kentucky, is extremely bad and violates minimum standards of living, legal and otherwise.
5. Rural housing is generally above the average for the State.
6. A public works program is desirable in the county.
7. There is a small amount of submarginal and forest land in the county, and the State contemplates acquiring most of this.
8. There is no planning agency in the county.

POPULATION AND POOR RELIEF

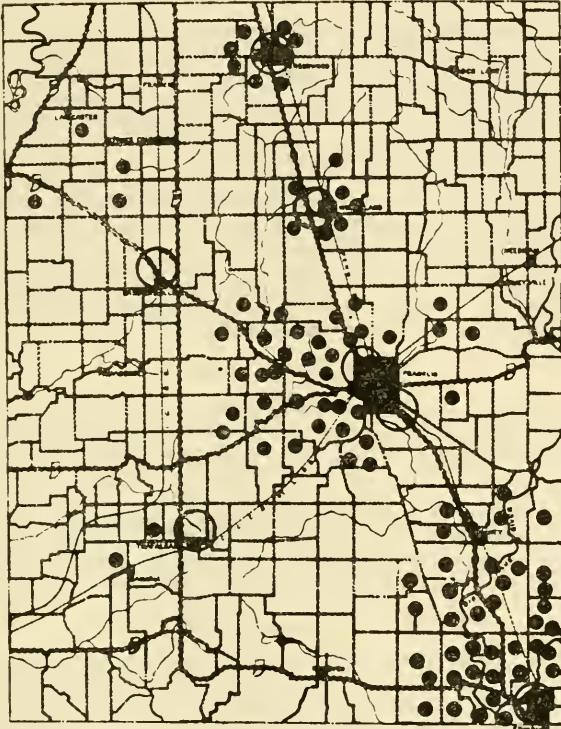
The unusual conditions accompanying the canning industry and truck-crop raising have given birth to an acute situation, which keeps the relief population at 10.1 percent, rather than making the figure a lower one and one more fitting the general conditions in the county. The canning season lasts for approximately 2 months. The wages paid in the factories are fair; in 1935 the scale was from 30 to 40 cents an hour. The hours are long, one shift working sometimes as much as 36 hours straight, and 120-hour weeks are not uncommon. The average individual earnings were not obtainable but an optimistic estimate might be \$25.00 per worker for the season. Thus, though the pay for the 2 months is fair, the amount spread over the entire year becomes quite insignificant. It is obvious that some occupation to supplement the earnings in the canning season must be found or the workers will continue on relief.

In addition to the seasonal demand of the canning factory, there is also a demand for harvest labor by the farmers at the same time, and a lesser but also seasonal demand for labor during the spring to set out tomato plants. The earnings of men picking tomatoes run from \$2 to \$4.50 per day, varying with the crop and the age of the season. Earnings during the spring seem to be some lower. The number of men employed in picking tomatoes probably is about 3,900, the same as the number required in the canning factories.

In a county, the population of which is approximately 20,000, this peak demand of 7,000 employees could not possibly be met by local labor. Therefore, there is an immigration into the county for 2 months. These laborers come from neighboring counties to some extent, but the influx is principally from southern Kentucky. It was impossible to obtain the exact figures on this seasonal immigration, but a conservative estimate would place the number of Kentuckians who come in each year at 1,000.

The living conditions of these Kentuckians as well as of some of the migrants from neighboring counties were very poor. They lived in barns, tourist cottages, tents, an abandoned hotel, an abandoned slaughterhouse, and even a strawstack. Their food was the cheapest they could obtain. One storekeeper in Whiteland complained that the average daily ration of a Kentuckian was a loaf of bread and a can of beans. The standard lodging charge seemed to be \$1 per person per week. This was the charge made by a woman who let 45 Kentuckians live in her barn, and the charge of the keeper of the abandoned hotel, who furnished his customers with a bed and no mattress or bed clothing.

Pay rolls are loaded with transient Kentuckians, while many employable citizens of Indiana are on relief rolls because of lack of employment.



● FAMILY ON RELIEF - BOTH HEADS BORN IN KENTUCKY

[From the Indianapolis Star, Thursday, August 17, 1939]

(By Mary E. Bostwick)

FRANKLIN, IND., August 16.—The ragged army without a commissary—mostly "poor whites" from Kentucky—that has invaded Johnson County several hundred-strong during the last week, lured north by the mirage of promised jobs in the canning factories and tomato fields—was scattering to the four winds today.

The smoke from the tall chimneys of half a dozen canneries rose into the hot air, acres of tomatoes were ripening in the fields, endless lines of trucks laden with corn and tomatoes stood waiting at the doors of the canneries, cars were parked by the hundreds, but hardly a Kentucky license plate among them.

Some of the itinerants, who caused so much confusion that a determined drive to rid the county of their presence was launched by Sheriff Nelson W. Pangburn, were trundling north, south, east, or west in their ancient jaloppies or trucks, with their possessions, and in some cases their wives and children piled in around them; others were lodged in the Johnson County jail or at the Indiana State farm; others were hitchhiking their way.

JOHNSON COUNTY RELIEVED

They had vanished from their roadside camps, or from camps under trees in fields, and Johnson County began to breathe easier.

The wide publicity given Sheriff Pangburn's drive is believed to be largely responsible for solving a problem that was keeping Johnson County residents awake nights, for while, as Sheriff Pangburn said, many of the unwelcome visitors were "good people," honestly looking for jobs, many undesirables were included in the constantly arriving numbers.

"It gave the bums and moochers a good excuse to come here," said Sheriff Pangburn. "They knew that on account of the tomato season, now at its peak, there would be a lot of strangers here, and they wouldn't be noticed, and that somebody would probably look after them.

"A lot of them have been on relief or W. P. A. projects, and have been let out. We naturally want to give preference to local people when there are any jobs to be given out at the canneries or picking, and when all these people began to arrive there weren't any jobs for them."

PLANS "JUNGLE" RAID

After the article appearing in this morning's Star, Sheriff Pangburn said he made a trip to Greenwood, where one of the canning factories was located, and didn't see a single car bearing a Kentucky license plate.

[From the Indianapolis Times, August 16, 1939]

ROVING TOMATO PICKERS WARNED—SHERIFF IN JOHNSON COUNTY THREATENS JAIL AS 800 FORCE DOWN WAGES

(By Joe Collier, Times Staff Writer)

FRANKLIN, IND., August 16.—Declaring that between 800 and 1,000 migrants from at least seven States have depressed the Johnson County tomato-picking wages from 2 to 3 cents a bushel, Sheriff Nelson W. Pangburn said this afternoon he would continue the drive against them.

Sheriff Pangburn said that migratory laborers who can show no visible means of support will be arrested on vagrancy charges.

These migrants have come from North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Nebraska, Kentucky, Alabama, and New Jersey seeking work in the harvest fields, according to the Sheriff.

PICKING FEE LOWERED

They have stormed the canning factories and taken jobs from local residents, Sheriff Pangburn said. The normal picking fee has been 7 cents a bushel and this year it has been as low as 4 cents a bushel, he said.

"These people have underbid local persons as much as 50 cents and \$1 a day this year," the sheriff said. "I believe the situation is worse than in previous years. This may be due to the general lay-off of W. P. A. workers in many States."

Most of the migrants came in groups of four or five men, but when the influx started there were some entire families.

Sheriff Pangburn, who revealed that more than 50 migrants have been arrested on minor charges within a week, branded them as "moochers and nothing else."

Twelve have been sent to the State farm in default of fines assessed for loitering or trespassing on railroad property.

Fifteen are held at the Johnson County jail in default of fines for vagrancy. Fingerprints of the 15 are being checked with the Department of Justice and if they are not wanted on other charges they will be ordered from town before serving out their fines, Sheriff Pangburn said.

"We've had a lot of complaints from citizens and businessmen," the sheriff explained. "The first complaints came from Edinburg. These transients were mooching in stores there. They slept in parked cars or under trees in fields. It just got so bad we had to do something to keep them moving."

[From the Franklin (Ind.) Evening Star, Saturday, August 12, 1939]

DRAGNET FOR VAGRANTS EXTENDS OVER COUNTY; 13 MORE JAILED HERE—LATEST HAUL HIKES ARREST TOTAL TO 28; ALL FINGERPRINTED

Thirteen more men were arrested on trespass and vagrancy charges Friday night and early this morning as six police officers working in three units extended their drive over the entire county.

Trespassing charges were lodged against nine of them found in boxcars, and vagrancy charges were placed against the other four. All were slated to be arraigned in city court sometime today.

The raiding party was made up of Deputy Sheriff Russell Cochran and Police Chief Lawson Sullivan, in one unit; Sheriff Pete Pangburn and Officer Earl Rynerson, in another; and Patrolman Bud Mohr of the State police and Special Officer William Waggoner, in another.

A clean sweep of the county was made by the police corps, who visited Greenwood, Whiteland, Franklin, Edinburg, Bargersville, and Amity.

FOUR AT GREENWOOD

At Greenwood, four men were arrested when they were discovered in a Pennsylvania boxcar. At Whiteland, five others were also taken from boxcars on the same railroad. Two men sleeping in an auto at Edinburg were apprehended and two hitchhikers along road No. 31 south of the city were taken.

The nine arrested for trespass were jailed at a half hour after midnight. They were Everett Schultz, Clarence Dunn, Anthony Beran, Fred Garrett, C. Armstrong, Finnis Vaught, George Dunn, William Moore, and J. D. Arright.

Less than 2 hours later four more were jailed on vagrancy counts. They were Howard Fultz, Denlo Hurst, Ed Greer, and Walter May.

COME FROM EVERYWHERE

Native States of the 13 men included Indiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee, and North Carolina.

Officer Waggoner spent Saturday morning fingerprinting the victims in the county jail office.

Sixteen prisoners were in jail today, the largest number in many months.

The latest police haul boosted the total for the last 3 nights to 28. Included in those arrested Friday night was George Dunn, who earlier in the day had been released and ordered out of the county by Mayor L. W. Oliver in city court. Dunn had been arrested Thursday night on a vagrancy charge.

ARREST SUMMARY

Wednesday: Seven arrested at Edinburg.

Thursday: Eight arrested in Franklin.

Friday: Thirteen arrested over county.

Total of 28 taken in 72-hour period.

Sent to penal farm: Four vagrants, one drunk.

Released: Eleven men, one of whom was rearrested.

In jail today: Sixteen men, some of them awaiting arraignment.

Calendar of future events: More raids next week.

BARN IS FIRED

WHITELAND, August 12.—“Temporary residents” of a barn on the Ed Speas property here accidentally set fire to the structure when a coal-oil stove exploded Friday. The fire department was called to extinguish the blaze which might have resulted in complete destruction of the building were it not for the quick work of firemen.

Dozens of men seeking temporary seasonal employment with the Whiteland canning factory are reported living in barns and hen houses, where they cook, eat, and sleep. Several stoves were reported to be operating in the Speas barn.

[From the Franklin Evening Star (Franklin, Ind.), Wednesday, August 16, 1939]

GRAPES OF WRATH LINKED WITH INTEREST IN WORKERS

To the Grapes of Wrath, a popular novel depicting the life of migrant farm workers in the fruit-growing areas of the West, was attributed the intense State and National interest in Johnson County's campaign to rid this section of transients who have come here in search of work during the canning season.

While local citizens took in stride reports of wholesale arrests among migrant workers here, news of the police drive created a sensation when spread over the front pages of the newspapers of the State and Nation.

Reporters and photographers of Indiana and Kentucky newspapers came to Franklin in search of startling stories and “art” along Grapes of Wrath lines.

To these outsiders Franklin people pointed out that this condition had always existed here during the canning season and that welfare officials had been wrestling with the problem of supporting the immigrants for many years.

MANY JAILED IN PAST

In the past scores of transients have been jailed for such minor offenses as drunkenness, vagrancy, and petty thievery. Some believe the situation this year is no worse than during previous canning seasons.

Until the popular novel now being read by thousands brought to the attention of the Nation the migrant farm-worker problem, Johnson County trustees sought alone methods of supporting families from bordering States who came here during the packing season and remained for the winter.

Recent poor-relief legislation, requiring a period of legal residence before relief funds would be received, is believed to have discouraged the migration of entire families to Johnson County. The trend this year has leaned toward bachelors and heads of families working here for a few weeks, living sparingly, and returning to their homes with most of the money they earned.

NOT MANY OBJECTIONS

Although Franklin citizens as a whole have expressed sympathy for the needs of the migrants, there has been no strenuous objections to the drive against the workers this year. Most citizens pointed out that they believed the police action was justified on the basis of the wave of minor crimes which accompanies the immigrants into the county.

Police have emphasized that all transients who obtain employment and secure a room during their stay here are not being disturbed by the law. Their work, it was said, is in ridding the communities of the county of undesirables.

It was also stated that policemen of the city and county always had been “on their toes” during the canning season and that arrests in past years had been as numerous as those in the current campaign.

[From the Franklin (Ind.) Evening Star, Wednesday, August 16, 1939]

YOUNG KENTUCKIAN LEAVING COUNTY HURT ON RAILROAD—FALLS UNDER FREIGHT AT CROSSING; FOOT CRUSHED BY WHEEL

A 24-year-old Louisville, Ky., migrant en route to his home State, after being refused work at Greenwood, lost a section of his right foot early Wednesday

morning when he fell beneath a speeding south bound freight when he attempted to leap aboard at the Monroe Street crossing of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Isaiah Hill, who gave his address as 651 South Second Street in Louisville, and brother, Joe Hill, 21, were leaving the county in fear of the police campaign to rid Johnson County of its annual influx of the unwanted poor.

The brothers had found rides to Franklin and were attempting to hop the local freight pulling away from the city about 5:40 o'clock. The train had completed its switching several blocks from the scene of the accident, and had picked up considerable speed by the time it reached the Monroe Street crossing. The train was en route to Edinburg. None of the members of the crew were aware of the accident, and the train continued without stopping.

The elder brother fell after he failed to grab a side ladder on one of the cars, and was thrown beneath the wheels. He was brought to the Province Hospital, where it was said he will probably lose all but the large toe on his right foot.

SENT TO LOUISVILLE

After receiving first-aid treatment, he and his brother were given money by the township trustee and were sent to Louisville on the traction. Both boys said they were unmarried.

No arrests had been reported by police today for the second straight day. However, transients are still being ordered from the county. Migrants were sent from Franklin, Greenwood, and Edinburg during the last several hours by police, while still another group was ordered away after they were found sleeping in a car parked along a county road.

Police have indicated they are not especially anxious to make arrests, and are resorting largely to ordering transients to leave. They are contemplating making further clean-ups in forthcoming drives unless the orders are taken seriously, it has been indicated.

Officers said today they believed a migrant was responsible for the theft of \$45 taken from the home of John Gilmore, R. E. M. C. lineman, living on West Jefferson Street. The home was entered Tuesday night or early Wednesday morning. The Gilmore residence is not far from the hobo camp located south of the city on the Big Four Railroad tracks.

Dr. LAMB. I next wish to offer for the record a communication from Dr. Roscoe Pulliam, president of Southern Illinois Normal University, who was invited to be a witness at this hearing and was unable to be present. However, he has given the committee the benefit of his observations in this section of the State of Illinois.

Mr. PARSONS. I might say in that connection I know Dr. Pulliam very well. He is president of the Southern Illinois State Normal University, and has given a lot of time to the study of sociological problems. He would have been here, but the heads of his departments are away on vacation and it was impossible because of the shortness of time to get the data assembled. However, since we do not have to make a report until January, it may be Dr. Pulliam will want to submit a paper on that after his staff gets back, around the first of September.

Dr. LAMB. These exhibits can be extended, I am sure, in the printed record.

Mr. PARSONS. I will write him a letter telling him that if he desires to do that, we will be glad to have a paper from him. I know he has some very fine and perhaps some original ideas on this subject.

Dr. LAMB. We will note, then, for the record, that this paper is to be kept separate from the other briefs in the Chicago hearing record, and any remarks that Dr. Pulliam wants to extend will be included.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter which you have offered will be received as part of the record.

(The letter is as follows:)

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NORMAL UNIVERSITY,
Carbondale, Ill., August 12, 1940.

Mr. A. KRAMER,
Room 1130 County Building, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. KRAMER: I am very greatly interested in the problem upon which the Special Committee Investigating the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens is working. For the past 10 years I have been serving on various State and local committees that have to do with the relief of unemployment. In this work I have come upon at least three aspects of the problem upon which your committee is working.

One of these is the problem which is presented by the Negroes of the cotton lands of the Lower Mississippi Valley who have been coming up the river into Illinois to settle in our cities, where they load down our relief agencies and create many other critical social problems. In some communities the problem of providing schooling for them alone has been a serious one. This problem, I am sure, is most acutely present in Chicago, and doubtless the social agencies of Chicago will have plenty of concrete, factual material to present on it. It needs only to be remembered that the problem also exists in the larger cities in southern Illinois, notably at Cairo and East St. Louis. I do not have the kind of documented factual material to present on the problem which I feel would justify my going before the committee to testify.

The second problem with which I have been familiar for the past 15 years is the problem of reemployment for the coal miners and the young people who are growing up in the coal towns of southern Illinois. Ever since I have been teaching I have been working in or near the coal towns and have known their problems. The southern Illinois coal counties are about as seriously afflicted with unemployment as any counties in the United States. Fifteen years ago, when the manufacturing cities of the Great Lakes Basin were still expanding, most of the young people in the coal towns were going away to work in the factories there. For example, in Staunton, Ill., where I was superintendent for 3 years, there was a constant stream of unemployed miners and their sons and daughters going to Kenosha, Wis. Later, when I was at Harrisburg, Harrisburg had established a substantial colony in Pontiac, Mich. However, with the coming of the depression and the resulting decline in employment in the manufacturing cities of the Great Lakes Basin, a good many of these people came back to live with relatives in the coal towns and on the farms round about, where rents were low and subsistence generally less expensive. Many of these have been without substantial, satisfactory, permanent employment now for 10 years or more. Some of them have become full-fledged migrants; most of them have not yet reached that point.

The third displaced-worker problem of which I have immediate knowledge is that which has been created by the changes in agricultural methods in the Missouri and southern Illinois cotton country a few miles down the river from Carbondale. The story of how, winter before last, considerable numbers of southeast Missouri sharecroppers were camped along the highways after having been crowded out of the shanties in which they had been living, your committee will no doubt get from other sources in greater detail than I could give it. Many of these sharecroppers, both white and colored, are drifting across southern Illinois going north to try to find means of subsistence. This they are doing without any resources of any kind, either of property or of personal competence. Their education has been very bad. They are not even competent farm hands, since they know only one type of farm work, namely, that connected with growing cotton, and the older ones among them are not at all apt at learning. I am acquainted with some farmers in southern Illinois who have tried to employ them for work at wages and have been disappointed in what they could do.

If this letter will be of any use to the committee, I shall be glad. If there is any other information that either I or the sociology department of the college here could get for the committee in southern Illinois, we shall be glad to place ourselves at your service. Within reasonable limits, we should be glad to do what we can without any cost. However, the college is now on vacation and my facilities for getting together the kind of factual data which would be

worthy of presentation to a congressional committee are not available to me. If at any time in the future other information about southern Illinois should be wanted, I hope you will keep us in mind.

Sincerely yours,

ROSCOE PULLIAM.

Dr. LAMB. I next wish to offer for the record a document entitled "The Migratory Worker in Michigan," by George F. Granger, deputy director, Michigan Department of Social Welfare.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and appear in the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

THE MIGRATORY WORKER IN MICHIGAN

(Statement by George F. Granger, deputy director, Michigan Social Welfare Department)

The itinerant worker and his family impose certain social and economic problems upon the community in which they work. During recent years these problems have become so intensified and widespread as to demand the attention of the Federal as well as State and local governments.

In Michigan there are four somewhat overlapping work areas affected by these problems: (1) The vegetable and fruit belt extending through the southwestern portion of the State and running north through those counties bordering on the east shore of Lake Michigan; (2) the sugar-beet fields concentrated in the "thumb" district and of considerable importance in a number of the central and south-central counties of the Lower Peninsula; (3) the now greatly depleted lumbering region of the Upper Peninsula; (4) the large industrial centers where seasonal and cyclical fluctuations in manufacturing employment periodically attract and expel a labor supply.

THE VEGETABLE WORKER AND FRUIT HARVESTER

The first of these industries has been and is in large part today highly dependent upon a mobile labor supply. Owing to the short planting and harvesting seasons, owners of large fields and orchards can rarely depend upon obtaining an adequate number of workers without utilizing migratory labor. Hence the migratory worker became essential to the maintenance of the agricultural economy.

The migrant vegetable worker and fruit harvester of the past comprises one of the most typical and best-known groups of transient labor. Many of the migrants entering Michigan during the cherry season have earlier picked berries in Florida and Louisiana, "picked" their way on through Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio—a "work-as-you-go" path followed year after year. Later the paths of many take them southward again through the peach and melon country to the cotton fields of the South. Their numbers in Michigan during the harvest season are tremendous. Most of these may be termed "habitual" migrant workers. They are not bums. The object of their travels is work, and they are well trained in their particular agricultural field.

Within recent years, a new type of migrant has been added to the ranks of habitual work-seekers. Dust storms, repeated depressions, drought, power farming, and the reduction of industrial outlets for surplus farm populations have created conditions forcing many families on the road. This group is composed of a high percentage of family units and seeks only sustaining employment. Given adequate employment opportunities, they would prefer to reestablish settlement and begin life again on a basis of at least partial stability. There is no air of romance or adventure in the life of this new type of migrant.

This new group of migratory workers has created a difficult local problem in some counties by overcrowding the labor market.

Even within well-defined localities, the volume of migratory labor is difficult to estimate. During harvesting seasons, migrants come not only from other States, but from contiguous counties offering fewer employment opportunities.

It is estimated that in one of the western Michigan counties on the Indiana line, between thirty and forty thousand migratory laborers pass through during

the period from June to September. When the cherry harvesting is at its peak in the first week of August, the Traverse City regions alone, according to local authorities, employs at least 10,000 workers, nearly all of whom are migrants. Another county in the month of August reports 5,000 migrant cherry pickers in its orchards.

Most of the berry and fruit pickers live in tents or trailers. Others nail together the sides of packing cases to make a shelter. Some of them, particularly Negroes from the South, bring nothing with them and live in the most accessible places that they can find—such places frequently being abandoned shacks, box-cars on sidings, and other facilities which serve only as a shelter during sleeping hours. It is common to see a family of from one to four adults and a child or two living in a communal tent no larger than 12 by 12 feet.

Workers in the onion and celery fields have long been a major public health concern. In one county, the health department has been authorized to inspect the living quarters of all migrants and padlock them if such action is deemed to be the best interests of public health. The director of one county department of social welfare reports an incident in which approximately 50 people lived in what had been formerly a pig pen with only 2 toilets for all 50 people. The lack of proper sanitary facilities is a constant potential menace to public health.

A great danger of spreading disease arises from the fact that children of school age from migrant families are in contact with resident school children. Public health officials working with the department of education attempt to keep the potential menace of contagious diseases at a minimum.

Most communities are also fearsome of the fact that migratory workers may remain within the county long enough to establish settlement, thus increasing considerably the potential eligible relief load. In support of these fears, figures are quoted pertaining to the number of citizens within the county who have but recently obtained legal settlement, and whose economic status makes them continually potential relief recipients. One town on the southeast shore of Lake Michigan, with a population of 4,800, asserts that 1 year 600 southerners claimed voting residence.

The necessity of providing relief of some nature to distressed migrant families is a grave issue. Local relief funds are limited. The theory, that the care of nonresidents is not a local responsibility is adhered to in many communities. Thus, if a worker or his family by some misfortune must apply for relief, local antagonism is at once aroused. The public resent this drain on limited local funds by persons whom they believe have no moral or legal right to request help from a community of which they are not an integral part.

Perhaps the most feared type of expenditure which these migrant workers might incur at local expense is hospitalization. Hospital care is usually of extensive duration and particularly expensive.

Not the least of the difficulties imposed upon the community by the presence of migrant groups is the lowering of educational standards. Children of migratory laborers have had little schooling opportunities. Particularly in the onion- and celery-growing counties, where migrants imported from the South are inclined to stay through the winter, the continuous contact of migrant and non-migrant children serves as an impediment to juvenile education.

The poverty of both the migrant family and the rural school district keeps a number of children from obtaining an essential elementary education. On earnings of as low as \$15 per month for a family of as many as 6 or 7, the migrant worker cannot possibly buy schoolbooks, proper clothing and the minor equipment necessary to maintain a child at school. Lack of funds prevents the school district from assuming the financial responsibilities. Here the Federal Government should extend assistance.

From the growers point of view, the importation of field help is justified. With the exception of former industrial workers, etc., who recently joined the ranks of migratory agricultural workers, the migrant worker imported for fruit and vegetable harvesting is highly skilled and efficient in his trade. He can accomplish more work in less time than can the inexperienced former factory man. He is more accustomed to the conditions under which such workers generally live, and is not inclined to stop work in favor of employment in other activities.

The problems arising from mass mobility of workers involve both a considerable productive force and extensive national resources of the Nation. Since

these problems are common to many diverse localities and since our present economy demands a mobile labor supply, the difficulties inherent in the continued migration of workers must be considered of national concern, regardless of whether or not they appear to be localized. These migrants are truly Federal citizens and as such, it is the distinct responsibility of the Federal Government to assist them in times of need.

Some of the needs and suggestions for Federal consideration are: Decent and sanitary camps for the family groups, educational facilities for the children, and medical care and hospitalization.

THE BEET-FIELD WORKER

The migratory worker in the Michigan sugar-beet fields gives rise to individual and community problems, which although similar in many respects to the problems attendant to all migratory fruit and vegetable workers, varies sufficiently to merit special study.

Unlike the fruit and vegetable worker, he usually works on contract; coming each year from the Southwest and remaining from mid-April through the first 2 or 3 weeks of November. Very few remain throughout the year.

Sugar beets, one of the principal cash crops in Michigan, occupy a considerable acreage in 46 of the 68 counties of the Lower Peninsula. In 1939 there were 14,129 farmers in these counties engaged in growing sugar beets. In 9 of the 46 counties 75 percent of all farm operators were thus engaged. Approximately 90 percent of all the beet growers in the State employ contract labor, two-thirds of which is migratory. A peculiarity of the industry is that nearly all of the migratory beet workers are of direct Mexican descent.

Like the orchard owner and truck farmer, the beet grower and refinery operator prefers imported to local labor, and for the same reasons: Dependability, adherence to contractual agreements, little complaint, and a disposition to do this type of work.

The typical migratory beet worker's family consists of 4 or 5 adults (14 years of age or over). The average worker blocks, thins, weeds, and tops about 6 acres of beets per season. Earnings are frequently supplemented by work in other fields. Even with supplementary earnings, the average annual income of the beet worker's family for this 6 months' toil is under \$350.

The arduous nature of his work, the limited racial groups involved, and the low annual earnings he receives serve to inflame social and economic handicaps both on the workers and the communities they frequent.

The most immediate problem affecting beet workers and the localities they inhabit are child labor, poor housing, and public dependency—all directly linked to the low earnings prevalent in the industry.

Volunteer groups are at the present time sponsoring efforts to furnish educational instruction to the children in families of migratory beet workers. The expenses involved in this type of work, however, are too great to be borne by local communities alone, except in very few instances.

County welfare departments, in general, do not extend direct relief to beet-worker families, although when essential many of them will provide medical care.

The prevailing practice of importing beet workers under labor contracts designed to cover employment stipulations for an entire family gives rise to certain economic difficulties. It is customary for employers to withhold wages for a short period under contract terms, thus insuring the completion of the job. In order that workers under contract may obtain budgetary essentials prior to the initial receipt of their earnings, most companies have made arrangements with local store operators whereby the worker is able to obtain goods on credit terms. Complaints are received of injustices resulting from this system.

Several recent steps have been taken by processing companies and beet growers in an attempt to better the conditions of the worker and consequently reduce the economic and social problems confronting the community. A number of companies are now providing housing facilities for workers imported under contract. Although these dwellings are considerably better than the extremely substandard housing conditions prevalent before such attempts were made, they are meagerly furnished, frequently without plumbing facilities,

proper ventilation, and adequate heating means. Another recent progressive action taken by a number of companies has been to provide medical attention for ill and injured workers. In some companies the cost for such care is deducted from workers' earnings, while other companies are meeting such costs outright.

The migrant Mexican beet workers in Michigan appear to have marked susceptibility to tuberculosis and influenza. The incidence of syphilis and other venereal diseases among Mexican beet workers in Michigan has frequently been exaggerated. Although no adequate comprehensive surveys based upon blood tests have been made, health authorities believe that the incidence of venereal disease among this group is not much greater than among the resident population in the same social and economic status. The infant mortality rate, however, is surprisingly above the rate for the general population.

A forward step has recently been taken to protect the health of the community. A doctor is sent to San Antonio to give physical examinations to the Mexicans before they come north for the purpose of weeding out those who might spread disease.

The problems surrounding the Mexican sugar-beet worker are, therefore, in many respects similar to those of the migratory fruit and vegetable laborer. His presence in the community, however, is more extended; consequently, the community problems are of more continuous duration.

The fact that the majority of the itinerant beet-field workers are of an alien race serves to make them the object of local antagonism, even though they are United States citizens. Surely, this is a group which merits the consideration of the Federal Government. Owing to the characteristics of the problem, local officials are reluctant, and will probably continue to be reluctant, to extend the finances required for public services to this group. Assistance from the Federal Government is sorely needed in both assuming partial supervision and direction of remedial plans, in extending financial aid, providing public health and medical care, and making available educational facilities.

THE MIGRATORY LUMBERJACK

The plight of the stranded lumberjack, the most picturesque of all migratory laborers, constitutes a problem of increasing severity in a number of the Upper Peninsula counties. It is estimated that, despite a continuous mobility, there are in the neighborhood of 2,000 (some estimates are as high as 5,000) lumberjacks in the Upper Peninsula—most of whom are in need of public assistance during part of the year.

Lumbering as an industry has declined in Michigan to a small fraction of its former greatness. The lumberjacks remaining in the Upper Peninsula are largely older men who have already spent the best years of their life following lumber camps. The only remaining "adventure" for most of them lies in swapping experiences before the fire. Due to the basic nature of their work and its continuous mobility, they have never established a home in any community, and now that the timber is nearly gone are left with fewer employment opportunities and no shelter. Very few have set anything aside for such emergencies out of the meager earnings of the years. Many who are old enough cannot qualify for old-age assistance because they cannot produce birth records. There is also another smaller group of young men from the farms and villages of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota who trek to the camps during the lumbering season and when it is over return home or wander on in search of other employment.

To extend hand-outs to these individuals affords little alleviation to their problem. They are more urgently in need of permanent shelter and the opportunity to at least partially pay their own way by doing work of a nature to which they have long been accustomed. At the present time only the single men's camp at Hagerman Lake operated by the State social welfare commission, affords such opportunities for these men. The lumberjack for the most part travels through the northern part of the Great Lakes States in search of employment. The winter cutting season finds large numbers moving through the northern part of Wisconsin into Michigan and upon the termination of the season, retracing their route sometimes going as far as Minnesota. Only the young men have the vitality and optimism essential to make the long trek to the west coast where the lumber industry is still of major proportions.

Since the depletion of the timber has left the communities built around

it in such a distressed state that they can, and are inclined to, do little for this man of no residence outside assistance should be extended toward alleviating his problem.

One of the most feasible of all proposals is the establishment of work camps by the Federal Government on the Federal lands to serve the dual purpose of aiding the stranded lumberjack by work relief and of benefiting the public by the improvement of this nationally owned land.

THE MIGRATORY INDUSTRIAL WORKER

The migratory industrial worker presents difficult social and economic problems in the automotive cities of Michigan. The rapid development of the automobile industry during the twenties drew thousands into these major cities looking for, and generally finding, employment. Many of the thousands who migrated to these communities were forced out of employment during the depths of the great depression and compelled to seek public relief.

Unfortunately, the unemployed still look to the automobile centers as a mecca in which at a time of industrial employment, opportunities abound. The result is that they flock to these cities on each report of increased employment. Some migrate with their families. Many, hoping to earn a stake with which to start life anew, come along—leaving their families in their former localities. Few are able to find employment. Those who do obtain jobs are the first to be let out during employment declines, because they were the most recent additions to the pay roll. Many do not wish to return home, owing to the dearth of employment possibilities in their own localities. Furthermore, because many come from Southern States which provide practically no relief, they put forth every effort to stay in Michigan where relief standards are higher.

In Wayne County, in which the city of Detroit is located, nearly 10 percent of the people on relief fall in this group. The resentment of local taxpayers, who are having a difficult time in balancing their public treasury, upon discovering that with their limited local funds, they are taking care of a large number of nonresidents, can be imagined.

This is not a discussion of proper attitudes. It is a factual presentation. In the heart of a city are hundreds of families who are not wanted.

This is a question of interstate responsibility. The individual States in many instances turn their backs on it. It is the kind of problem that should be handled at least in part by the Federal Government. This may be considered a form of interstate traffic in which the Federal Government has a direct responsibility.

In conclusion, then, there are four types of migratory workers traveling through Michigan who, because of their interstate characteristics, should be given Federal consideration. They are: (1) The migrant fruit and vegetable worker; (2) the American Mexican of the Southwest in the sugar-beet fields; (3) the lumberjack; (4) the industrial worker who flocks to Michigan during periods of increased automobile production.

It is suggested, that the Federal Government interest itself and intensively study the problems of these workers. The tentative recommendations for action are:

(1) The establishment of camps or suitable homes for the migrant fruit, vegetable, and sugar-beet workers;

(2) Active planning toward the providing of educational facilities for the children of migrant workers;

(3) Supervision of improvement of public health conditions;

(4) Provisions for extending relief and medical care or for assisting the States to do so when required; and

(5) Rehabilitation in work camps on federally owned land, of the lumberjack without home or work.

Dr. LAMB. I wish now to offer a communication and enclosure from the Chicago Council of the National Negro Congress. I wish to have this entered as part of the formal record of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received as part of the formal record and the letter will appear in the record. The enclosure will be placed in committee files and not printed.

(The communication referred to is as follows:

CHICAGO COUNCIL, THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS,
Chicago, Ill., August 20, 1940.

HON. JOHN H. TOLAN,
Room 586, Old Post Office Building, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TOLAN: The Chicago Council of the National Negro Congress is watching with keen interest your inquiry into the misery and the sufferings of millions of American citizens who have been uprooted from their homes and driven out into the highways as were the English peasants during the industrial revolution.

Our work in Chicago has convinced us that the Federal Government must take the initiative in any program of rehabilitation for these unfortunate wanderers. The citizens who have appeared before your committee represent a cross-section of the whole migrant population of America. We feel that it would be economically and socially unsound to neglect this group any longer; and we urge you to frame legislation which will restore the living standards of these billions.

We wish to call your especial attention to the plight of at least 8,000,000 white and colored citizens of the South who suffer under a system of debt slavery which has its counterpart only in the feudal system of the Dark Ages. Many well-disposed Americans regard debt slavery or peonage as being fundamentally a question of civil liberties. Prosecute landlords who violate the Federal antipeonage laws, they say; remove public officials who support peonage and any abuses of the southern plantation economy will be quickly eradicated.

But we submit to this committee that the entire question of peonage is fundamental: that it flows directly from the semislave system still existing in the South; and that the practices of peonage each year drive thousands of white and Negro Americans from their homes, thus intensifying the entire migrant problem.

Here on Chicago's South Side, we have thousands of Negroes who have fled from the South to escape the burden of debt slavery. More arrive each month, so that it is estimated that at least 50,000 Negroes here—one-sixth of the colored population—have no regular place of abode, begging their meals at back doors and on the streets, sleeping in parks, hallways, or on the floors of already overcrowded apartments.

For months the National Negro Congress, acting in conjunction with the abolishment committee of the International Labor Defense and other organizations, has been urging the Federal Government to bring charges under the Federal antipeonage laws against William T. Cunningham, wealthy Oglethorpe County, Ga., landowner, and his accomplices, including Deputy Sheriff Patrick Keenan, of Chicago. Under pressure from our organization, from the abolishment committee, from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and from the Negro Elks, the Department of Justice has undertaken a half-hearted investigation. Although this investigation has continued for months, no charges have been preferred against this ring of debt slavers which traffics in the labor and the lives of impoverished white and Negro Americans.

At least 30 Oglethorpe County refugees are now living in Chicago, having fled by a new underground railway to safety north of the Mason-Dixon line. May we point out that these people did not leave their home State voluntarily. They are people of the soil who would have remained on the soil had it been possible for them to have made livings and to have exercised the rights guaranteed all American citizens under the Constitution of the United States, the Federal antipeonage statutes, and the Federal Civil Rights Act.

Here in Chicago they live meagerly on the dole of charitable organizations or on slim wages from occasional odd jobs. In Georgia, they were disfranchised and not permitted to attend school.

Here in Chicago, both their color and their lack of training prevent them from finding regular employment. And may we point out that these are not just thirty unfortunate individuals caught in the middle of an unfortunate situation. They are typical of all those anonymous millions south of the Mason-Dixon line who live without wages, without votes, and in constant fear of the lynch rope.

We are submitting, as an exhibit for the record, a copy of a pamphlet, *Peonage—1940-Style Slavery*, written by Harold Preece, a native white southerner.

who now lives in Chicago. We direct your attention to the stories of brutality told by Will Fleming and others who were forced to flee from their home State because they were as truly chattels as the mules on Cunningham's Sandy Cross plantation. Sworn testimony reproduced in this pamphlet, and submitted to the Department of Justice, shows that Cunningham beat, shot, robbed, and defrauded his tenants; that he violated Federal law by appropriating checks for Government benefits sent to those tenants and by collecting benefits for cotton that was never plowed under.

Moreover, in September 1939, Cunningham attempted to return people to peonage, in violation of Federal law, by coming to Chicago with his attorney, Hamilton McWhorter, and a deputy sheriff, John Paul, in search of three refugees from his plantation—Otis and Dock Woods, and Solomon McCannon. He was assisted in this modern style of slave catching by Deputy Sheriff Keenan. After weeks of organized protest and through the brilliant work of William Henry Huff, chief counsel of the abolish-peonage committee, Gov. Henry Horner refused to order extradition for the three men accused on a preposterous charge of stealing a coat from the plantation.

Your committee has announced in the press that it is interested in the problems of the oppressed. May we point out that no people in America are more oppressed than the Negroes and poor whites of the South; that our organization at this time is speaking for both as it speaks for all who are underprivileged regardless of their color, nationality, or religion.

We urge that any legislation which your committee submits take into consideration the 8,000,000 debt slaves of the South; that you consider measures to assure them decent homes in which to live, good land to cultivate, and freedom to vote and to express their opinions. American democracy faces its acid test in the South—the South now dominated by selfish landowners, wealthy mill owners, and lawless organizations of lynchers such as the Ku Klux Klan. We ask that your committee proceed to Lexington, county seat of Oglethorpe County, to learn first hand what is happening in this miniature Fascist State. We pledge you our earnest cooperation in the effort to restore to the South's homeless and insecure millions their birthright as Americans.

Sincerely yours,

CHICAGO COUNCIL, THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS,
ISHMAEL P. FLORY, *Organizer*.

Dr. LAMB. I wish to say that Dr. Morton A. Seidenfeld, of the Tuberculosis Institute of Chicago and Cook County, will submit a statement later.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received for the record.

(The statement was received later and reads as follows:)

THE TUBERCULOUS TRANSIENT—A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEM

By MORTON A. SEIDENFELD, PH. D., DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF REHABILITATION, THE TUBERCULOSIS INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO AND COOK COUNTY

In any investigation concerned with the problems of transiency and migration one should pay close heed to factors other than those that are primarily economic in origin which contribute to this complex matter. Although an accurate census of individuals "on the move" has not been made, it seems likely that any adequate sampling would reveal many men, women, and children seeking a new locale primarily because of health.

Perhaps more than any other representative group those who are the victims of tuberculosis tend to seek for health in new geographical areas. This fact is quite understandable in the light of emphasis placed upon such factors as altitude, humidity, and other climatic elements by many medical practitioners of the past half-century. Interestingly enough and very pertinent to our present discussion is the fact that in this year A. D. 1940 no one has yet reported evidence that definitely settles the matter pro or con. We are still unable to say with certainty that the average tuberculosis individual will be most likely to recover by staying home or by seeking a new climatic environment.

In the face of such conflicting opinions and in the absence of carefully planned experimentation designed to answer our queries, we can only conclude that there is the possibility that climate may be of considerable importance in at least a part of the tuberculous group. Until a more accurate answer is available we must admit the possible justification of sufferers from this disease moving about in search of the climate most suitable to a hopeful prognosis.

The writer has no personal views on this matter, but merely takes an unbiased point of view in order that we may properly appraise the obligation of the Federal Government in meeting the factual situation in which we know that several thousand tuberculous do move about the country seeking for health. There is no clear-cut evidence that would justify the attitude that these individuals should be denied the opportunity to travel about seeking for climatic values which many professionally trained workers believe exist. Obviously, therefore, it is the obligation of Government to assist in helping these people make an adjustment in an area which is suitable to their physical needs. This being true, it becomes necessary that we give consideration to the problems of the tuberculous transients and migrants in the study of broad social planning relative to migrancy and transiency in the United States.

There are in the United States close to 600,000 active cases of tuberculosis according to the best estimates available. Of this number about one-fourth are in need and will accept medical care according to Dr. Henry D. Chadwick,¹ president of the National Tuberculosis Association. Of this number only 90,000 can secure beds, while 60,000 must go without. This in itself is a stimulus for patients seeking beds in communities where there are none to go elsewhere in the hopes that they may secure hospitalization.

Other individuals who might enter a local hospital are embarrassed, have domestic difficulties that make it undesirable, and cannot adjust themselves to treatment in the local institutions, or similar types of problems which make suitable care impossible.

As a result of a multiplicity of different factors acting singly or in various combinations there begins an exodus to various areas—especially into those communities in which one or more well-known sanatoria may be found. In some instances preliminary correspondence may result in an admission before the patient leaves his home, but in other rather frequent instances the migration takes place first and the application for admission does not occur until the patient has arrived upon the scene. This is especially true when the patient is of the opinion that he may be denied admission if his request is made before he arrives on the scene.

Let us assume that the patient is admitted to a sanatorium in some distant State. His treatment may take months or even years. Let us assume further, and the assumption is not far-fetched, that he is practically without funds. He may have been on relief in his home State or he may have been rapidly approaching the day when he would have had to seek public assistance. For one reason or another, he has come away to seek treatment and health in a new location. In the sanatorium, proper treatment, excellent care, and surroundings in which he finds himself able to reorient himself have brought him back to health. He has been given preparation and guidance not only with regard to his physical well-being, but also along vocational lines. A few months' training, followed by placement, and he will be able to earn his own way once again. His morale will be high and the community's expenditures will be returned manifold.

Unfortunately, under present circumstances this picture can only be partially completed. The treatment and the in-sanatorium program, including vocational reorientation, are in existence, and are being constantly expanded, but the fate of the patient on discharge is anything but satisfactory—especially if he is a "nonresident."

Residence laws as they are today are particularly cruel to the type of patient I have described. Under the laws of residence an individual must have been independent for a given period of time (from 6 months to 5 years in most States) while residing in the given community, county, and State. Obviously, many of the tuberculous who come from the outside to seek treatment in a

¹Chadwick, Henry D.: Presidential address, 36th annual meeting, National Tuberculosis Association, Cleveland, Ohio. June 5-6, 1940.

different State cannot hope to fulfill this requirement since their time in the sanatorium does not count toward residency.

This resident law works a definite hardship in planning a program of vocational rehabilitation, since the State rehabilitation service is prevented by law from assisting nonresidents. What is even worse, in many States from whence patients migrate they lose their residency when they are absent from their local community for a year or more. Therefore, they become literally individuals who are without any residency.

Let us return for a moment to our earlier statements and review our thesis that until we have evidence that justifies such an action, we should not penalize the sick individual who believes he can help himself best by seeking a new climate and environment. Secondly, in the face of our known limitations of facilities for proper care of the tuberculous in many areas we cannot blame the seeker after health from going to communities in which more adequate facilities do exist, and we should not penalize him for this justifiable conduct. Some may argue that more hospitals and sanatoria should be built to solve the problem. The answer is "yes"—but 60,000 more beds will take considerable time to produce, and in the meantime the individual is entitled to every opportunity for the return to health.

The need, therefore, is for the provision of legislation providing that the tuberculous may be given training under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act in any State in which they may be residing without the limitations of residency being imposed upon them. This would mean that retraining and preparation for suitable work might be given any qualified individual without the constant battle as to which State will pay the bill. Federal grants-in-aid might be given to any State to cover this situation.

Then, of course, the problem of supplying relief assistance to many such patients is likewise complicated by residency laws. All too frequently when the patient is discharged he is without funds for food, shelter, or post-sanatorium care. Lack of legal resident status prevents him from securing anything but temporary aid. Then he is "shipped back" to his home State—often only to find that he is no longer considered a resident there.

Here again Federal aid to States for the purpose of caring for indigent and needy nonresident ex-patients of sanatoria in their areas until such time as they may secure employment or can be placed in suitable sheltering homes is definitely indicated.

Not all the tuberculous migrate to secure admittance to sanatoria. Many of them have gotten the idea that merely residing in a particular climate will cure them. So they often wander around in various southwestern States, in California, Wisconsin, and elsewhere, seeking but to breathe the health-restoring air. They live in hopes that a kindly Providence will provide them with sufficient food and shelter to give the air something besides skin and bones to work upon.

These transient tuberculous, like those who move about seeking sanatorium care, need the opportunity to seek health in a new environment, but adequate provisions for housing and caring for them must be provided lest they continue to spread this disease throughout the country. Unlike those who are hospitalized, these men and women are human vectors of tuberculosis, and adequate supervision and control is a public-health necessity.

In a discussion of this problem several years ago, Dr. H. E. Kleinschmidt² emphasized the importance of isolation in sanatoria of tuberculosis carriers among these itinerants. He emphasized the importance of X-raying all transients if the spread of the disease by this channel was to be reduced to a minimum.

A very significant statement of Dr. Kleinschmidt's is very much to the point. He says, "Sooner or later these wanderers will lose their legal residence acquired in the communities whence they came and very many of them will not gain citizenship in a new locality. Opportunities to earn a livelihood are scanty or nonexistent. Indigence is added to their invalidism and with no settled residence they are nobody's responsibility. This is calamity enough for the unfortunate victim, but it is very bad in another sense. In his extremity the

² Kleinschmidt, H. E.: Sick, Broke and Footloose, *The Journal-Lancet*, Minneapolis, April 1937. See p. 386, New York hearings.

patient moves on, perhaps crossing State boundaries, but surely spreading his disease in the new regions he visits in the hope of finding some relief."

Here, then, is a problem presented annually by several thousand Americans. What can be done to solve it? Obviously a complete solution is not attainable. Certain fundamental procedures would alleviate it greatly. These are:

1. The recognition that tuberculosis is not a local problem but rather a national one and that Federal participation in all phases of the tuberculosis program is not only desirable but essential.

2. Recognition that tuberculous individuals who migrate to seek treatment and hospitalization have a right to do so—at least until such time as it is proven beyond doubt that new environment, climate, altitude, etc., may play no important role in the recovery from this disease.

3. In view of the preceding fact "residence laws" as they now exist are inimical to the best interest of the individual seeking health in a new locale in that they deprive him of rights and privileges that are essential if he is to be rehabilitated socially and vocationally as well as physically in the community to which he has gone.

4. Grants-in-aid from the Federal Government to States and local communities to cover the cost of rehabilitation and relief assistance for the indigent tuberculous are necessary if these individuals are to be given a fair chance to regain their health and are not to become a public menace.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further to come before the committee at the Chicago hearing? [No response.] If not, the committee stands adjourned.

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